The Buddhist Conquest of China

The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China

by

E. Zürcher

Third Edition with a Foreword

by Stephen F. Teiser



BRILL

THE BUDDHIST CONQUEST OF CHINA

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PREFACE

It is difficult to decide whether a book on the formative phase of Chinese Buddhism should be written by a Sinologue with some "Buddhological" training or by a student of Indian Buddhism with some knowledge of Chinese. Both ways of approach suffer from obvious shortcomings, and those who choose one of them must be prepared to undergo serious criticism, probably from both sides.

Yet, those aspects which form the central subject of this study—the formation of gentry Buddhism and the amalgamation of Buddhism with the main trends of medieval Chinese thought—primarily belong to the realm of Chinese studies. Since I have consciously focused my own and the reader's attention on the status and the role of the growing Buddhist church in medieval Chinese society, the book is mainly intended for a sinological public, to whom, I hope, it may be of some use. If, on the other hand, it would appear to contain some points of interest for the students of Indian Buddhism and for those of the historical and social sciences in general, this would be a source of great satisfaction for me.

The subject is vast and complicated, and it goes without saying that this first attempt in a Western language to treat the growth and adaptation of Chinese Buddhism over a longer period cannot claim to be complete or conclusive. The present study is a preliminary account, a report on work in progress. The workers in the field are becoming more numerous, new ways of approach are being opened, and future studies will no doubt invalidate much of what has been written in this volume.

Many persons have directly or indirectly contributed to the preparation of this book. First of all I want to express my gratitude to the late Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak. His profound insight and extensive learning, and especially his insistence on philological accuracy as a prerequisite for all historical research, have inspired all who had the privilege to study under his guidance.

I also want to express my gratitude to the Trustees, the Director and the Staff of the Sinological Institute, Leiden, who in various ways—more than may be enumerated in this preface—have given me the benefit of their help and advice; to Professor P. Demiéville (Paris) for the many unforgettable hours devoted to those doctrinal aspects of Chinese Buddhism which have received but scant treatment in the present study, but which I hope to discuss more extensively before long; to my honoured friends Et. Balázs (Paris) and P. van der Loon (Cambridge) for their expert advice in the fields of social history and bibliography; to my *commilitones* A. F. Wright (Stanford) and L. Hurvitz (Washington) for the great help which their studies have been to me; to Professor Zheng Dekun (Cambridge) for his interest and the archeological information he provided.

Grateful recognition is especially due to the many Far Eastern scholars, ancient and modern, my admiration for whom is not diminished by the fact

that I never had the privilege to meet them personally. Like all students of Chinese Buddhism, I owe a deep-felt debt of gratitude to Professor Tang Yongtong (Beijing), whose works have become invaluable tools and guides, to Professor Tsukamoto Zenryū (Kyōto), and to so many other prominent Oriental masters in the field.

I am also greatly indebted to the Netherlands Ministry of Education which by a liberal grant facilitated the purchase of indispensable literature and the publication of this book, and to the Netherlands Organization of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique which enabled me to pursue my studies at Paris on several occasions during the years 1955, 1956 and 1958.

My warm thanks are due to my wife for her untiring assistance in typing out the whole manuscript, in compiling the index and in facilitating the work in so many ways.

Finally I wish to express my admiration for the way in which the firms of E. J. Brill (Leiden) and Excelsior (The Hague) completed the printing of this volume in so short a time.

Leiden, April 5, 1959 E. ZÜRCHER.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Apart from the insertion of printed Chinese characters, the text of this second edition is virtually identical with the one published thirteen years ago. The process of photostatic reproduction has limited the space available for corrections and additions, and has excluded the possibility of incorporating the results of more recent research.

However, I do not think that a hypothetical second version of the book would substantially differ from the first one. I still believe that the study of the earliest development of Chinese Buddhism must proceed from a detailed analysis of the Chinese reactions to the foreign creed, and of the concrete historical situation in which this creed was presented to them—and that is what this book attempts to do.

Some aspects, however, would deserve a fuller treatment than they have received. Further research in the earliest Buddhist translations has convinced me that much more can be known about Han Buddhism than is suggested in the first part of Chapter II. A wealth of interesting data can be gathered by a detailed analysis of the earliest translations, both in the field of terminology, translation technique and stylistic features, and, through these, of the various "schools of translation" and the process of Buddho-Daoist interaction in its earliest phase.

Another aspect which would deserve a fuller treatment is the question of realia: the iconographical and, in general, the archaeological data. The accounts of early building activities should be related with what is known about the development of Chinese Buddhist temple architecture and its Chinese and foreign prototypes.

More attention could be paid to the way in which Buddhism, as a vehicle of foreign *literary* influence, made an unprecedented impact on Chinese secular literature. In this field, cases of successful penetration (e.g. the absorption of Buddhist literary clichés, the earliest development of the "prosimetric" style, the largely Buddhist origin of the genre "edifying tales") are as notable as the cases of immunity, in which Buddhist literary patterns failed to evoke a creative response (such as epic poetry, unrhymed verse, and verbatim repetition).

The fact should also be noted that around 400 AD we find the beginning of what might be called "Chinese Buddhist sub-culture", notably in the field of cosmology, cosmography, and ideas concerning the physical world. It marked the beginning of a remarkable dichotomy in Chinese proto-science: the Indian "four great elements" operating alongside Yin-Yang and the Five Elements; the "Four Continents" versus traditional Chinese notions dating from Han times; the conception of cosmic periods and of the periodic destruction and reintegration of the universe versus the Chinese idea of an unbroken cyclic movement; the Buddhist plurality of inhabited worlds and world-systems and the Chinese earth-centered world-view, etc. This process of cultural transplantation, in which a large complex of foreign ideas was borrowed *in isolation*, without in any degree influencing the "official" world-view (as e.g. represented in the early Chinese encyclopedias), reached its highest point in Tang times. If we compare the first chapters of the 7th century Buddhist *Fayuan zhulin* with the corresponding sections of the *Taiping yulan*, they seem hardly to have anything in common, though both describing our own physical universe. The first development of this Buddhist sub-culture, made possibly by the sources of information that became available to the cultured clergy in the early fifth century, should have been noted as a major fact in medieval Chinese intellectual history.

The reader may feel that in describing the process of acculturation I have somewhat overstressed the Chinese side. The reader is right: it takes two to acculturate. More stress could have been given to the "donor" side—the way in which the foreign missionaries consciously or unconsciously responded to the Chinese public and its demands. Kumārajīva could be taken as a clear example.

It goes without saying that a new version would bear the marks of beneficial criticism, made by masters and colleagues in reviews and personal correspondence. I should, partly as a result of their remarks, hesitate to call premodern popular movements "revolutionary", and I should definitely discard the terms "(semi) feudal" and "gentry" when referring to the political structure and ruling oligarchy of these early centuries.

Though I am grateful to all my critics, I may single out one name: Professor Zhou Yiliang of Beijing University, who, though overburdened with more pressing tasks, took the trouble to go through the whole book, and to note down a great number of corrections, which he kindly handed over to me at Beida in 1964. I took it as a sign, then as now, that true scholarship is able to transcend whatever barriers still hold us separated.

Leiden, February 1972. E. ZÜRCHER.

SOCIAL HISTORY AND THE CONFRONTATION OF CULTURES: FOREWORD TO THE THIRD EDITION

Stephen F. Teiser

The reprinting in 2007 of a book originally produced nearly fifty years earlier is not merely a publishing event. It is a milestone in the academic study of early Chinese Buddhism that signifies how far the field has progressed in the past half-century as well as how fundamental the book remains.

Why reprint a classic work? Two generations of Western scholars have since written on similar topics, bringing new disciplinary perspectives to bear on some of the same sources. Scholars of Buddhism are now much more interested in the intersection between Buddhism and local society than they were when *The Buddhist Conquest of China* was first conceived. Chinese religion has become an established specialization within the academic study of religion. Many in the field have a sophisticated understanding of the great variety of traditions in China and would question the now-tired distinctions between Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, and popular religion. At the same time, accompanying the end of the Cultural Revolution and the rebuilding of Chinese educational establishments, the Chinese scholarly tradition has been reborn. Within the past two decades, the Chinese language has come to rival Japanese as the lingua franca of Chinese Buddhist studies, and Chinese scholars now lead the field in interpreting newly discovered evidence, ranging from art to manuscripts and stone inscriptions, for the study of Buddhism. Scholars in Japan, long one of the world's centers for the study of traditional Chinese civilization, continue to produce strong research in the field as well.

What makes *The Buddhist Conquest of China* worthy of re-reading not simply for clues about the fields of Buddhism and Chinese studies in the 1950s, but for the book's argument? Why is it still important to understand *The Buddhist Conquest of China* as a work of history, in relation to and constituting its subject, not merely as a sign of the times in which it was written? To answer these questions, we need first to review the thesis and focus of the book. After that, I will touch on its original scholarly context and then reflect on more recent developments in the field.

The Argument of The Buddhist Conquest of China

The most important thesis of *The Buddhist Conquest of China* is not so much an hypothesis about its subject—although it does contain many such propositions—as it is a claim about how its subject ought to be approached. The book stresses "the social environment" (p. 1) of early Chinese Buddhism. This perspective is required, Zürcher reasons, not simply because all religions are more than "a history of

ideas." Buddhism in China was also "a way of life" (p. 1), as seen preeminently in the formation of the Buddhist Saṅgha. Thus, rather than construing his subject as Buddhist philosophy in China in the fourth and early fifth centuries, Zürcher designs the book as a study of a particular social class at a particular time and place. He is interested not in Buddhism as a whole, but in Buddhism as it was confined to "a distinct, highly important but relatively small part of the Buddhist population: the cultured upper class and those monks who had obtained a literary education which enabled them to take part in the cultural life of this class" (p. 2). Zürcher defines the "gentry" as those males who received an education and thereby gained access to government position (p. 4). He offers further details about the precise relation of this class to the possession of land, wealth, and its actual role in the government. In his preface to the second edition of the book (published in 1972, p. xiii) he notes that recent critical work on the problem of social class during this period of Chinese history might cause him to revise his wording. But his basic understanding of how the class was defined, how it gained power, how important but also how tiny it was—remains the same in all three editions of the book. The discussion of foreign monks (An Shigao, Lokakṣema, Kang Senghui, Dharmarakṣa), texts, and political sponsorship in Chapter Two of *The Buddhist Conquest of China* is thoughtful and fine-grained, but in terms of the plot of the book, it is merely background to the major action in Chapters Three and Four, which focus on the emergence of an indigenous elite. In these chapters, arranged by time-period, region, and person, the lives and ideas of Chinese-born monks such as Zhi Dun (Zhi Daolin), Dao'an, and Huiyuan figure prominently.

Chapters Five and Six of *The Buddhist Conquest of China* take up the interplay between Indian and Chinese ideas, a problem addressed by the second thesis of the book. Zürcher stakes out a position in a debate that began in the Han dynasty: how can Buddhism, which developed in an Indian milieu, be adapted to Chinese modes of life? Some answers had been entirely negative: since Buddhism was a barbarian creed demanding unfilial behavior and acknowledgment of a power higher than that of the emperor, it should be banned. Other answers sought various grounds for accommodation: Buddhist ideas of *nirvāṇa* (*niepan*, "extinction"), for instance, are no different than what Laozi and other Chinese philosophers meant by *wuwei* ("non-intentional action"). Zürcher's contribution, motivated also by international conflict in the modern world, is to recast the terms of the debate. Rather than supposing that the cultures of India and China constitute two separate, identifiable systems, Zürcher tries to break down the monolithic nature of the two entities undergoing contact. The book shows that, contrary to the "Conquest" the title flirts with, the interaction between Indian and Chinese ideas took place in terms that were already Sinicized. Foreign-born missionaries and translators of texts did not (at this time) transplant a distinct species of Indian Buddhist thought in Chinese soil. Rather, according to Zürcher, they selected texts for translation that they thought their Chinese audience wanted to read. Chinese literati did not stand outside of their linguistic world in order to study the correspondence or lack of

correspondence between Sanskritic and Chinese ideas. Instead, native categories provided the terms in which the Chinese intelligentsia talked about Buddhism. Thus, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* devotes many pages to the immediate intellectual context of the gentry Buddhists—the hypothetical "pre-Buddhist" or "indigenous" currents of thought such as "Dark Learning" (*xuanxue*) and the art of rhetoric known as "Pure Conversation" (*qingtan*). In place of "conquest" or "Sinification," Zürcher prefers to use notions like "adaptation," "acculturation," "selection," "absorption," "restructuring," "hybridization," and "compartmentalization."[1] His analysis of the debates between Buddhist apologists and their opponents in Chapters Five and Six remains the most nuanced treatment in English to date. Reading those chapters, one cannot help but marvel at how all parties to the conflict drew on the same vocabulary, ethnic slurs, and rhetorical strategies. Below we will see that Zürcher champions the same interpretive position in his analysis of the interaction between European and Chinese ideas many centuries later.

Zürcher chooses his sources for the book with great care in order to advance these two broad theses concerning social history and the confrontation of cultures. The most important sources come from two classes of Chinese Buddhist writing. One class consists of the early biographies of famous monks and nuns and a history of the formation of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. The second class is what Zürcher terms "early apologetic and propagandistic literature," that is, works written by Buddhist devotees, both lay and monastic, designed to defend the faith from the criticisms of its cultured despisers. These include explanations of Buddhist ideas about rebirth and causality, refutations of the critics of Buddhism, and defenses of the independence of the Buddhist clergy from imperial control. To first-time readers or experienced historians of other fields, Zürcher's selection of primary materials for *The Buddhist Conquest of China* seems sensible enough. But we should pause to note what Zürcher is leaving out and to appreciate the weight of the unannounced tradition that he is arguing against. Zürcher intentionally ignores the great number of texts in the Chinese Buddhist canon that were translated during this period from Sanskrit and other Indian languages. As Zürcher writes elsewhere, the canon is an embarrassment of riches; its sheer volume seems to suggest how well it represents Chinese Buddhism. But the sources are, for Zürcher, skewed and misleading: "Our view of Chinese Buddhism as a historical phenomenon is greatly *obscured* by the abundance of our source materials" (Zürcher 1982b, 161). Both the indigenous texts used in *The Buddhist Conquest of China* and the Chinese literature translated from Indian originals were confined to a small but influential minority of Chinese people, somewhere between 2 and 5% of the total population. As we will see below, after publishing *The Buddhist Conquest of China* Zürcher turned to the intensive study of these translated sources, asking new questions and catalyzing a host of new answers. No matter what kind of source, though, he has remained consistent in subjecting the evidence to the social historian's basic questions. Zürcher writes, "In addition to the usual philological ones, other critical questions have to be posed for each individual text: at what level was it

produced; by what kind of people; under what kind of sponsorship; for what kind of public?" (Zürcher 1982b, 174).

Zürcher's Career and the Intellectual Context of The Buddhist Conquest of China

Let us follow Zürcher's lead and ask the same questions about the authorship of *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. Erik Zürcher received a classical education through high school and was trained in Chinese studies at Leiden University. His principal teacher was Jan J. L. Duyvendak (1889–1954), founder of the Sinological Institute at Leiden and internationally renowned scholar of early Chinese thought. After completing his undergraduate studies Zürcher pursued research in Chinese art in Stockholm with Osvald Sirén and published an early essay on art, but in the end decided to focus on early Chinese Buddhism for his doctorate. Few European scholars in the 1950s pursued research in China, and Zürcher was no exception. The newly established People's Republic of China was undergoing land reform, purges of the educational establishment, the failures of the Great Leap Forward, military involvement in Korea, and shifting relations with the Soviet Union. Thus, Zürcher went to Paris to study with the pre-eminent scholar of Buddhist thought, Paul Demiéville. Zürcher's doctoral dissertation, submitted to Leiden University, was an early version of *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. In 1961 Zürcher was appointed as Professor of Far Eastern History at Leiden University. Formerly devoted to the field of colonial history, the chair was renamed as "The History of East Asia, in particular the contacts between East and West" when Zürcher was inaugurated. Zürcher's teaching duties included surveys of Chinese history and seminars on Chinese historical documents, and his research seminars focused on Chinese interactions with the Jesuits, rather than Chinese Buddhism. In 1969 he founded the Documentation Centre for Contemporary China, which became an important institutional stimulus for its field. Between 1975 and 1992 he served as co-editor of the jointly sponsored Dutch-French Sinological journal *T'oung Pao*. He retired at the age of 65 in 1993, relinquishing his teaching and administrative duties but continuing with his research and writing. Although his scholarly and administrative career spanned the study of all periods of Chinese history and touched on fields ranging from history, literature, religion, and philosophy to politics and economics, most of his scholarship is dedicated to the interaction between Chinese traditions and foreign religions.

What were the dominant scholarly models for the study of Chinese Buddhism when Zürcher was writing *The Buddhist Conquest of China* in the late 1950s? Who produced scholarship on Chinese Buddhism, for what purposes, and under the guidance of what research agendas?

At that time Chinese Buddhism was approached from three distinct but not entirely exclusive scholarly perspectives. First was the study of Buddhism as a world religion, which had developed under the aegis of the Pāli Text Society, founded in 1881 by Thomas W. Rhys Davids. Bound up with the British colonial enterprise in South Asia, the Pāli Text Society was (and is) dedicated to

the preservation and study of Buddhist texts in Pāli and other Indic languages especially as they are found in manuscripts from India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Southeast Asia. The normative position underlying this textual focus was that the Pāli texts provide the most dependable picture of early Buddhism in India. The hermeneutical interest of much of Buddhist studies was in origins: whatever stands closest to the beginning of Buddhism is judged more authentic and more valuable for scholarly study than the rest. Buddhist texts produced outside of India were important, in this understanding of history, for the light they cast on how Buddhism was transmitted across languages and cultures. This kind of Buddhology studied philosophical schools, interrogating Chinese and Tibetan translations to determine how they diverged from or accurately rendered the Sanskrit originals on which they were based. Some adherents of this view also believed that early Buddhism was primarily a philosophy and not a religious movement: it was concerned with epistemology, metaphysics, meditation, and individual morality, rather than with magic, political power, and ritual.[2] This interpretation of Buddhism was one of the traditions to which Zürcher was responding in *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. Rather than taking an Indo-centric view of Buddhism, Zürcher insisted that the Chinese context is the proper frame of analysis for studying Chinese Buddhism. Instead of focusing on *sūtras, vinaya* works, and *śāstra* literature translated from Indian originals into the Chinese language, Zürcher chose texts produced in China and authored in Chinese as his primary materials. With some exceptions his implicit criterion of judgment was not an Indian original but rather the pre-Buddhist, indigenous Chinese streams of thought with which the earliest preachers of Buddhism in China had to contend. Nor did Zürcher harbor any rosy illusions about the apolitical nature of the tradition in China. *The Buddhist Conquest of China* accentuates the fact that Buddhism had far-reaching implications, debated by its critics and adherents from the very beginning, concerning social life, the structure of the Chinese family, and the political order.

Japanese traditions of scholarship on Chinese Buddhism also played an important role in the academic world of the 1950s. Buddhist studies in Japan was shaped by the institutional structure of Japanese Buddhism on the one hand and European traditions of scholarship on the other. Ever since the government of the Tokugawa shogunate assigned responsibility for registering the local population to Buddhist temples in the eighteenth century, Japanese citizens were accustomed to identifying themselves as adherents of one Japanese Buddhist sect or another—but never more than one. Sectarian institutions were important in early modern Japan, and the universities that pursued scholarly research in Buddhism were not exempt from the paradigm that divided Buddhism into mutually exclusive schools or sects. Mochizuki Shinkō's *Bukkyō daijiten* (*Encyclopedia of Buddhism*), first published in 1932–36 and still the most important reference work for the study of East Asian Buddhism, plays an important role in Zürcher's book, even if it is rarely announced in the footnotes. So too does the study of Buddhism under the Northern Wei dynasty by Tsukamoto Zenryū, first published in 1942, which covers a

much briefer period and more delimited area than does Zürcher. On the one hand *The Buddhist Conquest of China* seems to be arguing against these monuments of scholarship, since Zürcher's approach runs counter to the predilection of modern Buddhist scholars to seek the origins of their own modern sects in earlier Chinese forms. As recent scholarship has confirmed, prior to the Tang dynasty—and perhaps well into the Song dynasty—such dreams of sectarian founders and forerunners are largely fictitious.[3] On the other hand, like all modern scholars, Zürcher remains indebted to the philological research, close work in textual studies, and erudition in pre-modern Chinese history found in the best Japanese scholarship.

A third paradigm for the study of Chinese Buddhism may have had the greatest influence on the writing of *The Buddhist Conquest of China*: the model provided by *A History of Buddhism during the Han, Wei, Two Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties* (*Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao fojiao shi*), written by the Chinese historian Tang Yongtong (1893–1964) and first published in 1938. Tang's *magnum opus* remains the most important book on pre-Tang-dynasty Buddhism written in any language. Tang studied at Qinghua University as an undergraduate and pursued the study of Sanskrit and Pāli at Harvard, returning to China in 1922. He anchored the Philosophy Department at Beijing University during the 1940s, and after 1949 he remained centrally involved in the educational establishment of the People's Republic, becoming vice-president of Beijing University and a member of the Standing Committee of several National People's Congresses. Tang's history of Chinese Buddhism covers a broader stretch of time than does Zürcher's, including the fifth and sixth centuries, and it devotes chapters to Buddhism in the north as well. But in many respects Tang's earlier Chinese work provided both the basis and the framework for *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. The overlaps are apparent simply by considering the chapter titles of Tang's book. The twenty chapters cover:

1. Legends about the Entry of Buddhism into China
2. A Textual Study of the Westward Mission in Search of Buddhism during the Yongping Era [58–75 CE]
3. A Textual Study of the *Sūtra in Forty-Two Chapters*
4. The Transmission and Spread of the Buddhist Dharma during the Han Dynasty
5. Buddho-Daoism
6. The Origins of Buddhist Dark Learning
7. Famous Monks and Literati at the Time of the Two Jin Dynasties
8. Shi Dao'an
9. The Philosophy of *Prajñā* during Shi Dao'an's Time
10. Kumārajīva and His Followers
11. Shi Huiyuan
12. Translations and Westward Missions in Search of Buddhism and the Buddhism of the Northern and Southern Dynasties

13. The Southern System of Buddhism
14. The Northern System of Buddhism
15. Buddhist Writings during the Northern and Southern Dynasties
16. Zhu Daosheng
17. Different Theories of *Nirvāṇa* and Buddha-nature in the South
18. The Popularity of the *Tattvasiddhiśāstra* [*Chengshilun*] and the Revival of the *Prajñā* Three-Treatise School during the Southern Dynasties
19. Meditation Methods, Pure Land, and Monastic Regulations in the North
20. Buddhist Philosophy during the Northern Dynasties

A short list of the basic similarities between Tang's and Zürcher's books would include: an emphasis on the indigenous Chinese philosophical background, especially Daoism; the importance of geographical variation and local history; detailed historiographical analysis of problems of the primary sources; an interest in the two-way traffic between India and China; the great divergence between north and south China; the beginning of schools of thought in Chinese Buddhism; and the importance of the *vinaya*. Similarly, both scholars underplay (not to say ignore) the significance of the philosophical content of Buddhist texts translated from Indian and central Asian languages into Chinese. Zürcher practically ignores such texts and Tang places them third in a list of six types of Buddhist writing in Chinese in his Chapter Fifteen (commentaries, essays, translations and collections, histories and biographies, catalogues, and apocryphal works).

These similarities between the two works should not obscure their important differences. Zürcher focuses much more on the question of social class, in effect bringing a new question and hence new answers to the same materials examined by Tang. He is more interested than Tang in apologetic literature, and by leaving Kumārajīva out of the picture, he makes a strong statement about what mattered most in the first four centuries of Buddhist presence in China. In the end, I believe that Zürcher's reliance on Tang's work is in fact a strength. As an in-depth, modern guide through the complexities and problems of the primary sources, Tang's book remains the indispensable starting point for any serious work in early Chinese Buddhism. Zürcher's use of Tang is a testament to the interconnections between two great traditions of modern scholarship, both a sign of the past and an augur for the future.

It is a telling fact that since 1959 no original work in a western language broadly covering the same period of Chinese Buddhist history has been published. An English translation of Tsukamoto's history of Buddhism during the Northern Wei Dynasty did appear in 1985, but, as noted above, Tsukamoto's geographical and temporal focus on the Northern Wei dynasty (386–594 CE) overlaps only slightly with Zürcher's. The one-volume overview, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, published by Kenneth Ch'en in 1964, is more of a synoptic work. Although Ch'en aims to be comprehensive, the two richest sections of the book are those devoted to the early period, in which he relies heavily on *The Buddhist*

Conquest of China and the work of Tang Yongtong (Ch'en 1964, 21–183), and the Tang dynasty (Ch'en 1964, 213–388), based more on Ch'en's own research in the primary sources. Other western-trained scholars (including Demiéville, Liebenthal, Link, Ming-wood Liu, and Robinson) have published important work on selected philosophers and schools of thought during the early period. Their overtly philosophical concerns are complementary to the interests of *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. These studies of doctrine assume or explicitly accept Zürcher's analysis of the social history of early Buddhism and move on from there.

Although Japanese scholars have been active in studying the early period of Chinese Buddhism, the broader histories of Chinese Buddhism written in Japanese over the past 40 years seem by and large to have ignored *The Buddhist Conquest of China*.[4] General studies of this period of Chinese Buddhism written in Chinese can be sorted into two camps: those published before 1998 and those published afterwards. 1998 is significant because it is the year when the complete translation by Li Silong and Pei Yong of *The Buddhist Conquest of China* was published in Chinese (Zürcher 1998).[5] Tan Shibao (1991), writing before Zürcher's book was available in Chinese, for instance, treats the same topics as does Zürcher but largely follows the approach of Tang Yongtong. By comparison, Peng Ziqiang (2000) utilizes the Chinese translation of *The Buddhist Conquest of China* for its analysis of the accommodation between Buddhist and Daoist thought and the concerns of Buddhist apologetic literature, and Wang Qing (2001) draws extensively on Zürcher in analyzing the social background of belief in Amitābha, Maitreya, and Avalokiteśvara.

New Trends in the Study of Early Chinese Buddhism

On what grounds, then, may Zürcher's book be criticized? What aspects of *The Buddhist Conquest of China* have been faulted, and how has scholarship progressed since the publication of the book? Critics have drawn attention to two problematic areas, and Zürcher himself has inaugurated research in several fields of study that push inquiry in directions that *The Buddhist Conquest of China* only anticipated.

The field of social history has developed considerably, debating and reconceptualizing the organization of Chinese society in the ancient, medieval, and modern periods. When Zürcher first wrote *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, he offered a middle-of-the-road approach to the study of religious ideas. Marxist scholars in China like Hou Wailu (1956–60) and others approached Buddhist philosophy as a form of idealism, an inversion of reality that could only be corrected through the thorough-going materialism of Marxist-Leninist thought. Between the extremes of idealism and materialism, Zürcher, much like the historians of the Annales school in their studies of Europe, gave weight to both mental and material factors over the long sweep of history. Insistent about the economic factors and political structures that informed religion, Zürcher cautioned his readers to remember that the conclusions of his book applied only to a small elite within Chinese society, the gentry. He relied on the most up-to-date studies of Chinese social structure:

the early work of Tang Changru and others appearing in his Bibliography. Meanwhile, scholarly opinion on the social structure of early medieval China has progressed. Tang Changru (1957; 1983) continued to refine his conclusions, offering greater depth about the forms of land ownership and the relations between land-holders and peasants. Miyazaki Ichisada (1992) presented a more detailed analysis of the dynamics of office-holding, thus providing a better explanation of the different strata within a gentry class that, in 1959, Zürcher and others had tended to regard as monolithic. And Mao Hanguang (1988, 1990) has focused on epigraphical materials, drawing a picture that includes more variation by region and time than can be encompassed under the single rubric of the gentry. As the assessment of the structure of early Chinese society develops, some of Zürcher's conclusions concerning the fit between religion and social structure would no doubt require modification as well.

Another question about *The Buddhist Conquest of China* concerns the underlying model of two cultures undergoing contact and change. I suggested above that one of the main theses of the book is that the interaction between Indian Buddhism and Chinese forms of life is complicated and that both parties changed in the process. I also noted that Zürcher is careful to adopt supple language to describe this process and that he tries to avoid reifying the two sides of the equation. Nevertheless, the concept of cultural conflict still presumes a fundamental opposition or difference between two distinct entities, "India," "Indian Buddhism," or "Buddhism" on the one side and "China" on the other. Currents of thought in the social sciences and the humanities over the past twenty years have increasingly questioned the applicability of the modern notion of the nation-state or national culture to pre-modern polities, including India and China. The model of Sinification, no matter how refined, still relies on a criterion of Chineseness. That is, by defining the subject as the process by which Buddhism was made Chinese, the Sinification paradigm assumes rather than explains what "Chinese" means. By looking instead at how "China" and "Chineseness" are themselves hybrid notions that are constructed in particular historical situations, recent historians are opening up new ways to look at Chinese Buddhism.[6] At the same time, our picture of Indian Buddhism is undergoing revision. Scholars increasingly believe that early Indian Buddhists were just as concerned as Chinese Buddhists with problems like the accumulation of merit and honoring one's ancestors.[7] As our picture of the donor-culture (India) or the thing transmitted (Buddhism) changes, so too will our assessment of the what happened in the recipient-culture (China). It stands to reason, then, that scholarly suspicions about the solidity of the two hypothetical cultures will be extended to the paradigm that explains Chinese Buddhism as an example of cultural interaction.

Other problems and oversights in *The Buddhist Conquest of China* have been noted and corrected by Zürcher himself, and he has published extensively on some of them. Early in his career Zürcher was struck by the linguistic features of the early translations of Buddhist texts. In the first place, the early *sūtras* are extremely important for documenting the evolution of the spoken Chinese language. Early

Buddhist translations contain more vernacular words and preserve larger traces of the grammar of the vernacular—the language spoken in the first four centuries CE—than any other form of Chinese literature now in existence. In 1977 Zürcher published the first results of a close study of these early texts in the *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association*.[8] That article explains how the efforts of five different teams of translators between ca. 150 and 220 CE, totaling 29 separate texts, resulted in a corpus with distinct linguistic markings. These early translations preserve roughly 1,000 compound-words, most of them binomes (Chinese words consisting of two syllables). Whereas the written language of classical Chinese overwhelmingly consists of monosyllabic words, spoken Chinese both then and now is made up mostly of binomes. The early texts may be considered half-vernacular and half-classical in other respects as well, since they contain other linguistic features of spoken Chinese (the use of verbal complements, a limited number of pronouns or demonstrative adjectives, and the restricted use of the grammatical particles so important in classical Chinese). Thus, the early Buddhist translations analyzed by Zürcher are an invaluable resource for the study of the spoken Chinese language of the first few centuries CE. Zürcher's claim was not entirely new to the scholarly world, but he was the first modern scholar to offer a thorough, systematic, and grammatically sophisticated analysis of the phenomenon focusing on evidence from Buddhist texts. After his article was published, scholars from all over the world carried on the project. Scholars working on early Chinese literature have been especially interested in the various word-classes and grammar of the early Buddhist texts,[9] and Buddhologists have begun to analyze the lexicons of specific translators.[10]

But Zürcher's work in this area was not restricted to the history of spoken and written Chinese. Even when analyzing grammar, his goal was to better understand the social and intellectual dynamics involved in the transmission of Buddhist ideas in the Chinese cultural sphere. In a later publication he summarizes what light his grammatical and lexical studies could shed on the process of translation in early Chinese Buddhism.[11] Beginning with the striking linguistic fact of the preservation of vernacular elements in early translations of Chinese texts, Zürcher reexamines early accounts of how translation teams performed their labor on a day-to-day basis. In the movement from a source-text in Sanskrit or a Prakrit language to a target-product in classical or semi-classical Chinese, no single person commanded knowledge of both source and target. The Indian or Central Asian translator spoke his own mother-tongue, knew Sanskrit, and was somewhat conversant in spoken Chinese. But he usually had little or no knowledge of the Chinese written language. By contrast, the Chinese personnel commanded spoken Chinese as well as the literary language, but had little or no knowledge of Sanskrit. The resulting chain of translation had many links: the translator would intone the Sanskrit text (often a memorized rather than a written text) and offer a first translation into spoken Chinese, which his Chinese partners would record in writing. Then the Chinese members of the team would set to work, transforming the first draft successively

into more polished forms of classical Chinese. With neither side commanding a view of the whole, the work of translation involved numerous iterations of dialogue, misunderstanding, and revision. Zürcher's work thus sheds new light on the sociolinguistics of early Buddhism, the importance of foreign monks, and the linguistic features of what would become, in effect, the standard "church language" of Chinese Buddhism, made canonical in the work of Kumārajīva.

The strongest traditions of Sinological scholarship in China and Japan had always placed the study of Chinese Buddhism alongside the study of Daoism, showing how the two ostensibly separate religions could not be understood in isolation from one another.[12] In *The Buddhist Conquest of China* Zürcher adopted this approach to the study of Daoist philosophy, and in his later work applied it to the study of later Daoist religious movements. Zürcher first subjected a corpus of 123 early Daoist texts (from Tianshi, Shangqing, and Lingbao traditions) to a close reading in order to document the ways in which Buddhist ideas influenced Daoism.[13] His conclusion distinguishes between areas of greater and lesser influence. Buddhist influences were strong, he notes, in that Buddhist cosmological ideas affected Daoist conceptions of ritual space, Mahāyāna ethics influenced Daoism, and Buddhist understandings of *karman* and rebirth transformed the Daoist approach to guilt and sin. Other important areas, however, remained immune to Buddhist influence, including a cosmology based on *qi* ("ether"), the ideal of bodily immortality, and Daoist understandings of the nature of religious texts. In other essays Zürcher considers influence moving in the opposite direction, from Daoism to Buddhism.[14] In this work he stresses the importance of indigenous, Daoist ideas concerning the violent end of the world brought about by supernatural powers and the advent of a divine savior. Zürcher believes that although the Indian Buddhist tradition was not entirely lacking in such complexes, eschatology and messianic expectations in Chinese Buddhism between the third and sixth centuries CE owe much to the influence of Daoism. He wonders whether we should "altogether abandon the idea of two separate religious traditions 'influencing' each other. What we call 'Chinese Buddhism' and 'Daoism' are, after all, abstractions, created by the fact that they only show themselves to us at the top level, that of the clerical establishments who created and maintained the two great traditions. At that level, the two systems are quite distinct. But once we go deeper down, it appears that they partially overlap, and in certain areas completely merge together."[15] More recent work has questioned or further refined these conclusions, and scholars have followed the basic paradigm in studying Buddho-Daoist messianism, ritual texts, curing rites, exorcism, death ritual, monastic life, historiography, and concepts of sacred texts.[16] But there is no disagreement over the basic tenet that Chinese Buddhism and Daoism must be studied in tandem.

Another field of study to which Zürcher later contributed was popular Buddhism. Already in *The Buddhist Conquest of China* he had noted how the texts of gentry Buddhism also preserve notice of such phenomena as exorcism, extreme asceticism, thaumaturgy, and lay aspirations for rebirth in paradise. Zürcher has always

been keenly aware that his sources provide evidence about a very small percentage of people. His more recent work attempts to illumine the forms of Buddhism practiced by *le grand public*. Or, as he puts it in a discussion of "normal"—we might also say normative—Buddhism: "if we want to define what was the normal state of medieval Chinese Buddhism, we should concentrate on what seems to be *abnormal*." The result is a survey of early biographical sources in order to examine "the vast body of innumerable little traditions—local manifestations of Buddhist life as it existed among the people, far removed from that world of texts, treatises, learned doctors, impressive rituals and rich endowments."[17] Here too Zürcher has been at the center of a broader scholarly movement. Some scholars have utilized stele inscriptions in order to understand the practice of Buddhism at the local level, while others have undertaken a sociological and doctrinal analysis of the prayers inscribed on statues that commemorate the act of donation.[18] Prior to the fifth century, evidence for the sub-literate level of Chinese society and for non-canonical forms of Buddhist practice is hard to find. Statues, temples, stelae, tombs, and other artistic evidence are important sources of new information about the early period, and some studies consider what this kind of evidence says about the practice of Buddhism.[19] Sources proliferate for the period between the fifth and tenth centuries owing to the unprecedented cache of paintings, handwritten scriptures, monastery documents, popular literature, and writings of daily use discovered at Dunhuang (Gansu province) in western China early in the twentieth century. Zürcher himself utilized these manuscripts in studying literacy and the educational system of Buddhist temples.[20] Scholars from all over the world have utilized the Dunhuang materials to open up the fields of institutional history, daily religious life, Chan studies, and Buddhist performing arts.[21]

It is only natural that a scholar of early Chinese Buddhism would be drawn to the homelands of so many foreign monks who brought Buddhism to China. In the medieval Chinese worldview, the variety of empires and city-states in modern-day Qinghai and Xinjiang, parts of Tibet, Nepal, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan were all subsumed under one term, "the western regions" (*xiyu*). Zürcher has contributed several studies of central Asian Buddhism based on early Chinese historical sources.[22] Other scholars are looking more closely at the evidence preserved in non-Chinese manuscripts from central Asia.[23]

The Problem of Cultural Conflict

I have argued that it would be a mistake to regard the subject-matter of *The Buddhist Conquest of China* as simply Chinese Buddhism. The book has important things to say about how to study religion, broadly conceived, and how to analyze the interaction between cultures. As the brief excursion above demonstrates, Zürcher has pursued both of these broader questions in his subsequent work. As early as 1962, in the inaugural lecture on recent Chinese history delivered when he assumed his teaching post at the University of Leiden, Zürcher formulated the question of cultural interaction in dialectical terms. His title for the lecture conveys the sense

of both communication and miscommunication: *Dialoog der Misverstanden*, or "Dialogue of Misunderstandings."[24] It would be anachronistic and out of character to dub Zürcher a theorist of *aporia* or a practitioner of post-colonial literary criticism, but modern scholars interested in the transnational circulation of material and ideas would have much to gain from considering Zürcher's approach. Zürcher's second focus of interest after Chinese Buddhism has been the debate over Christianity and western cultural ideals in China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a long series of articles he has focused on a variety of writings by and about the missionaries of this period, and he has analyzed a wide range of efforts to translate European and Christian ideas for Chinese audiences. His articles take on questions as diverse as the translation of Latin rhetorical terms into Chinese, the use of Christian ideas (except the Incarnation) in the moralistic instructions of Confucian officials at the local level, the working out of Christian ideas in daily religious life, and Jesuit portrayals of European history to their Chinese readers.[25] A similar interest has led to essays on the history of Judaism in Kaifeng and western perceptions of China during the Cultural Revolution.[26] Only the period of non-Han rule over China between the tenth and fourteenth centuries and the Chinese response to Islam seem to have escaped Zürcher's scholarly interventions.[27]

It is perhaps no accident that an overriding concern with the conflict between cultures has been a hallmark of the career of both Erik Zürcher as well as his colleague, Jacques Gernet, who held the Chair in the Social and Intellectual History of China at the Collège de France from 1975 until 1992 and served as co-editor with Zürcher of the Sinological journal *T'oung Pao*. Like Zürcher's, Gernet's earliest research concerned Chinese Buddhism. He worked on the manuscript versions of early Chan writings, but his first true masterpiece was a groundbreaking study of the place of Buddhism and Buddhist monasteries in the Chinese economy, broadly speaking, between the fifth and tenth centuries.[28] Gernet's book dealt with the practice of Buddhism across all social classes and was founded on the study of Dunhuang manuscripts. After other important work, Gernet turned to the study of Christianity in China, focusing on the Chinese reactions to the first few generations of Jesuit missionaries in China.[29] In 1988, at Gernet's invitation, Zürcher delivered a lecture in Paris on the grand question of why Buddhism, as a religion introduced to China by foreign monks, succeeded in working its way into so many facets of Chinese life, whereas the forms of Christianity preached by the Jesuits and others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries failed. The answer, he writes, revolves around a series of stark oppositions between the two churches in their approach to missionary activity and proselytization. Zürcher summarizes their radically different views of assimilation:

> . . . spontaneous infiltration through contact and planned introduction from the outside; foreign monks without special education and carefully trained missionaries; monastic communities and isolated residences; lay believers independent from and outside the Church and Christians under the control of missionaries; polycentrism and imposed uniformity; the consistent, defined role of the religious professional

> and the double role of the "missionary-literatus." This is a plethora of oppositions. However, they all have in common the fact that they derive from the Jesuit mission to the extent that it was a supervised enterprise. The paradox is that this supervision was precisely the cause of the weakness and vulnerability of Christianity in China and that, inversely, Buddhism derived its strength and power from its lack of coordination, from the spontaneous character of its beliefs, and from the complete absence of central control.[30]

The interaction between China and the west was also, in Zürcher's opinion, a contest of ideas. Zürcher sometimes affirms the conclusion of Gernet that the mindset of traditional Chinese culture was simply not amenable to many of the assumptions of late Renaissance Christianity. In several important pieces, however, Zürcher examines cases where, in his opinion, the foreignness of the Christian message was made clear in Chinese terms. That is, Zürcher is willing to admit that, though not long-lasting, cross-cultural interpretation, when pursued through a strategy of accommodation, could be successful. Rather than presupposing an unbridgeable cultural or linguistic gulf, Zürcher examines the content and context of the intercultural communication before deciding the question. He writes:

> . . . the wealth of information on early Fujian Christianity allows us to test our general assumptions about the impact of the Western doctrine and the Chinese reaction. It confirms the thesis that accommodation was the most fruitful way of missionary action, not only as a strategic method, but as a cultural imperative: either this way, or no way. It contradicts the thesis (brilliantly presented by Jacques Gernet) that the Chinese, due to their ingrained cultural preconceptions, virtually were unable to assimilate the basic ideas of Christianity—the *Diary* shows us striking cases of the opposite. It clarifies the model of missionaries and high-level converts belonging to a mobile nation-wide network, as opposed to the 'sedentary' local communities of believers. And it illustrates, in a dramatic way, the basic contradictions between the various roles the foreign missionaries had to play—they had come to bring the kingdom of God, but from the very beginning it had been a kingdom divided against itself.[31]

One of the threads running throughout Zürcher's work on a variety of subjects is that cultures reveal their moral and intellectual presuppositions (which are themselves complex and shifting) through confrontation. Or, as he puts it, "In cultures as among individuals, it is from their rapprochement and their conflict that the truth is born."[32] Whether the conflict is between Indian forms of religion and Chinese society, European Catholic culture and Chinese thought, or more recent international oppositions in culture, politics, or economy, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* still has much to contribute.[33]

Notes to Foreword

[1] For systematic explanations of each of these terms plus examples, see Zürcher 1980a; 1989c.

[2] On the Pāli Text Society and the hermeneutics of early Buddhological studies, see Almond 1988; De Jong 1997; Hallisey 1995; Masuzawa 2005; Silk 2004.

[3] On the question of what constituted a "school" in early Chinese Buddhism, see Tang

1938: 718–19, 834–39; Tang 1962; Tang 1963; Tang 1986: 128–248, esp. 128–30; Weinstein 1987. The critique of the sectarian model has been most thorough in the realm of Chan (Japanese: Zen) studies. See Faure 1991; Faure 1993; Foulk 1993; McRae 2003: 1–21.

[4] See, for example, Kamata 1982; Kobayashi 1993.

[5] The translation is competent and the translators occasionally add their own notes. In an epilogue to the translation they discuss the differences between Zürcher's treatment and that of Tang Yongtong. In their analysis, Tang deals with the world of thought (*xinfa*, "the dharma of the mind" or the mind itself) while Zürcher's book is concerned with the material world (*xinsuofa*, "objects of mind") (Zürcher 1998: 628–31).

[6] For classic statements of the model of Sinification in Buddhist studies, see Ch'en 1973; Gregory 1991; Hu 1937. For criticisms and alternatives, see Elverskog 2006; Gimello 1978; Sharf 2002: 1–30; Teiser 2000.

[7] DeCaroli 2004; Egge 2002; Schopen 1997.

[8] Zürcher 1977; Chinese translation Zürcher 1987b. See also Zürcher's continuation of the project: Zürcher 1991; Zürcher 1996; Zürcher 1999.

[9] See Cao 1990; Harbsmeier 1981; Liang 2001; Mair 1994; Zhu 1992.

[10] See Boucher 1996; Harrison 1993; Karashima 1998; Karashima 2001; Nattier 2003.

[11] Zürcher 1991.

[12] See, for example, Tang 1957; Yoshioka 1959–1976.

[13] Zürcher 1980b.

[14] Zürcher 1982a; Zürcher 1982c.

[15] Zürcher 1982c, 47.

[16] Bokenkamp 1983; Bokenkamp 2004; Campany 1993; Davis 2001; Kobayashi 1990; Kohn 2003; Seidel 1970; Seidel 1984a; Seidel 1984b; Strickmann 1996; Strickmann 2002; Verellen 1992.

[17] Zürcher 1982b: 162, 165. See also Strickmann 1994; Zürcher 1990a: 43–94; Zürcher 1995f.

[18] For the fifth and sixth centuries in the north, see Liu 1993; Hou Xudong 1998.

[19] For representative scholarship in English, see Abe 2002; Rhie 1999–; Wong 2004; Wu 1986. Zürcher 1995a is an overview of systematic discussions of art in Chinese Buddhist literary sources, complementing Soper 1959.

[20] Zürcher 1989a.

[21] On institutional history, see Chikusa 1982; Zhanru 2003. On temple economy, see Gernet 1956; Jiang 1987. On the daily life of monks and nuns, see Hao 1998. On annual festivals, see Tan 1998; Teiser 1988; Trombert 1996; Wang-Toutain 1996. For the afterlife, see Soymié 1966–1967; Teiser 1994. On popular performances, see Mair 1989. On Chan, see Shinohara 1980; Yanagida 2004.

[22] Zürcher 1968; Zürcher 1990b; Zürcher 1999a.

[23] Nattier 1990; Skjaervø 2002; Zieme 1985; Zieme 1992; Zürcher 1999b.

[24] In it he addresses, for a general academic audience, some of the conflicts driving the course of modern Chinese history. His particular focus is on how ideas and movements from outside the Confucian mainstream, including Western notions of science, Christianity, feminism, and European political ideals, were received, debated, and decided in Chinese political culture. It is a picture of how modern China—itself a complex web of forces—negotiated the dialogue between radically different ideals.

[25] Zürcher 1971; 1978; 1985b; 1987b; 1988; 1990a; 1990d; 1993a; 1993b; 1995c; 1997a; 1997b; 2000; 2001; 2004; 2006a; 2006b.

[26] Zürcher 1995b; 1973a; 1973b.

[27] Although it should be noted that Zürcher's son, Erik Jan Zürcher, pursues work on modern Turkey and Ottoman history; see Erik Jan Zürcher 1984; 1991; 2004.

[28] Gernet 1956; English translation, Gernet 1995.

[29] Gernet 1982; English translation, Gernet 1985; second edition, Gernet 1991.

[30] Zürcher 1990a: 37. For an extended comparison between the philosophies of "assimilation" in Buddhism and in the Jesuit mission, see Gernet 1985: 64–104.

[31] Zürcher 1990c: 456.

[32] Zürcher 1990a: 37. On "moral and intellectual presuppositions," see Zürcher 1990a: 13.

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Chapter one

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

"*Chinese Buddhism*"

The present study is an attempt to describe the main aspects of the particular type of Buddhism which developed in Southern and Central China in the fourth and early fifth century AD.

It must be remarked at the very outset that early Chinese Buddhism is a system *sui generis*, the result of an independent development which can only be studied and understood in connection with the cultural environment in which this development took place and against the background of the Chinese world-view prevailing at the period in question. Consequently we shall have to pay due attention to various cultural and social factors which have contributed to the formation and stimulated the spread of Buddhism in early medieval Chinese society, before the purely doctrinal aspects of the creed can adequately be described.

It is this social aspect that will claim most of our attention in this study, but whenever possible we shall try to correlate this—up to now rather neglected—side of Chinese Buddhism with contemporary developments in the field of doctrine.

This stress upon the social environment is not merely a result of the author's conviction that no religious movement, however unworldly, can possibly be studied as a "history of ideas" pure and simple. It follows logically from the nature of Buddhism itself. Buddhism is not and has never pretended to be a "theory", an explanation of the universe; it is a way to salvation, a way of life. Its introduction into China means not only the propagation of certain religious notions, but also the introduction of a new form of social organisation: the monastic community, the *saṅgha*. To the Chinese Buddhism has always remained a doctrine of monks. The forces and counter-forces which were evoked by the existence of the Buddhist Church in China, the attitudes of the *intelligentsia* and of the government, the social background and status of the clergy and the gradual integration of the monastic community into medieval Chinese society are social phenomena of fundamental importance which have played a decisive role in the formation of early Chinese Buddhism.

If the study of the social aspect is essentially a study in acculturation, this is even more true for "purely" religious developments. Due to lack of material, we shall not be able to follow more than part of these developments, for in spite of the fact that the amount of data contained in the translated Buddhist literature seems at first sight enormous, still, for an investigation of typically Chinese phenomena in the field of the doctrine we have to depend on a rather small number of indigenous texts. The ideas to be found there will strike the student of Indian Buddhism as highly rudimentary and strange, and often

as even hardly Buddhist. Small wonder, because adaptation implies selection. From the very beginning, the body of the foreign doctrine was reduced to those elements which by their real or supposed congruence with pre-existing Chinese notions and practices were liable to adaptation and incorporation. The result of this intense and continuous process of selection and hybridization is widely divergent from the contents of the imported foreign scriptures which were so faithfully copied, memorized and recited by Chinese devotees. These scriptures merely formed the raw material on which Chinese Buddhists founded their free speculations, and the many hundreds of early Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures—capital sources for the history of *Indian* Buddhism—teach us disappointingly little about the ways in which their message was reinterpreted.

It must be remarked that even the Chinese monks themselves at this early date were never confronted with Buddhism—of one school or another—as an organic whole, a coherent discipline. The integral transplantation of an Indian school to China (as happened with Yogācāra Buddhism in the 7th century) is a much later phenomenon. The early Chinese monks, forced to be eclectics by the circumstances under which the doctrine was presented to them, had to base their opinions on a bewildering variety of Mahāyāna and Hināyāna sûtras, monastic rules, spells and charms, legends and scholastic treatises of different epochs and schools.

The heterogeneous nature of the doctrine as introduced into China was of course coupled with an all but complete ignorance about the cultural *milieu* in which the scriptures had originated. One of the most serious problems was of a linguistic nature: only a few foreign *ācāryas* could freely express themselves in Chinese, whereas before the late fourth century no Chinese seems to have had any knowledge of Sanskrit.[1] Thus the doctrine was only accessible to the Chinese clergy through the distorting medium of free, lacunose and often hardly understandable translations, the misleading effect of which was enhanced by the use of Chinese terms which already had a definite philosophical value and which consequently possessed a wide range of non-Buddhist associations. All these factors must have contributed to the thorough sinization of Buddhism even in clerical circles, to the formation of a Buddhism in Chinese guise, digested by Chinese minds, translated into Chinese patterns of thought.

One would be tempted to call this creed "early Chinese Buddhism" pure and simple, as is generally done. But if we consider the nature and limitations of the sources at our disposal, this appellation, however convenient, appears to be a gross generalization. Like practically all works of medieval Chinese literature, the early sources (to be mentioned below) were written by and for *literati*, and deal only with one *niveau*, one segment of the immensely complex phenomenon which was early Chinese Buddhism. As is proved by the very nature of the doctrine which they contain, by their subtle and abstruse speculations on philosophical and moralistic subjects and by the refined and highly artificial, over-stylized language in which these are expressed, their range of circulation must have been restricted to a distinct, highly important but relatively small part of the Buddhist population: the cultured upper class and those monks who had obtained a literary education which enabled them to take part in the cultural life of this class.

It is a discouraging fact that hardly anything is known about other, equally

important, manifestations of Buddhism on Chinese soil during the period in question. The earliest development of popular Buddhism in the various regions of the empire, the growth of locally differentiated popular beliefs and cults, the ways in which the doctrine was preached among the illiterate population, the status of the individual priest, the social and economic functions of the Church in rural communities and so many other subjects of vital importance for the study of early Chinese Buddhism are hardly ever mentioned. The few pieces of information which may be extracted from the stubborn material are too vague and too fragmentary even for speculation. The earliest phase of popular Buddhism has not left any documents or scriptures of its own, nor has it given rise, like Daoism, to any spectacular religious or semi-religious mass-movements strong or dangerous enough to be recorded by Chinese official historians.[2]

Thus the scope of any study on early Chinese Buddhism is unavoidably narrowed down by the nature of the source material. Unless an unexpected discovery, like a second Dunhuang, comes to shed a clear light upon the life and practice of the Buddhist Church and its lay devotees in the fourth century, we must face the fact that we possess nothing but a torn-out chapter, the loose leaves of which are lying pell-mell before us: scholastic speculations of learned monks and cultured magistrates of Buddhist inclinations; a few polemic treatises testifying of the clashes between the growing Church and the government authorities; recorded fragments of elegant conversation and spirited debate between clerical and non-clerical *literati*; standardized biographies of famous monks; polished introductions; a considerable amount of bibliographical information; a few letters and poems.

This fact, once realized, necessarily points to what seems to us the only methodical approach to the study of the social side of early Chinese Buddhism. Given the basic fact that the Buddhist Church from the beginning seems consciously to have directed itself to the governing class—the central or local authorities which the *saṅgha* had to persuade either to help and patronize the clergy, or at least to tolerate its existence—we shall have to focus our attention in the first place upon the process of the penetration of the Buddhist Church and its doctrine in the higher and highest strata of medieval Chinese society. We shall have to investigate the various reactions which it caused in these circles, to define the pro- and anti-Buddhist attitudes and practices prevailing among the leading groups and to trace, in this perspective, the doctrinal developments which, as a matter of necessity, bear the stamp of the special circumstances under which this penetration took place. We shall see how the beginning of this process, which is of paramount importance for the history of medieval China, may be dated around the beginning of the fourth century AD, and how from that time onward the influence of Buddhism gradually manifests itself in many fields of Chinese culture.

It is in the course of this struggle for recognition that this form of early Chinese Buddhism—the creed of the Buddhist *intelligentsia*—acquired its characteristic form. Chinese Buddhism forms an extreme example of the general phenomenon that new religions, especially if they are of foreign origin, are never accepted as a new creed, completely replacing the old belief: it was superimposed upon and amalgamated with the main currents of contemporary Chinese thought, i.e. Confucianism and the gnostic and ontological speculations

known as *xuanxue* 玄學, "Dark Learning", to the Chinese (and, most wrongly, as "Neo-Daoism" to Western scholars).[3] As we have said above, this applies to the cultured clergy as well as to the high-class laymen. On the other hand, the opposition against Buddhism among the Chinese *intelligentsia* prompted the defenders and propagators of the faith to devise apologetic arguments tending to reconcile the Buddhist doctrine with traditional Chinese thought, thus intensifying and stimulating the process of amalgamation. Later on we shall have the opportunity to speak about the difficult question whether and in how far this latter process represents a conscious application of apologetic devices.

It is not only practical considerations of space which have led us to concern ourselves mainly with the development of Chinese Buddhism in the South, i.e. in the central and southern part of present-day China, then ruled over by the Chinese Jin 晉 dynasty. Since about 310 AD the whole of the North was under the domination of non-Chinese dynasties, some of which strongly stimulated the prosperity of Buddhism within their domain. But it is just because of the close ties between these "barbarian" rulers and Buddhism, that in the North Buddhism, both as a social phenomenon and as a creed, developed forms of its own and went its own ways, resulting in a picture which differs considerably from that presented by the penetration of its beliefs in the gentry society of Central and Southern China. On the other hand, the isolation of Chinese Buddhism, which in the South is one of the main reasons for the radical "sinization" of the doctrine, was far less complete in the North. Especially at the Buddhist centre of Chang'an, situated as it was on the Chinese branch of the transcontinental silk-road, this contact with "the West" (a vague indication for the huge area between Dunhuang and Kashmir) was very intensive. The result of this situation is that an adequate description of Buddhism in the North cannot be restricted to China alone, but that it must take thoroughly into account all that is known concerning contemporary developments in Central Asia and in North-Western India—with all the thorny problems this entails. In order to limit the scope of this study in a manner which is justified not only from the point of view of chronology but also from that of geography, we have decided to make the development of gentry-Buddhism in the Chinese South our main concern, paying only attention to the North whenever this seemed necessary for a better understanding of events in the South.

"*Gentry*" *and* "*Gentry Buddhism*"

Not without hesitation we have decided to use the much-debated but conveniently short term "gentry" when speaking about the cultured upper class in medieval Chinese society, and to label the type of Buddhism described above "gentry Buddhism".[4]

English readers must be warned not necessarily to associate the term "gentry" with *large* landownership. We define the members of the gentry as those individuals who were entitled to fill the ranks in the magistracy, which implies that they had had the opportunity to obtain the traditional literary education which qualified them for an official career and, consequently, that they belonged to a family of some wealth and standing which could afford to have its young male members devote several years to literary studies.

It is reasonable to suppose that practically all gentry families were to some

extent landowners: in China, landed property has always been the normal and favoured form of investment. It would, however, be wrong to regard landed property as the exclusive source of income of the gentry as a whole. Those who try to picture the gentry as a kind of feudal aristocracy do not realize that those features, which they regard as characteristic of the whole upper class, actually hold only good for a relatively small part of the gentry: the *menfa* 門閥, the Great Families. These were the actual masters of the empire, the ancient feudal clans which during the whole medieval period virtually monopolized all political and economic power in the state: the Wang clans from Langye and Taiyuan, the Xie clan from Yangxia, the Yu clan from Yanling, and many others. These families owned ancestral domains and estates of impressive size, cultivated by slaves and various kinds of serfs and clients who were inscribed in the local registers of the population under the name of their lord to whom they owed taxes and labour service. Already about the beginning of the third century we hear about several estates of more than 10.000 people, and their numbers were furthermore increased by vagrants (*liumin* 流民) who secretly sought refuge to the feudal domains without being inscribed (*wuming* 無名). These consisted mainly of "drifting families" (*liuli zhi jia* 流離之家), i.e. small peasant families which had been forced to give up their lands under the pressure of war, encroachment by great land-owners and the burden of state-taxes and labour services which naturally kept increasing in proportion to the loss of taxable land. However, the number of these great families was restricted. No more than 68 families are included in the genealogical tables of Wang Yitong's extensive study on the *menfa* in medieval China,[5] and the total number of members of these great gentry clans who approximately belong to one and the same generation constitutes only a small portion of the enormous body of higher and lower officials with literary education which in the same period formed the bureaucratic apparatus of the empire.

The gentry was, in fact, anything but a homogeneous group. It was divided in a number of well-defined classes, from the ancient families (*jiumen* 舊門, *gaomen* 高門, *haozu* 毫族), which formed the highest nobility, monopolized the top functions and maintained a strict exclusivity, down to the members of cultured but relatively poor families, upstarts who seldom were admitted to the company of the old gentry families and had to fill the lower ranks in the magistracy. It would certainly go too far to regard the middle and lower grade officials (who naturally constituted the majority) as members of an *élite* of feudal land-owners. Even if the family possessed a considerable amount of landed property, the frequent shifts from one local post to another often at enormous distances from the family base without any adequate means of money transfer and, since the beginning of the fourth century, the occupation of Northern China by non-Chinese rulers which virtually secluded those magistrates who had fled to the South from their ancestral domains make it very probable that a great number of the magistrates mainly or exclusively depended upon their official emoluments and the numerous other, less official, ways to enrichment which stood at the magistrate's disposal.[6]

The basic characteristic of the whole gentry class is and remains the more or less standardized classical literary education (during this period not coupled with any kind of literary examination), qualifying for (but not necessarily

leading to) the career of a government official. Consequently we shall make use of the words "gentry" and "*intelligentsia*" as almost synonymous terms, the only difference in connection with our subject being that "*intelligentsia*" includes the cultured members of the clergy, whereas the term "gentry", referring, by definition, to those who filled or were entitled to fill posts in the official hierarchy, naturally does not. But at this point another problem arises.

The cultured clergy

As we shall see, the late third and early fourth century AD witness the formation of a wholly new type of Chinese intellectual *élite*, consisting of cultured monks who, by a fruitful combination of Buddhist doctrine and traditional Chinese scholarship, were able to develop the particular type of Buddhism which spread among the upper classes and which we therefore have called "gentry Buddhism".

Must we not assume that the cultured members of the fourth and early fifth century Chinese clergy actually belonged to the gentry in spite of their special social status and function, simply on account of the fact that their literary education (irrespective of the way in which they had acquired it) enabled them to share in contemporary gentry culture and even profoundly to influence that culture? Must we not even suppose that the learned "Master of the Law" who preached the doctrine in gentry circles and created an atmosphere favourable for the spread of Buddhism in these circles actually *was* a member of the gentry, a potential magistrate from a good family who, after having obtained the usual classical education, for some reason or other had chosen not to enter the official career but to become a *jushi*, a "retired gentleman", of a new type: a scholar-monk, nevertheless remaining in touch with the members of his social class, extolling in their midst the doctrine which had given him the opportunity to withdraw from the bustle of the world?

Or was he rather an upstart, coming from an illiterate *milieu*, who somehow, in or outside the monastery, had acquired a degree of literary education which brought him on a par with the cultured laity, and thus enabled him to include the gentry in his missionary activities? To put the problem more concisely: was the Chinese clerical *intelligentsia* originally recruited from the gentry and consequently a part of it, or was it a kind of "intellectual proletariat" and consequently its counterpart?

For an answer we have to turn to the "Biographies of Eminent Monks", the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (compiled ca. 530 by the monk Huijiao 慧皎)—a work which, in spite of some evident shortcomings, remains the most important source for the history of early gentry Buddhism.[7]

The first fact to be noted is that many among the famous monks of the period in question are said to have lived in rather poor and difficult circumstances before entering the order. Huiyuan 慧遠 is unable to buy candles and other requisites for his study.[8] Daoheng 道恆 lives in great poverty, sustaining himself with painting and embroidery.[9] Sengzhao 僧肇 works as a copyist in a bookshop;[10] Huirui 慧叡 is kidnapped, becomes a slave and is ransomed by a merchant.[11] Tanyong 曇邕 has been commander in Fu Jian's army and becomes a priest after having escaped from the massacre at Feishui 淝水 in 383.[12] The *upāsaka* Wei Shidu 衛士度 comes from a "cold family" 寒門,[13] Tanjie 曇戒 is said to have lived in great poverty.[14] Sengdu 僧度 comes

from a "poor and insignificant (family)",[15] and Zhu Fakuang 竺法曠 works in the field to sustain himself and his stepmother.[16]

But let us be careful. Poverty is one of the virtues of the priest, and, like the biographies of magistrates in the official Chinese histories,[17] the *Gaoseng zhuan* shows a tendency to standardize the lives of its heroes according to traditionally fixed patterns. The ideal monk is poor—in fact, he calls himself "poor monk" 貧道, an appellation which does not seem to have any Indian counterpart. At the beginning of his career he is despised, until an important layman or Buddhist master recognizes his unusual talents. His knowledge and wisdom grow fast, and seem to contrast with his insignificant bodily appearance. He is able to memorize in a very short time stupendous amounts of texts without forgetting one syllable. He develops supernatural powers such as knowing future or distant events, taming ferocious animals and conversing with spirits and other non-human beings. He knows the date of his death beforehand; his passing away is accompanied by visions and other supernatural events. Hence we must take care not to attach more importance to general statements about a monk's poverty than to the arcadic simplicity of the scholar's life which is one of the stereotyped themes in traditional Chinese poetry.

However, even if we take no account of the trappings of hagiography and stylistic enbellishment, we must still make out what is meant when the texts say that a certain cultured monk came from a poor family. Is it the utter pauperism of a vagrant peasant family or the relative poverty of a small official? Wei Shidu comes from a "cold home", but the term *hanmen*, frequently used in secular biographical literature, definitely denotes a relatively insignificant *gentry* family. In the same way Zhu Sengdu, who is said to have come from a destitute family, was before his entering the order engaged to a daughter of a member of the local gentry (衣冠之家) named Yang Deshen 楊德慎. Tanjie who was "dwelling in poverty" actually was, according to the same biography, a younger brother of a prefect of Jiyang 棘陽 called Zhuo Qian 桌潛.

At least in the cases of these three individuals it is clear that the statements concerning the poverty of their families must be taken *cum grano salis* and that we actually have to do with members (or rather ex-members) of modest and *relatively* poor gentry families.

Secondly, it may be of some importance to note that a conspicuously large number of monks entered the monastery as orphans.[18] The way in which this fact is usually stated suggests a causal connection between the orphan's helpless condition (which would certainly not be the case if the child came from a rich family) and its entering in the order.

Thirdly, an argument *ex silentio* which, however, in this connection is of great importance. Of more than 80% of the Chinese monks whose biographies are contained in the *Gaoseng zhuan* the original (non-clerical) surname (and, in a great number of cases, also the place of origin) are unknown. It is highly questionable whether this would have been the case if many among them would have belonged to illustrious families: in fact, the *Gaoseng zhuan* devotes a whole paragraph to a certain monk Daobao 道寶, who seems only to have been mentioned there because he was a younger brother of the prime minister Wang Dao 王導 (267–339).

In the fourth place: among the ca. 80 fourth century Chinese monks who

figure in the *Gaoseng zhuan* we find only eleven individuals who appear to have belonged to gentry families; in only six cases the family relation with a certain magistrate or scholar is specified.

(1) Bo Yuan 帛遠 and his younger brother
(2) Bo Fazuo 帛法祚 (ca. 300 AD) are sons of a Confucian scholar named Wan Weida 萬威達 (not mentioned in other sources).
(3) Zhu (Dao)qian 竺[道]潛 (286–373) is a brother of the minister and rebel Wang Dun 王敦 (266–324).[19]
(4) Shi Daobao 釋道寶 is a younger brother of the minister Wang Dao 王導 (267–330).[20]
(5) Tanjie 曇戒 is a younger brother of a prefect of Jiyang 棘陽 (Henan) named Zhuo Qian 桌潛 (not mentioned elsewhere).[21]
(6) Senglue 僧䂮 is the son of an intendant of the Palace Gentlemen (郎中令) named Fu Jia 傅假 (not mentioned elsewhere).[22]
(7) Zhu Faya 竺法雅 (1st half 4th cent.) "as a youth excelled in secular learing, when he had grown up he became well-versed in the principles of Buddhism" 少山外學.長通佛理.[23]
(8) Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366), the greatest propagator of Buddhism among the gentry at the Southern capital, before he entered the order had already connections with members of the highest families, notably with Wang Meng 王濛 (309–347).[24]
(9) Shi Dao'an 釋道安 (312–385), came from a family of Confucian scholars.[25]
(10) Shi Huiyuan 釋慧遠 (334–416) went in 346 together with his maternal uncle to Xuchang and Luoyang where he spent seven years in literary studies.[26]
(11) Shi Huichi 釋慧持 (337–412), younger brother of Huiyuan; excelled in historical studies and literary composition.[27]

This short list of the exceptional cases of monks who *are known* to have belonged to the gentry includes practically all of the most illustrious names of the history of Chinese Buddhism in the 4th century AD, and this fact allows us to define more clearly the way in which Buddhism conquered the higher and highest strata of medieval Chinese society.

The spread of Buddhism among the gentry was an almost exclusively Chinese affair, in which the foreign missionaries hardly took part. It was accomplished in the course of the fourth century by a restricted number of Chinese monks of great fame and standing, whose names occur again and again in contemporary literature. Bo Yuan, Zhu Daoqian, Zhi Dun, Zhu Faya, Shi Dao'an, Shi Huiyuan and Shi Huichi are exactly those masters who have played a leading role in the propagation of Buddhism in gentry circles; our list proves that all of them actually came from gentry families. They constituted, so to say, the cultural and social vanguard of the Church, consisting of learned and highly respected "gentlemen-monks" who, whilst freely moving in the *milieu* that was theirs by birth and education, could preach their version of the doctrine with the authority of a Chinese scholar and with the polished eloquence of a *qingtan* adept. Traditional Chinese scholarship functioned as a medium to bring the gentry in contact with the Church and its doctrine—a fact which helps to explain much that is peculiar in early gentry Buddhism.

However, the data which we have mentioned above seem to indicate that provenance from gentry families was exceptional, and that the majority of the most illustrious monks (even those whose lives were deemed worthy to be included in the *Gaoseng zhuan*) was of rather lowly origin. The cultured clergy differed from the rest of the Chinese *intelligentsia* in that it was relatively free from class discrimination—a fact which is of considerable interest for the social history of class-ridden medieval China.[28]

In this, the Chinese *saṅgha* was in accordance with the Indian Buddhist tradition. Those who have accepted the tonsure and donned the monk's cloak have become "ascetics belonging to the son of the Śākyas" (*śramaṇāḥ śākyaputrīyāḥ*) for whom all worldly distinctions, including those of caste, have ceased to be.[29] The existence of castes in the world is regarded as a purely secular and social institution, a hereditary division of tasks and labour which had become necessary in the distant past; it does not possess, as in Brahmanism, a religious significance or justification. A famous passage compares the *saṅgha*, in which all caste distinctions have vanished, with the ocean in which the waters from the five great rivers lose their identity.[30]

We may therefore assume that the monastery, as soon as it became a centre of learning and culture, must have been highly attractive to talented members of lower class families whom it enabled to share to some extent in the cultural life of the gentry. There is ample evidence to the fact that in the fourth century the monastery developed a secondary function as an institute of secular learning and education. Dao'an, who in 323 became a novice at the age of eleven, must have obtained at least part of his education in the monastery.[31] When Tanhui 曇徽 at the same age became a novice under Dao'an, the latter ordered him to study the secular literature: "during two or three years he studied the classics and the histories".[32] Another of Dao'an's disciples, Daoli 道立, became a novice as a young boy; since later in his life he was known as a specialist on Laozi, Zhuangzi and the Yijing, we must conclude that he studied these works (and expounded them) in the monastery.[33] The same holds good for Senglue, who "mastered the six classics and the Tripiṭaka" after having joined the order,[34] and for Daorong 道融, who after having become a novice at the usual age of eleven was ordered by his Buddhist master to devote himself to secular studies (外學).[35] Sengji 僧濟, one of Huiyuan's disciples, studied under his guidance Buddhist and non-Buddhist scriptures[36] at the great Buddhist centre on Lu Shan where Huiyuan is known to have expounded the Confucian Rites and the Odes.[37]

We may conclude that the new intellectual *élite*, the cultured clergy, was a group of a very heterogeneous nature. During the fourth century the actual *leaders* of the Church were almost without exception converted members of gentry families; the majority of the cultured clergy may, however, have come from the lower strata of society. This means a novum in Chinese cultural history: the monastic ideal which Buddhism had introduced into China as part of its Indian heritage had created a new form of social organisation in which the rigid class boundaries of medieval China were effaced, and in which persons of the most diverse origin were enabled to engage in intellectual activities. The development of the monastery as a centre of learning and culture is closely connected with this aspect of the monastic life.

Early sources

There is no Chinese text which is wholly or partially devoted to our subject; the information concerning the penetration of Buddhism in gentry circles and the development of gentry Buddhism has to be assembled from a great variety of sources. Contemporary information is scarce, and for most of it we have to depend upon the compilations of Liang and early Tang authors, i.e. of the sixth and seventh century.

The early Buddhist literature pertaining to our subject may be divided in two classes: historical-biographical works and works of an apologetic-propagandistic nature.

A. *Historical-biographical works*

(1) The *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (T 2059), 14 ch., is by far the most important work dealing with the early history of the Church. It was compiled probably around 530 AD by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), and contains 257 major and 243 subordinate biographies of eminent monks from the middle of the first century down to the year 519 AD. On account of its excellent qualities, both as a historical work and as a literary production, the *Gaoseng zhuan* has become the prototype of all later Buddhist biographical compilations. It must, however, be used critically. The author has largely drawn upon earlier collections of popular legends and tales; historical facts are often embedded in a mass of hagiographic material and must, wherever possible, be confirmed by external evidence preferably from non-Buddhist sources. For all data concerning the *GSZ*, its author, its sources and a survey of modern oriental and occidental studies on this subject the reader may be referred to Arthur F. Wright's excellent study "Huijiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*" in the *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyūsho*, Kyōto University (Kyōto 1954), pp. 383–432.

(2) The *Chu sanzangji ji* 出三藏記集, "Collection of notes concerning the translation of the *Tripiṭaka*" in 15 ch. (T 2145; hereafter abbreviated *CSZJJ*) by Sengyou 僧祐 (435–518), first published in 515, and revised by the author shortly before his death.[38] Among the eighteen works which Huijiao in his postface to the *GSZ* mentions as his sources, this is the only one which has been preserved intact. As the title indicates, it is basically a description of the formation and the contents of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, in which the author has combined the information from various older bibliographies, notably the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 總理眾經目錄 compiled by Dao'an (314–385) in 374 AD. In the last three *juan* Sengyou gives 32 biographies of famous monks, mainly translators and exegetes. Huijiao has drawn upon these biographies in compiling the corresponding sections of the *GSZ* to such an extent that large parts of many biographies show a practically verbatim correspondence. Valuable, often contemporary, information is found in many prefaces and colophons which Sengyou has included in the other chapters of his work. Ch. XII contains the table of contents of a now lost collection of Chinese Buddhist literature, the *Falun* 法論, compiled shortly after 465 by the scholar Lu Cheng 陸澄 (425–494),[39] in 103 ch.

(3) The *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 (hereafter abbreviated *BQNZ*), the "Biographies of nuns" in 4 ch. (T 2063) was compiled by Baochang 寶唱

in 517 AD. It contains the lives of 65 famous nuns, covering the period from the middle of the 4th century down to the year 516.

(4) The *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳, one of the main sources used by Huijiao in compiling the *GSZ*, was also written by Baochang. The original work, soon supplanted by Huijiao's more extensive and better organized compilation, has been lost. It was begun in 510 and completed in 519. A number of excerpts have been preserved in the *Meisōdenshō* 名僧傳抄 by the Japanese monk Shūshō 宗性, who made these extracts in 1235 from a *Mingseng zhuan* manuscript in the Tōdaiji at Nara, and in the same author's *Miroku-nyorai kannōshō* 弥勒如來感應抄. The value of these works as historical source material is diminished by the fact that Shūshō in the selection of his topics was led by his interest in certain religious themes, notably the manifestations of the merciful power of the Bodhisattvas. The *Meisōdenshō* has been published in the *Zoku-zōkyō* (Tōkyō), II. 2, 7.1; all excerpts made by Shūshō have been collected and discussed by Kasuga Reichi 春日禮智 in his "Jōdokyō-shiryō to shite no Meisōden-shishichō Meisōden-yōbunchō narabi ni Miroku-nyorai kannōshō dai-shi shoin no Meisōden ni tsuite" 浄土教史料としての名僧傳指示抄名僧傳要文抄並びに弥勒如來感應抄第四所引の名僧傳に就いて, *Shūkyō Kenkyū* 宗教研究 XII (1936) 53–118; cf. A. F. Wright, *op. cit.* p. 408 sqq.

B. *Early apologetic and propagandistic literature*

The penetration of Buddhism in gentry circles gave rise to a body of apologetic and propagandistic literature, some specimens of which have been preserved. These treatises, in which gentry Buddhism reveals its most characteristic features, are generally of a rather poor literary and philosophical quality, but of great value as contemporary documents bearing witness to the impact of Buddhism on Chinese medieval thought and society.

The points of controversy were not the same in Indian and in Chinese Buddhism. In Indian Buddhism a host of fundamental notions are simply taken for granted: conceptions like *karman*, rebirth, universal suffering and impermanence as well as the ideal of the religious life as a way to escape from it, the cyclic development of the universe in terms of cosmic periods (*kalpa*) and the existence of innumerable worlds (*lokadhātu*), the efficacy of meritorious works etc.—all these belonged to the general Indian worldview of the period and were in no way characteristic of the Buddhist doctrine. However, in China these points became strange innovations, often incompatible with well-established traditional notions in Chinese thought. The Chinese devotees had to build up their own defense and did so, on the whole, with great ingenuity.

On the other hand, the theory which in Indian Buddhism constitutes the very essence of the doctrine by which it is most sharply distinguished from other schools of thought, viz. the doctrine of the non-existence of the permanent ego (*anātmya*) was completely misunderstood by the Chinese, monks and laymen alike, before the 5th century AD. The Chinese (not unreasonably) were unable to see in the doctrine of rebirth anything else than an affirmation of the survival of the "soul" (*shen* 神) after death (神不滅). Thus we find the queer situation that in the 4th and early 5th century the Chinese Buddhists defend the immortality of the soul—a monstrous form of *satkāyadṛṣṭi*—

against the attacks of traditionalists who hold it to be "annihilated" 滅 or "transformed" 化 at the moment of physical death.[40]

In general the argumentation in Chinese apologetic literature is stereotyped: we find the same answers to the same questions repeated *ad nauseam*. The standard form is that of a dialogue between imaginary opponents; on the other hand an important role is played by correspondence on doctrinal subjects.

The authors—quite often cultured laymen—carry out their "lay apostolate" not by proving the superiority of the Buddhist doctrine and the monastic life on their own grounds (their rather scanty knowledge of the doctrine makes it improbable that they even could do so), but by trying to harmonize Buddhist notions and practices with pre-existing Chinese conceptions. It is very difficult to make out in how far the text of these apologetic treatises represents the author's own ideas and convictions, and whether they really reflect the level of their own understanding of the foreign doctrine. Generally speaking, we may assume that the extreme hybridization displayed in this type of literature was the result of a general process of borrowing and adaptation which was not consciously realized by the individual writers. Even Chinese monks, for reasons which have been mentioned above, could only have a vague notion about the original and (from an Indianist's point of view) "pure" message of Buddhism, so that they, when preaching or defending the doctrine in a literate milieu, could show their partisans or antagonists no more than the same faint shadow of Buddhism which they had perceived themselves.

There are, however, definite indications that at least in some cases syncretism was *consciously* applied as a tactical device to elucidate the foreign doctrine for the literate Chinese public through the medium of traditional Chinese philosophy and literature. The various treatises in which Huiyuan (334–416) explains the meaning of *karman*, rebirth and the immortality of the soul and defends the rights of the clergy (see below no. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13) teem with quotations from and allusions to *Laozi, Zhuangzi*, the pseudo-*Wenzi*, the *Yijing* and other works of classical literature. But in his extensive correspondence with Kumārajīva[41] one looks in vain for even one allusion to any Chinese scripture or the use of any terminology current in Chinese philosophy (with the exception of the term *yinyang* 陰陽 which occurs only once)[42]—a curious fact which has already been noticed by the Russian sinologue J. Ščuckij in his article "Ein Dauist im chinesischen Buddhismus" (trsl. by W. A. Unkrig, *Sinica* XV, 1940, pp. 114–129).

When still a disciple of Dao'an (312–385), Huiyuan was especially authorized by his master to use *Zhuangzi* in explaining the meaning of certain Buddhist terms,[43] whereas Dao'an in doing so merely allowed his favourite pupil to continue the practice of *geyi* 格義, i.e. elucidating Buddhist terms, notably numerical categories (*shu* 數), with the help of notions extracted from traditional Chinese philosophy. It is expressly stated that this method, which Dao'an himself had inaugurated together with Zhu Faya 竺法雅[44] but which he abandoned at a later date,[45] was created for the sake of "scholars of distinguished families" 衣冠士子, i.e. the cultured laymen.

One may even think of the words of Mouzi, who, when asked why he only quotes Chinese texts instead of Buddhist sûtras in support of his arguments, answers:

> "It is because *you* know the contents (of the classics) that I quote them. If I should speak about the words of the Buddhist sūtras and explain the essential meaning of *Nirvāṇa* (無為), it would be like speaking about the five colours to the blind, or playing the five tones to the deaf".[46]

Most works of an apologetic and propagandistic nature are contained in the collections *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (T 2102, compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 probably between 515 and 518;[47] hereafter abbreviated *HMJ*) and *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (T 2103, compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 in 664; hereafter abbreviated *GHMJ*). The following treatises and documents are the most important early specimens of this kind of literature.

(1) *Mouzi* 牟子, *Lihuo lun* 理惑論; *HMJ* I 1.2–7.1.

A polemic treatise consisting of a supposedly autobiographical preface, thirty-eight short sections of dialogue and a concluding paragraph in which the imaginary opponent acknowledges the superiority of Buddhism. According to Yu Jiaxi (in his article on *Mouzi* mentioned below) the original title of the treatise was *Zhihuo lun* 治惑論, 治 having been changed into 理 on account of a Tang taboo. According to its preface the *Mouzi* (as it usually is called) was written at the end of the second century AD by a Chinese scholar-official of Buddhist inclinations in the extreme South of the empire (Cangwu 蒼梧 in Jiaozhou 交州); its authenticity forms an almost insoluble problem. The early history of the text (if it had one) is wholly obscure; the treatise is neither mentioned nor quoted anywhere before the second half of the fifth century, when Lu Cheng 陸澄 (425–494) included it in his collection of Chinese Buddhist literature, the *Falun* 法論 (compiled shortly after 465; table of contents preserved in *CSZJJ* XII 82.3.29 sqq). From that time onward the *Mouzi* enjoys a great popularity. Some leading scholars have rejected the *Mouzi* as a spurious work, e.g. Liang Qichao 梁啟超[48] ("a forgery made by someone of the Eastern Jin or Liu-Song period"), Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定,[49] according to whom the treatise has been concocted by the monk Huitong 慧通 (ca. 426–ca. 478). The first scholar who denied the authenticity of the present text was Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (born 1551) who in his *Sibu zhengwei* 四部正偽[50] supposed it to be "a forgery made by a scholar of the Six Dynasties, the Jin or the Song" (cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, pp. 279–280). Other scholars, far more numerous than these, are convinced of its authenticity and regard it as an invaluable source of information on the earliest history of Chinese Buddhism: Sun Yirang 孫詒讓,[51] Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫,[52] Hu Shi 胡適,[53] Tang Yongtong 湯用彤,[54] Henri Maspero[55] who has discovered an unmistakable correspondence between the story of the Buddha's life as given in the *Mouzi* and that found in the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 (T 185, trsl. in 222–229) and who consequently assigns the work to the second quarter of the third century; P. Pelliot in the introduction to his annotated translation of this treatise.[56] Finally most of these theories and opinions are compared and re-examined by Fukui Kōjun 福井康順 in an extensive study on *Mouzi*.[57] Mr. Fukui comes to the conclusion that the treatise was written around the middle of the third century AD. This is not the place to repeat the many arguments pro and contra the authenticity of the *Mouzi*, a very complicated problem, the difficulty of which is greatly enhanced by the remarkable fact that both parties are able to adduce rather solid and convincing arguments in support of their conflicting opinions. The most important fact

which pleads in favour of the authenticity of the present text is constituted by the historical information contained in the Preface, which exactly agrees with the account of the same happenings in the *Hou-Han shu* and *Sanguo zhi* without any trace of textual borrowing: two persons involved (the prefect of Yuzhang and the governor of Jiaozhou) are not mentioned by name in the Preface, but there they are said to be brothers; as has been ingeniously demonstrated by H. Maspero (*op. cit.*) these magistrates occur separately in the *Sanguo zhi* and *Hou-Han shu* under the names of Zhu Fu 朱符 and Zhu Hao 朱皓. These sources say nothing about their family relationship, but the identity of the surnames combined with the information furnished by the Preface of *Mouzi* makes it very probable that they were brothers.

Personally we cannot share Pelliot's optimism in regarding this as a conclusive proof of its authenticity. It is true that "les faux chinois se dénoncent le plus par leurs incohérences", whereas "la préface est au contraire d'une exactitude rigoureuse" (*op. cit.* p. 264), but this holds only good for *clumsy* forgeries like those mentioned by Pelliot (*ib.* p. 265): if several modern scholars have been able to connect the happenings described in the Preface with corresponding passages in the *SGZ* and *HHS*, there is no conceivable reason why a Buddhist scholar of the fourth or fifth century would have been unable to work the other way round and build up a narrative based upon various data extracted from these well-known sources.

In any case, the *Mouzi* did exist around the middle of the 5th century; it is, moreover, one of the most detailed and interesting specimens of early Chinese Buddhist apology. We shall therefore make use of it, gladly leaving the final verdict as to its authenticity to other investigators. In our (provisional) opinion the treatise was written considerably later than the second or even the third century AD—the general nature of the work with its systematical and highly developed argumentation (elsewhere only to be found in much later specimens of this genre) points to the fourth or early fifth century as the date of its production. Of the many anachronisms I may mention the following: (1) in section V the "opponent" speaks about the enormous size of Buddhist scriptures, no doubt referring to extensive sūtras of the *vaipulya*-type, but the earliest specimen of these sūtras known to the Chinese is Dharmaraksa's translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* of 286 AD. (2) Section XV contains an allusion to the *Vessantara-jātaka*, the earliest Chinese version of which is contained in the *Liudu jijing* 六度集經 translated some time between 247 and 280. (3) There is abundant evidence that *Mouzi* in the account of the introduction of Buddhism is inspired by the anonymous introduction to the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections" (*CSZJJ* VI 42.3), and although there is no way to define the exact date of this introduction, the opening words ("Anciently, *the Han emperor* Xiaoming saw at night a divine man in his dream—" 昔漢孝明黃蒂夜夢見神人—) clearly demonstrate that it was written after the Han. But the author of the *Mouzi* seems to have been aware of this, and in reproducing the opening lines of the "Introduction", he has taken care to omit the word "Han"! (4) In section XXXV the opponent says to have visited Khotan and to have conversed with Buddhist monks and (other) priests; apart from the utter improbability of this story in view of the political situation in China and in Central Asia in this period, it is highly questionable whether Khotan was already known (in Southern China!) as a centre of Buddhism as early as the second century AD.

One more remark about the Preface. Tokiwa Daijō has expressed the opinion (*op. cit.* p. 95 sqq.) that "Mouzi" is an imaginary figure created by a later author (according to him this was Huitong, see above) who provided this person with an historical background by linking him up with some events and personalities known from other sources. I believe that this view is corroborated by the fact that the Preface is definitely not autobiographical but of an eulogistic nature. Who could believe that a Chinese scholar in writing a preface to his own work would compare himself with Mencius, "refuting the (perverse doctrines of) Yang Zhu and Mo Di", that he would say that he was entrusted with a mission to Jingzhou "on account of his wide learning and great knowledge", that he "has a complete understanding of civil as well as military affairs, and the talent to react independently (to any situation)"? The Preface is, in fact, an idealized description of the scholar-official who leads a retired life far from the bustle of the world, repeatedly declines the official posts which are offered to him, finally feels constrained on moral grounds to accept a honorific mission, giving it up again when his mother dies, to spend the rest of his life in study and meditation.

(2) *Zhengwu lun* 正誣論, anon., *HMJ* I 7.1–9.1.

A refutation of a series of anti-Buddhist arguments from a lost polemic treatise which is partly incorporated in the text. The "capital Luo(yang)" is mentioned (京洛, p. 8.2.22) which would point at a date before the transfer of the capital to Jiankang in 316 AD. However, in one of the last paragraphs (p. 9.1.3) the death of Zhou Zhongzhi 周仲智 is referred to; Zhongzhi is the *zi* of the magistrate Zhou Song 周嵩 who according to his biography in *JS* 61 2a–3b was executed ca. 324 AD, which date consequently forms the *terminus post quem* for this treatise.

(3) *Mingfo lun* 明佛論 by Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443), *HMJ* II 9.2–16.1.

An important treatise, partly in the form of a dialogue. In a colophon at the end the author declares to have based his treatise on the ideas of Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) with whom he had stayed during fifty days on the Lu Shan.[58] However, the *Mingfo lun* was written a considerable time after Huiyuan's death: at the end of his first letter to He Chengtian (see below, nr. 5), p. 19.1.6, Zong Bing says that he is just writing this treatise, which consequently dates from ca. 433 AD. It has partly been translated by W. Liebenthal.[59]

(4) *Yu Dao lun* 喻道論 by Sun Chuo 孫綽 (ca. 300–380), *HMJ* III 16.2–17.3.

(5) Correspondence (five letters) between Zong Bing (see above) and He Chengtian 何承天 (370–447) pro and contra the ideas of Huilin 慧琳 as displayed in the latter's *Baihei lun* 白黑論;[60] *HMJ* III 17.3–21.3. The letters have been written ca. 433 AD, cf. Tang Yongtong, *op. cit.* p. 422.

(6) *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* 沙門不敬王者論 by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), *HMJ* V 29.3–32.2 = T 2108, *Ji shamen buying baisu dengshi* 集沙門不應拜俗等事 II 449.1.1–451.2.10. An important treatise in which the author defends the right of the clergy not to pay homage to the secular rulers. It was written in reaction to Huan Xuan's anticlerical policy. The work consists of an introduction, five sections (the last of which has hardly any connection with the problem in question, being an elaborate demonstration of the immortality of the soul) and a colophon (not reproduced in T 2108) in which the work is stated to have been composed in 404 AD "during the

disgrace of the Son of Heaven", i.e. during the short reign of the usurper Huan Xuan (Jan. 2–Aug. 18, 404). An outline of the contents is given in *GSZ* VI 360.3.19 sqq; from the words in which the fifth section is summarized it may be inferred that the present text of this section is incomplete. Some parts have been translated by W. Liebenthal;[61] in the Liebenthal Festschrift, *Sino-Indian Studies* Vol. V, Leon Hurvitz has given a complete translation of this treatise under the title "'Render unto Caesar' in Early Chinese Buddhism—Huiyuan's Treatise on the Exemption of the Buddhist Clergy from the Requirements of Civil Etiquette".

(7) *Gengsheng lun* 更生論 by Luo Han 羅含 (second half 4th cent.), *HMJ* V 27.2.3. A treatise on reincarnation, followed by objections by the historian Sun Sheng 孫盛 and an answer to these objections by Luo Han. W. Liebenthal[62] suggests 390 AD as the latest possible date. We must certainly go farther back. In Sun Sheng's biography[63] it is said that he served Tao Kan 陶侃, who died in 334, as an administrator (參軍). At that time he was already an adult (cf. the words at the beginning of his biography: 及長博學善言名理 etc.), and had, moreover, previously filled another office under Yin Hao. We may therefore assume that he was not born after 304.[64] Sheng had "crossed the Yangzi" (no doubt between 310 and 315 when the Northern provinces were conquered by the Xiongnu and a wholesale migration to the South took place) when he was ten years old, which again yields 300–305 as the period in which he was born. This, combined with the fact that he died at the age of 71[65] proves that this correspondence cannot be later than 376, and most probably dates from before 373 when both Luo Han and Sun Sheng were in office under the general Huan Wen 桓溫 (312–373).[66]

(8) *Shamen tanfu lun* 沙門袒服論 by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), *HMJ* V. 32.2–33.2. A short treatise "on the *śramaṇa's* dress which leaves (the left shoulder) bare"; objections by He Wuji 何無忌 (?–410); answer by Huiyuan. The fact that He Wuji is referred to as "the (General-) Commander of the South" 鎮南, proves that the letters were written between 409 when He obtained this title[67] and his death in 410.[68]

(9) *Ming baoying lun* 明報應論 by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), *HMJ* V 33.2–34.2. A treatise on karmic retribution, written in answer to a letter of Huan Xuan. Translated by W. Liebenthal in *JAOS* and *Mon. Nipp.*, see above, note 61.

(10) *Sanbaolun* 三報論 by Huiyuan, *HMJ* V 34.2. On the three types of karmic retribution. The treatise seems partly to be based on the *Apitanxin lun* 阿毘曇心論 (? *Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*) translated in 391 by Saṅghadeva (= T 1550) on Lu Shan at Huiyuan's request. English translation by W. Liebenthal, see above, note 61.

(11) Correspondence between Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) and Wang Mi 王謐 (360–407) about the right of the clergy not to pay homage to temporal rulers, 論道人應敬王事 (eight letters). *HMJ* XII 80.3–83.2. Written early in 402.

(12) Correspondence between Huan Xuan and Huiyuan on the same subject (cf. *GSZ* VI 360.3.4), *HMJ* XII 83.3–84.2. Three letters written in 402.

(13) Letter of Huiyuan to Huan Xuan "On the examination and selection of the clergy" 論料簡沙門書, *HMJ* XII 85.3. Written ca. 402 (cf. *GSZ* VI 360.2.18).

(14) Letter (said to be of Zhi Daolin 支道林, i.e. the famous Zhi Dun

支遁, 314–366) to Huan Xuan about the provincial registration of monks, *Zhi Daolin fashi yu Huan Xuan lun zhoufu qiu shamen mingji shu* 支道林法師與桓玄論州符求沙門名籍書 dated May 25, 399, *HMJ* XII 85.3. Of course the letter cannot have been written by Zhi Dun to whom it is attributed in *HMJ*. This, however, is no reason to regard it as a forgery:[69] the letter itself does not contain any allusion to either Zhi Dun or Huan Xuan. It even begins with the words: "(We), the monks (plural! 沙門等) in the capital respectfully report—", whereas (in col. 4) the writers refer to themselves as "(we), poor priests" 貧道等.

(15) *Fengfa yao* 奉法要, "Convert's Vademecum" (title wrongly translated as "Presenting the Essentials of the Dharma" by W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Zhao* p. 156 note 678). A kind of compendium of lay Buddhism by Xi Chao 郄超 (336–377), *HMJ* XIII 86.1–89.2. See the Appendix to ch. III, where a translation of this treatise is given.

(16) Correspondence between Dai Kui 戴逵 (?–396), Huiyuan and Zhou Xuzhi 周續之 (377–423) about Dai Kui's treatise "On the resolution of doubtful (points)", *Shiyi lun* 釋疑論; the text of the treatise is followed by eight letters, *GHMJ* XVIII 221.3–224.1. Zhou, who was one of Huiyuan's lay followers on Lu Shan, cannot have been more than 19 years old when he wrote these letters. This is by no means improbable—his companion Lei Cizong 雷次宗 who took the Amitābha-vow in 402 (*GSZ* VI 353.3.18) was born in 386 and consequently was a sixteen years old boy when he joined the circle of lay devotees on Lu Shan.

To sum up: The basic sources consist of historical works, apologetic treatises and letters on doctrinal subjects; the last two categories are made up by the forty documents listed above under sixteen headings. Most of these belong to the period 380–433. Of the sixteen documents or groups of documents described above only seven (nrs. 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14) have wholly or partly been written by monks (leaving aside the problem of the authorship of the *Mouzi*). One (nr. 2) is anonymous; all other treatises and letters have been written by laymen. Not listed are our additional sources: numerous works of secular Chinese literature which in some passages, sometimes only in few words, contain information on our subject. The titles of these works will be found in the bibliography.

CHAPTER TWO

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

from the first to the beginning of the fourth century AD.

Fourth century Chinese Buddhism, and especially the characteristic type of gentry Buddhism which at that time flourished on Chinese territory south of the Yangzi and which forms the main subject of our study, was the final stage of a process which actually must have started as soon as Buddhism made its first converts among the Chinese intelligentsia. We do not know when this happened. As we have said before, the first clear signs of the formation of an "upper class" Chinese Buddhism, of the activities of gentlemen-monks and of the penetration of Buddhism into the life and thought of the cultured higher strata of society date from the late third and early fourth century, and there are several reasons to assume that this movement as a whole did not start long before that time.

However, this does not mean that this subject can be studied without constant reference to the earlier phases of Chinese Buddhism, and to the little we know about the period of incubation when Buddhism started to take root in Chinese soil, tolerated and hardly noticed as a creed of foreigners, or adopted, in a Daoist guise, as a new road to immortality. In this chapter the reader will be confronted with the main facts of the earliest phases of Chinese Buddhism. On this subject much has already been said by others, for it is a curious fact that in Chinese Buddhism no period has been studied more thoroughly than the one about which almost nothing can be known. Whenever possible, we have referred to or paraphrased the opinions and conclusions of previous scholars in this field; most of all we are indebted to Tang Yongtong who in the first chapters of his *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi* has treated this period in his usual masterly fashion. This survey merely serves as an historical introduction to the later chapters; it goes without saying that it only contains the outlines of a development which lasted more than two centuries. Some aspects, like the earliest Buddhist "*dhyāna*" techniques in China in their relation to analogous Daoist practices, and the extremely complicated bibliographical problems connected with the earliest translations of Buddhist scriptures will only be mentioned in passing; an adequate treatment of these subjects would require much more space than can reasonably be allotted to them in an introductory chapter of this kind.

Buddhism in secular historical works.

It is an unfortunate circumstance that for reliable information concerning the earliest period of Chinese Buddhism (apart from translation activities) we have to rely mainly upon Chinese secular historical literature; as we shall see presently, Buddhist accounts of the introduction of the Doctrine into

China are of a definitely legendary nature. This circumstance is unfortunate because no kind of literature could be less suited to this purpose. Chinese historians are as a rule not interested in religious affairs as long as they have no direct relation to politics or to government circles, and even less in the religious practices of foreigners on Chinese soil.

This means that the few passages about Buddhism which occur in early Chinese historical works are, so to speak, casual remarks made by the historiographer in the course of his narrative. Apart from a few phrases in the *Hou-Han ji*, a fourth century history of the Later Han dynasty, none of these passages were written or included with the intention of saying something about Buddhism *itself*. In one case, Buddhism happens to be mentioned in an edict of 65 AD, this edict being quoted by the compiler of the *Hou-Han shu* in connection with the dealings of an imperial prince. In another case it is alluded to in a memorial criticizing the dissolute behaviour of the emperor. A third time an extremely interesting description is given of the building of a Buddhist temple by a Chinese magistrate, but here again the story is inserted by the historian in order to stress the reckless squandering of money and labour by this magistrate, and it is definitely not intended to picture the building of a Buddhist sanctuary as such. The whole passage about Liu Ying's Buddhist activities in 65 AD turns around the central fact of his voluntary redemption of an imaginary punishment and the imperial reaction to this virtuous gesture; if in that year the possibility of redemption of punishment would not have been opened by imperial decree, the official history would certainly have been silent about Liu Ying's religious zeal, and in that case Han Buddhism would have begun for us one full century later, in the middle of the second century AD!

It follows that we must take care not to overestimate the importance of these passages. They certainly do not indicate the beginning of Buddhism in China, nor are they in any way representative of the spread of Buddhism at the time they were written down. They are important as symptoms of conditions which, by a fortuitous combination of *external* circumstances, *happen* to have been recorded. The one conclusion of primary importance which they allow us to make is that even at this very early period Buddhism had in some way or other made contact with the upper strata of society, as is proved by the very fact of its being mentioned in Chinese historical literature.

Apocryphal stories and traditions.

In later times the introduction and earliest history of Buddhism in China became a favourite theme of Buddhist apocryphal literature. Many of these stories obviously had a propagandistic function: they served to enhance the prestige of the Buddhist Church either by telling tales of its triumphant entrance at the imperial court and the immediate conversion of the Chinese emperor, or by demonstrating the early existence of Buddhism on Chinese soil.

We propose to treat this subject in another connection (see below, ch. V); here we shall only say a few words about those traditions the apocryphal character of which is less obvious, and which sometimes have been actually accepted as historical facts by modern scholars. We shall mainly confine ourselves to an enumeration of the traditions in question, the sources, and the conclusions reached by previous investigators.

(a) The arrival of a group of Buddhist priests, headed by the *śramaṇa*

Shilifang 室利防 with a number of sūtras at the capital of Qin Shihuangdi (221–208 BC). The First Emperor, unwilling to accept the doctrine, immediately had them put in jail. But at night the prison was broken open by a Golden Man, sixteen feet high, who released them. Moved by this miracle, the emperor bowed his head to the ground and excused himself.

Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) appears to have been among the very few modern scholars who were willing to accept this tradition—a fact which is remarkable in view of his otherwise over-critical attitude in dealing with early Chinese Buddhism. His argument, *viz.* that Shilifang could have been one of the missionaries sent out by Aśoka, is of course no longer tenable.[1] The story is very late, being for the first time attested in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 of 597 AD,[2] the same work which credits Shilifang with the compilation of a catalogue containing the titles of the works which he brought to the Qin court; the *Gu (-jing) lu* 古[經]錄.[3]

(b) When in 120 BC the huge artificial lake of Kunming 昆明 (in Shanxi) was dug (a genuine historical fact),[4] a mysterious black substance was found at great depth. The emperor questioned the famous eccentric scholar Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 about its origin, and the latter is reported to have answered: "I do not know. But you may ask the barbarians from the West". When these were asked the same question, they answered: "These are the ashes which remain after the conflagration (at the end of a) *kalpa*". This is the form in which we find this story e.g. in the late third century anonymous *Sanfu gushi* 三輔故事.[5]

O. Franke regarded this as a proof of the existence of Buddhist monks at Chang'an in the second half of the second century BC.[6] In his review of O. Franke's article, Maspero[7] has traced the various early versions of this anecdote; he concludes that it is found for the first time in the *Zhiguai* 志怪 by Cao Pi 曹毗 (second half third century),[8] and here the story runs differently: since Dongfang Shuo does not know the answer, the emperor deems it unnecessary to ask other people. Later, when the foreign monks arrive at Luoyang under emperor Ming (58–75 AD), one of these gives the explanation mentioned above. The same version is found in the *GSZ*, where it is Zhu Falan himself (cf. below, sub f) who reveals the nature of the black substance.[9] This story is evidently based on the legend of emperor Ming's dream and the arrival of the first missionaries at Luoyang, and consequently it can hardly be older than the third century AD. Tang Yongtong (*op. cit.* p. 9) signals a third version of this tradition, alluded to in Zong Bing's *Mingfo lun* (ca. 433 AD, cf. above, p. 15 sub 3), where Dongfang Shuo himself is said to have solved the problem.[10]

(c) Wei Shou 魏收 (506–572), the compiler of the *Weishu*, the history of the Tuoba Wei, states in the chapter on Buddhism and Daoism of this work that the famous explorer Zhang Qian 張騫, who in 138 BC was sent to the country of the Yuezhi and "opened up the West", after his return to China reported on Buddhism in India, "and then the Chinese for the first time heard about Buddhism".[11] The same tradition in an even more apodictic form is repeated by Daoxuan in his *Guang hongming ji* of 664 AD.[12] The story is certainly apocryphal—as we shall see, the compiler of the *Hou-Han shu*, the history of the Later Han (hence before 446), even stresses the fact that Zhang Qian in his reports on the Western regions never mentioned Buddhism.

Zhang Qian (second half second cent. BC) plays also an important role in the earliest versions of the legend of emperor Ming's dream (below, sub f—an enormous anachronism, for this event was supposed to have happened ca. 64 AD). However, since Wei Shou in relating this legend follows the *GSZ* where Zhang Qian does not figure, there seems to be no connection between the two Buddhist traditions concerning the Han traveller.

(d) The famous golden statue of the Hun king which in 120 BC was captured by the Han general Huo Qubing 霍去病 in the region of Kara-nor, and which in the earliest sources is named "the golden man (used by) the king of the Xiuchu 休屠 in sacrificing to Heaven",[13] has sometimes been regarded as a Buddhist image. This no doubt erroneous interpretation does not seem to be of Buddhist origin; it is already found in a gloss of the third century commentator Zhang Yan 張晏.[14] But in somewhat later sources the Buddhist element is further developed: the statue is brought to China and placed in the Ganquan palace 甘泉宮; it is more than ten feet high; emperor Wu (140–87 BC) in sacrificing to it does not use animals, but merely prostrates himself and burns incense before it, and "this is how Buddhism gradually spread into (China)".[15]

(e) Liu Jun 劉畯 (died 521) in his commentary to the *Shishuo xinyu* gives a quotation from the preface of the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳, a collection of Daoist hagiography ascribed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (80–8 BC). In this passage the compiler declares that he collected biographies of Immortals (仙人) to a total number of 146,

> "but seventy-four of these already occur in the Buddhist scriptures, and therefore I have (only) compiled seventy (-two biographies)".[16]

Different conclusions have been drawn from this passage, which does not occur in the present text of the *Liexian zhuan*. O. Franke (*op. cit.*) on the one hand does not believe in Liu Xiang's authorship of the present text, which in his opinion dates from the third or the fourth century AD, but on the other hand he regards this early quotation as a reliable piece of evidence for the existence of Buddhism in China in the first century BC. Maspero points out that the *Liexian zhuan*, falsely attributed to Liu Xiang, is in any case a Han work, since it is twice quoted by Ying Shao 應邵 in his *Hanshu yinyi* 漢書音義 (2nd half 2nd cent.). That this passage does not occur in the present text does not mean that it is a later interpolation: the text which we have now is corrupt and very lacunose, and only a part of the original preface has been preserved. Maspero firmly believes that these phrases occurred in the original *Liexian zhuan*: "ce serait, avec le mémorial de Siang Kiai, la plus ancienne mention connue du Bouddhisme dans la littérature profane".[17] Tang Yongtong (*History* p. 14) points out that the tradition is known to Zong Bing at the beginning of the fifth century, but that it is already regarded as an interpolation by Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–595) in his *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓,[18] which opinion he shares.

From the early fifth century onward we find another highly improbable tradition, according to which Liu Xiang discovered in the Tianlu Pavillion 天錄閣 sixty *juan* of Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures which under Qin Shihuangdi had been hidden in order to save them from the burning of the books ordered by that despot;[19] Zong Bing's theory of the lost texts (which will be treated in Ch. V) may have been influenced by this tale.

(f) A very famous story, the apocryphal character of which has only been recognized in modern times, deals with the "official" introduction of Buddhism into China under emperor Ming (58–75 AD). Instigated by a dream, he is said to have sent a group of envoys (in the oldest versions headed by Zhang Qian, who died in the late second century BC!) to the country of the Yuezhi in order to procure the sacred texts. The date of the mission is variously given as 60, 61, 64 or 68 AD. After three (or, according to one version, eleven) years the envoys returned with the text (or the translation) of the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections" 四十二章經. They were accompanied by the first foreign missionaries, whose names from the late fifth century onward are given as ?Kāśyapa Mātaṅga 攝 (var. 迦葉) 摩騰 and ?Dharmaratna 竺法蘭. For them the emperor built the first monastery, the Baimasi 白馬寺, at Luoyang.

Maspero and Tang Yongtong have subjected the many versions of this story to a detailed analysis, which has led both scholars to conclude that we have to do with a pious legend; we shall not repeat their argumentation.[20] Their final verdict is not the same: Tang Yongtong still envisages the possibility of a nucleus of historical fact behind this tradition (*op. cit.* pp. 24–26); Maspero on the contrary rejects the whole as a piece of fiction, a propagandistic story full of anachronisms, which seems to have originated in Buddhist circles in the third century AD, to be further developed in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries and to reach its definitive form at the end of the fifth century.[21]

All accounts of the dream of emperor Ming and the embassy to the Yuezhi derive from one source: the "Preface to the Sūtra in Forty-two Sections" 四十二章經序 which at the beginning of the sixth century was incorporated in the *CSZJJ*.[22] This document can be dated fairly exactly. As is proved by the opening words 昔漢孝明黃蒂—"Anciently, the emperor Xiaoming *of the Han*"—, it is certainly of post-Han date. Moreover, since the author of the *Weilue* (mid. third century), who devotes a paragraph to Buddhism and the earliest transmission of the doctrine to a Chinese envoy, does not breathe a word about this legend, we may assume that it originated around the middle of the third century AD, the *terminus ante quem* being furnished by the allusion to the arrival of missionaries under emperor Ming in the *Zhiguai* (second half third cent., cf. above, sub *b*).

(g) This theme has been developed much later into the story of a magical contest between the first Buddhist missionaries and a number of Daoist masters, supposed to have been held at the court in 69 AD under imperial auspices, and followed by the conversion of the emperor, the ordination of several hundreds of Chinese monks and the foundation of ten monasteries in and around Luoyang. This fantastic tale was set forth in great detail in a (now lost) apocryphal work, the *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳, passages from which have been preserved in later Buddhist treatises. The text probably dates from the early sixth century.[23] The *Han faben neizhuan* is a rather clumsy fake and has been recognized as such by all modern scholars, in contrast with the legend of emperor Ming's embassy which by the gradual elimination of the most glaring anachronisms and by the addition of "factual" details more and more assumed the appearance of an historical narrative.

Infiltration from the North-West.

In actual fact, it is unknown when Buddhism entered China. It must have

slowly infitrated from the North-West, via the two branches of the continental silk-road which entered Chinese territory at Dunhuang, and from there through the corridor of Gansu to the "region within the Passes" and the North China plain, where in Later Han times the capital Luoyang was situated. This infiltration must have taken place between the first half of the first century BC—the period of the consolidation of the Chinese power in Central Asia—and the middle of the first century AD, when the existence of Buddhism is attested for the first time in contemporary Chinese sources.

Buddhism among foreigners on Chinese soil.

At first, it must have lived on among the foreigners who had brought it with them from their home countries: merchants, refugees, envoys, hostages. As has been said above, official history does not speak about the activities of foreign groups or individuals on Chinese soil. The Confucian world-conception recognizes only one kind of relation between the inhabitants of the barbarian wastelands and the Middle Kingdom: they are the people from afar, who, attracted by the radiance of the emperor's virtue, come to offer their "tribute of local products" as a token of their submission. A great number of such "tributes "are mentioned in the Han annals; since all through Chinese history this remains the standard form of trade with the Chinese court, we may safely assume that also these early embassies had a mercantile aspect besides their political function.

Certain data which we find in later Buddhist biographical literature allow us to say a little more about this aspect of Han Buddhism; although these data bear upon a somewhat later period (late second and early third century) they picture a state of affairs which essentially must have existed earlier. We learn how several important *ācāryas* did not come from beyond the frontiers, but were born in China as members of non-Chinese immigrant families, or that they joined the Order after having come to China as laymen, i.e. for other than missionary purposes. The Parthian An Xuan 安玄 was a merchant who in 181 AD arrived in Luoyang and afterwards joined the monastic community led by his famous countryman An Shigao 安世高.[24] The grandfather of the Yuezhi Zhi Qian 支謙 had come to settle in China with a group of several hundred compatriots under emperor Ling (168–190).[25] In the first half of the third century the famous Dharmarakṣa (Fahu 法護) was born in a Yuezhi family which had lived for generations at Dunhuang.[26] Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 was the son of an Indian named Dharmaśīras who had fled from his native country and settled in Henan together with his whole family at some date in the first half of the third century; Zhu Shulan was born in China.[27] At the end of the second century we find among the translators at Luoyang Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳, "*whose forefathers* had been people from Kangju", i.e. Sogdians.[28] Kang Senghui 康僧會 was born early in the third century in Jiaozhi (in the extreme South of the Chinese empire) as the son of a Sogdian merchant.[29]

Thus Buddhism was "unofficially" represented in China among scattered foreign families, groups and settlements at a rather early date, and there is, indeed, every reason to suppose that this was already the case before the earliest mention of Buddhism in Chinese sources.[30] This is furthermore confirmed by a very remarkable fact which so far seems to have escaped the

attention of the scholars working in this field: according to a passage in *CSZJJ* XIII (biography of Zhi Qian; a later and slightly different version in *GSZ* I) a great number of Sanskrit texts of Buddhist scriptures circulated in China at the beginning of the third century:

> "He realized that, although the great doctrine was practised, yet the scriptures were mostly (only available) in 'barbarian' (胡, in later ed. replaced by 梵, 'Indian') language, which nobody could understand. Since he was well-versed in Chinese and in 'barbarian' (戎) language, *he collected all* (*these*) *texts and translated them* into Chinese".[31]

The Buddhist scriptures which Zhi Qian collected in China were short texts, only one being longer than two *juan*, and of a very heterogeneous nature. He collected these either at Luoyang before he moved to the South (ca. 220 AD), or more probably at Jianye 建業, the capital of Wu, where he is said to have started his translation work in 222 AD. The number varies according to the sources, ranging from 27 (in Zhi Qian's biography quoted above) or 30 (Dao'an's catalogue according to *CSZJJ* II 6.3) to a maximum of 129 scriptures (*Lidai SBJ* V and *Da Tang NDL* II). Later we shall revert to Zhi Qian and the works translated by him; here the important point was to show how, to judge from the passage translated above, Buddhism at the end of the Han was still largely a religion of foreigners—either fresh immigrants or persons of foreign extraction—among whom Indian or Central Asian copies of Buddhist scriptures circulated.

c. *The Chinese in Central Asia: Jing Lu and Ban Yong*

The spread of Buddhism in China may also have been stimulated or facilitated to some extent by the fact that, in the first decades before and after the beginning of our era, a considerable number of Chinese officials must have been active in military and civil functions in the Buddhist countries of Central Asia. Most of these officials must at least have been aware of the existence of that religion.

According to a tradition which goes back at least to the beginning of the third century, a Chinese envoy to the court of Yuezhi, the student at the imperial academy Jing Lu 景盧 (for which we find in later versions the variant forms Jing Lü 慮, Qin Jing 秦景, Qin Jingxian 秦景憲, Jing Ni 匿) was instructed in the teachings of (a) Buddhist sūtra(s) by the Yuezhi crown-prince in the year 2 BC. This story occurs for the first time in the extremely corrupt passage on India from the *Xirong zhuan* 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略, compiled around the middle of the third century by Yu Huan 魚豢, and quoted in Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 commentary on the *Sanguo zhi* (published 429 AD).[32] The phrase in question runs as follows:

> "Anciently, under the Han emperor Ai, in the first year of the period *Yuanshou* (2 BC), the student at the imperial academy Jing Lu received from Yicun 伊存, the envoy of the king of the Great Yuezhi, oral instruction in (a) Buddhist sūtra(s)" 昔漢哀帝元壽元年博士弟子景盧受大月氏王使伊存口授浮屠經

If we accept the text as it stands, this doubtlessly means that Jing Lu obtained this instruction *in China*, most probably at the capital, from a Yuezhi who had come to China as an envoy. Ed. Chavannes, who in his annotated translation of the *Xirong zhuan* has devoted much attention to this passage,

has proposed the following emendation, based upon two later parallel versions of the story:[33]

> "—the student of the imperial academy Jing Lu obtained a mission to the Great Yuezhi. The (Yuezhi) king ordered the crown-prince orally to instruct him in the Buddhist sūtras" 博士弟子景盧受大月氏王使王令太子口授浮屠經.

If Chavannes' reconstruction of the Weilue text is correct, the situation has changed completely: the scene is the Yuezhi court, where a Kushana king (it is, in view of the extreme obscurity of the chronology of this dynasty, impossible to define which one) orders his son to reveal the teachings of one or more Buddhist scriptures to Jing Lu, who now is an envoy sent by the Chinese court to the West.

Chavannes' solution is no doubt ingenious, but it is based, after all, upon a rather subjective choice between various possibilities. *Cun* 存 may well be a mistake resulting from a fusion of 太 and 子, but *yi* 伊 can hardly be explained as a corruption of 使; it could, however, be a mistake for the equivalent *shi* 令. It must be remarked that Tang Yongtong, after a careful comparison of even more versions of the story than Chavannes had at his disposal, comes to the opposite conclusion: the scene is China, Yicun is a Yuezhi envoy; the account is probably based upon an existing Buddhist text transmitted by Yicun which still existed at the time of the compilation of the *Weilue*. It is very significant that it was a Yuezhi who explained or recited the sūtra(s), in view of the important role which this people played in the propagation of Buddhism in Later Han times.[34]

Hypothesis upon hypothesis—all this is very dubious. No trace of a Yuezhi embassy to China or of a Chinese embassy to the Yuezhi in 2 BC in the annals of the *Hanshu*; in fact, we have ample reason to question the historicity of the whole story. That a Chinese envoy could receive oral instruction from a Yuezhi crown-prince, or that a Yuezhi envoy could transmit a sūtra to a Chinese scholar is already none too probable, but if this tradition after more than two centuries of silence turns up in some seven versions which are partly unintelligible and in which neither the name of the Chinese scholar nor the function of the Yuezhi nor the place of action appears to be fixed, we are no longer allowed to use it as reliable material for historical research.

Another case is that of Ban Yong 班勇, the youngest son of the general Ban Chao 班超 (32–102 AD), the great conqueror of the West who spent more than thirty years in Central Asia. In 107 AD Ban Yong was charged with an expedition against the Xiongnu; in 123 he became governor-general of the Western Region 西域長史 and spent the next years in military campaigns in Central Asia. In 127 he was disgraced and imprisoned; he died shortly afterwards.[35] Even before his first appointment in 107 he seems to have lived in Central Asia together with his father, who in 100 AD sent him to the Chinese court, that he might persuade the emperor to allow Ban Chao to return to China.[36] It may be significant that on that occasion Ban Yong went to Luoyang in the company of a Parthian envoy.[37] Now in the section on the Western Region of the *Hou-Han shu* the compiler Fan Ye (died 445) remarks that no document of Former Han times speaks about the existence of Buddhism in India: the "two Han geographical monographs" (*viz.* in the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*) are silent about it, and Zhang Qian (second half second cent.

BC) only spoke about the heat and the humidity of the climate and about the use of elephants in warfare:

> "and although *Ban Yong has mentioned the fact that they venerate the Buddha and* (*for that reason*) *do not kill or attack* (*others*), yet he has not transmitted anything about the meritorious work of instruction and guidance (contained in) its essential scriptures and its noble doctrine".[38]

It is very probable that the words of Ban Yong paraphrased here occurred in some report or memorial on Central Asian affairs; since no writings by Ban Yong have survived, we cannot say anything more.[39] Apart from the very doubtful story of Jing Lu treated above, this remains the only known case in which a Chinese magistrate in Han times appears to have been acquainted with Buddhism outside China, or at least to have been aware of its existence and of one of its most essential moral principles.

d. *King Ying of Chu: Buddhism at Pengcheng in 65 AD.*

Around the middle of the first century AD Buddhism appears already to have penetrated into the region north of the Huai, in Eastern Henan, Southern Shandong and Northern Jiangsu. The existence of foreign groups in this part of the empire is easily explainable: the most important city in this region, Pengcheng 彭城, was a flourishing centre of commerce;[40] it was situated on the highway from Luoyang to the South-East which actually formed an eastern extension to the continental silk-route by which foreigners from the West used to arrive. Moreover, in a north-western direction it was connected with Langye 瑯琊 in Southern Shandong, and to the South-East with Wujun 吳郡 and Kuaiji 會稽, all important centres of maritime trade, which via Panyu 潘禺 (Guangzhou) were connected with the trade ports of Indo-China and Malaya. We cannot exclude the possibility that some influx of Buddhism took place along that way too, although Liang Qichao's hypothesis that Han Buddhism was mainly of southern provenance and had spread into China from these maritime centres is not supported by any reliable evidence and therefore no longer tenable.[41]

It is in this region that we find, in 65 AD, the first sign of the existence of a Buddhist community of (no doubt foreign) monks and Chinese laymen at the court of Liu Ying 劉英, king of Chu 楚, who was one of the sons of emperor Guangwu (25–58 AD). Liu Ying had since 39 AD been enfeoffed as duke (since 41 as king) of Chu; he lived from 52 till 71 AD at Pengcheng, the capital of the kingdom which comprised the southern part of present-day Shandong and the northern part of Jiangsu. According to his biography in the *Hou-Han shu* he was deeply interested in Daoism (*Huanglao* 黃老)[42] and at the same time "observed fasting and performed sacrifices to the Buddha" 為浮屠齋戒祭祀.[43] Thus in the first allusion to Buddhism in Chinese historical literature we find already this "Buddhism" closely associated with the cult of Huanglao, i.e. the study and practice of Daoist arts which were supposed to lead to bodily immortality, and which were much *en vogue* at the imperial court and among the princes around the middle of the first century.[44] Tang Yongtong has rightly stressed the fact that both in the case of Liu Ying (65 AD) and of emperor Huan (166 AD) Buddhism is mentioned (a) together with the cult of Huanglao, and (b) in connection with sacrifices, and that

among the Daoist practices in Han times a prominent role is played by various sacrifices 祭祀 to gods and spirits to secure happiness and to avert evil.[45] In fact, in later times the term "heterodox sacrifices" 淫祀, which in historical literature is frequently used to designate such rites, has sometimes been applied to the Buddhist cult.[46] To Liu Ying and the Chinese devotees at his court the "Buddhist" ceremonies of fasting and sacrifice were probably no more than a variation of existing Daoist practices; this peculiar mixture of Buddhist and Daoist elements remains characteristic of Han Buddhism as a whole.

In 65 AD emperor Ming decreed that all those who had committed crimes warranting the death penalty were to be given an opportunity to redeem their punishment. Liu Ying, whose loyalty to the central government was certainly open to doubt (as we shall see, five years later he was deposed on account of plotting rebellion) seems to have welcomed this opportunity to take some preventive measures; he sent one of his courtiers to Luoyang with thirty pieces of yellow and white silk to redeem the punishment he said to deserve. In an edict emperor Ming answered:

> "The king of Chu recites the subtle words of Huanglao, and respectfully performs the gentle sacrifices to the Buddha. After three months of purification and fasting, he has made a solemn covenant (or: a vow 誓) with the spirits. What dislike or suspicion (from Our part) could there be, that he must repent (of his sins)? Let (the silk which he sent for) redemption be sent back, in order thereby to contribute to the lavish entertainment of the *upāsakas* (*yipusai* 伊蒲塞) and *śramaṇas* (*sangmen* 桑門)".[47]

The text of this decree was sent to the various kingdoms in order to acquaint all kings with this sample of Liu Ying's virtuous conduct. However, the fortune of the king of Chu did not last long. There were rumors that he strove to gain independence, that he had Daoist masters (方士) concoct prognostication texts and favourable omens for him, and that he had enfeoffed persons and privately appointed governors and generals. In 70 AD he was accused of "great refractoriness and impiety" a crime warranting the death penalty in its most severe form. The emperor was still favourably disposed towards him and changed the death penalty into a milder punishment; Liu Ying was deposed and transferred together with a great number of his courtiers to Jingxian 涇縣 near Danyang 丹陽 in Southern Anhui, where he still was given a rather generous treatment. In the next year (71 AD), shortly after his arrival at Danyang, Liu Ying committed suicide.

Buddhism in the region of Pengcheng in 193/194 AD.

The Buddhist centre at Pengcheng probably survived after Liu Ying's removal. For more than a century we do not hear about it. But a passage from the *Sanguo zhi*, corroborated by various other sources, reveals the existence of a prosperous Buddhist community in that region at the very end of the second century.

In 193 AD the notorious warlord Zhai Rong 笮融 entered the service of the "governor" (and *de facto* autonomous ruler) of Xuzhou, Tao Qian 陶謙, who entrusted him with the transport of grain in the prefectures of Guangling 廣陵, Xiapei 下邳 and Pengcheng (all in present-day Jiangsu). He did not keep this quiet and extremely lucrative position for a long time: early in 194 his patron died, and Zhai Rong moved with ca. ten thousand

partisans and a private army of three thousand horsemen to Guangling, where he murdered the prefect at a banquet. Shortly afterwards he attacked Yuzhang (present-day Nanchang in Jiangxi), killed the prefect and took his place. In 195 he was defeated by the ex-governor of Yangzhou, Liu You 劉繇 (151–195); Zhai Rong fled into the mountains where he was killed shortly after his escape.[48]

When Zhai Rong was still in charge of the grain transport in the region of Guangling, Xiapei and Pengcheng, in which quality he actually appropriated the revenues of these three prefectures,

> "he elected a large Buddhist temple.[49] From bronze he had a human (effigy) made, the body of which was gilded and dressed in silk and brocade. (At the top of the building) nine layers of bronze scales were suspended,[50] and below there was a building of several storeys with covered ways, which could contain more than three thousand people, who all studied and read[51] Buddhist scriptures. He ordered the Buddhist devotees (好佛者) from the region (under his supervision) and from the adjacent prefectures to listen and to accept the doctrine (受道). (Those people) he exempted from the other statute labour duties in order to attract them. Those who on account of this from near and afar came to (the monastery) numbered more than five thousand.[52] Whenever there was (the ceremony of) "bathing the Buddha" (浴佛),[53] he had always great quantities of wine (*sic*!) and food set out (for distribution), and mats were spread along the roads over a distance of several tens of *li*. (On these occasions) some ten thousand people came to enjoy the spectacle and the food. The expenses (of such a ceremony) amounted to many millions (of cash)".[54]

This text is of great importance, not only because it contains the earliest description of a Chinese monastery, but primarily because it is one of the very few cases in which the historical records allow us to get a glimpse of popular Buddhism at a rather early date. The account, and especially the numbers mentioned in it, are no doubt exaggerated. But the huge size of the building, the mass communions and the wholesale charitative ceremonies presuppose the existence of a large monastic community, the majority of which probably consisted of Chinese monks. No translation activities are mentioned, nor do we know what kind of scriptures were recited or studied. The fact that wine was offered to the participants on festive occasions indicates that the Buddhism practised at Zhai Rong's monastery was not of the purest kind. The building was probably at Xiapei.[55]

For obvious reasons Zhai Rong never became the ideal prototype of the liberal donor in Chinese Buddhist literature; on the contrary, in an early fourth century anti-Buddhist treatise[56] he is triumphantly mentioned as an example of moral depravity coupled with Buddhist devotion. In Buddhist sources he is practically never referred to.

Buddhism at Luoyang: first traces.

Much more is known about the other important centre of Buddhism in Han China: the capital Luoyang.

The fact that Buddhism at Luoyang is not explicitly attested in reliable sources before the middle of the second century does not mean that it did not exist earlier (see our remarks at the beginning of this chapter). Consequently, we cannot agree with Maspero who regards the whole "Church of Luoyang" as a later offshoot of the "Church of Pengcheng".[57] The geographical situation

pleads against such a hypothesis. It is highly improbable that Buddhism, gradually infiltrating from the North-West along the caravan route from Central Asia, would have passed through Chang'an and Luoyang, the two greatest urban centres in Northern China, without having settled there, and that only after it had become popular in a region in Eastern China, it would have returned to the West and have reached Luoyang at the end of the first century AD.

The Church of Luoyang as an organised religious community with its translation teams and its famous Parthian and Indoscythian leaders does not appear in reliable sources before the middle of the second century, but in view of these geographical factors we are justified, even without scriptural evidence, to assume that it existed *in nucleo* at least contemporary with and probably even earlier than the community at Pengcheng. However, scriptural evidence for this is not entirely lacking.

There is in the first place the significant fact that in the *Hou-Han shu* passage quoted above the words *upāsaka* and *śramaṇa* figure in the text of an imperial edict. This can only mean that these Indian (or Central Asian) Buddhist terms were known and understood in court circles, and that they meant something to the emperor, or to the *literati* in the imperial chancellery at Luoyang where the wording of the edict had been formulated. If this interpretation is correct, we may conclude that Buddhism was represented at Luoyang around the middle of the first century AD, and that it definitely not was introduced into the capital from the Buddhist centre at Pengcheng at the end of the first century.

In the second place, another slight indication of the same kind is furnished by a few words from one of the most famous works of Han literature, the "Poetical description of the Western Capital", *Xijing fu* 西京賦, by Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–130 AD)—the first mention of Buddhism in Chinese *belles-lettres*. When describing the wonders of Chang'an, and in particular the seductive beauty of the women in the imperial harem, the poet exclaims:

> "Even (the virtuous) Zhan Ji[58] or a *śramaṇa*—who could not be captivated by them?"[59]

The context in which here the term *śramaṇa* 桑門 figures is of course quite irrelevant, as is the fact that the word is used in a description of Chang'an; it is obviously a rhetorical figure which should not be taken literally.

According to his biography in *HHS* 89, Zhang Heng began the composition of the *Xijing fu* in the period Yongyuan (89–104 AD) and finished it ten years later;[60] at that time he was already living at Luoyang. The importance of this otherwise rather trivial phrase is that Zhang Heng around 100 AD, when active at Luoyang, appears to have been acquainted with the term *śramaṇa*, using it as he does in a poem written for the general cultured public of his days. This again points to a fairly strong influence of Buddhism at the capital around the end of the first and the beginning of the second century AD.

The Sūtra in Forty-two Sections.

Probably in the same period, in the late first or early second century, we must place the composition of what is commonly regarded as the first Buddhist scripture in the Chinese language: the "Sūtra in Forty-two sections" 四十二

章經, which according to a late tradition was brought to Luoyang by two Indian missionaries, Shemoteng 攝摩騰 (? Kāśyapa Mātaṅga) and Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (? Dharmaratna), and translated by the latter in 67 AD. The origin of this work is obscured by legend; however, in its original form it is certainly very old, as it is already quoted in Xiang Kai's memorial of 166 AD. In spite of this, its authenticity has been repeatedly questioned.[61] It is a short work consisting of 42 independent sections; it is still an open question whether it is a translation of a Sanskrit original or a Chinese compilation, stylistically probably modelled upon the *Xiaojing* or the *Daode jing*.[62] The original work is certainly Hinayānistic in content. Of the different recensions of the text only the one included in the Korean edition of the Tripiṭaka seems to correspond in general with the original text; all other versions teem with later interpolations.[63] But even the Korean edition shows traces of a later redaction: the earliest quotations from the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections" do not correspond literally with passages from the present text.[64]

The Church of Luoyang in the second half of the second century. Our sources.

The arrival in 148 AD of a Parthian missionary, An Shigao 安世高, at Luoyang marked the beginning of a period of intense activity. Unfortunately, our knowledge about the flourishing Buddhist community at the capital in the second half of the second century is extremely one-sided: secular history does not even mention its existence, and the information which we find in Buddhist sources is almost exclusively concerned with the production of translations of Buddhist texts. Biographical data such as furnished by the biographies of translators in *GSZ* and *CSZJJ* are scanty and have to be used with the great caution, owing to the mass of legendary material which has been incorporated in these early sixth century compendia. However, the *CSZJJ* contains also a number of colophons and introductions which yield scanty but early, sometimes even contemporary, biographical information.

In the field of bibliography, the situation is not much better; the evaluation of the bibliographical material forms a serious problem. As far as Han time Buddhism is concerned, the later catalogues are of no value whatsoever; even in the most critical among these, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 of 730 AD (T 2154), the sūtras attributed to Han time translators are two to six times as numerous as those mentioned in the oldest catalogues.

The earliest extant Buddhist catalogue is the *CSZJJ* of the early sixth century; its bibliographical parts (ch. II–V) are actually an elaboration of still earlier catalogue, the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理眾經目錄, completed by Dao'an 道安 in 374 AD.[65] Thus Dao'an's catalogue has been virtually incorporated into the *CSZJJ*, and since Sengyou usually specifies which works were mentioned by Dao'an and which were added by himself, we are fairly well-informed about the contents and organization of Dao'an's catalogue.

Dao'an's work was a product of sound scholarship by which he set an example to all Buddhist bibliographers of later times—a major achievement in a science which at that time was still in the first stage of development. However, the excellent qualities of this catalogue and its comparatively early date have led all later authorities to accept Dao'an's statements as unquestionable facts. Especially when dealing with Han time translations we must never forget that, here as elsewhere, we have to do with *attributions*. Dao'an had

perhaps access to some lists of translations drawn up by earlier bibliographers.[66] But the bulk of the work was his own; it appears very clearly from his remarks in his catalogue as well as from the later accounts of his activities in this field, that in attributing certain sūtras to certain translators, he based his verdict not only upon external criteria (colophons, translator's notes, introductions), but also and often exclusively upon stylistic features of the works in question. Only in very few cases attributions can be corroborated by contemporary or nearly contemporary material.[67] In all other cases we have to rely upon the attributions made by Dao'an and Sengyou, which, it must be repeated, cannot be accepted without some reserve. When dealing with the most ancient period of Chinese Buddhism we shall of course pay no attention at all to the ever-expanding lists of titles and the quasi-exact chronological data furnished by later catalogues.

From the middle of the second to the first decade of the third century AD, a number of Buddhist teachers and translators, foreigners of diverse origin, were active at Luoyang. The earliest sources speak of some ten *ācāryas* who are said to have translated a considerable number of Buddhist scriptures during this period (fifty-one, acc. to Dao'an's catalogue). Some early colophons which have been preserved contain interesting details about the way in which the work of translation was carried out. The master either had a manuscript of the original text at his disposal or he recited it from memory. If he had enough knowledge of Chinese (which was seldom the case) he gave an oral translation (*koushou* 口授), otherwise the preliminary translation was made, "transmitted", by a bilingual intermediary (*chuanyi* 傳譯). Chinese assistants—monks as well as laymen—noted down the translation (*bishou* 筆受), after which the text was subjected to a final revision (*zhengyi* 正義, *jiaoding* 校定). During the work of translation, and perhaps also on other occasions, the master gave oral explanations (*koujie* 口解) concerning the contents of the scriptures translated. Explanations of this kind often appear to have crept into the text; "translator's notes" figure in most Chinese versions, and at least one Han time translation forms an inextricable mixture of text and explanatory notes.[68] Sometimes, however, the glosses were kept apart as separate works of exegesis.[69] Many early Buddhist commentaries were wholly or mainly based upon oral explanations given in the course of translating a certain scripture. The material funds for the work of translation were furnished by laymen "who encouraged and helped" (*quanzhuzhe* 勸助者); the names of two of such pious donors of ca. 179 AD have been preserved in a colophon.[70]

As far as we know, this kind of team-work was for the first time extensively practised at the Buddhist centre(s) at Luoyang. All through the history of Chinese Buddhism it remained the normal method of translating Buddhist scriptures, but it is interesting to note that the system in its fully developed form is already attested in Later Han times.

It is unknown how many monasteries (*si* 寺, cf. below) there were at Luoyang under the Later Han, or where they were situated. The existence of a "White Horse Temple", Baimasi 白馬寺, at Luoyang, which is traditionally regarded as the cradle of Chinese Buddhism and as the main Buddhist centre in Han times, is not attested in contemporary sources before the year 289 AD;[71] its alleged foundation ca. 65 AD and its very name are intimately connected with the apocryphal story of emperor Ming's dream and the arrival

of Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Zhu Falan at the capital. Although the formation of the legend (in the second half of the third century?) itself presupposes the actual existence of a Baimasi at Luoyang, there is no guarantee that this temple actually dated from Han times. However, the name may be a later invention, and the building which in later sources is called Baimasi may well have been identical with the "Buddha-monastery", Fosi 佛寺, mentioned in an ancient colophon as the place where in 208 AD the text of the *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 was revised.[72] There was furthermore the Xuchangsi 許昌寺, mentioned in the same colophon (208 AD). As has been convincingly argued by Maspero, (cf. note 57) this monastery very probably was originally situated in the ancient mansion of a certain Xu Chang 許昌, marquis of Longshu 龍舒 who was a cousin of the famous Liu Ying, the "Buddhist" king of Chu, and may thus have been a link between the Buddhist colony at Pengcheng and the church of Luoyang. As a monastery the Xuchangsi seems to have been of secondary importance; the colophon to the *Banzhou sanmei jing* is the only text in which it is mentioned.

Hardly anything is known about the actual size and the internal organization of the Buddhist community at Luoyang. The most basic monastic rules were probably transmitted orally by the first missionaries, and for the relatively small number of monks and novices this may have been sufficient. In any case, among the scriptures attributed to Han translators in early catalogues the Vinaya is not represented.[73] In the earliest documents we find already the basic terms for the various clerical ranks: *śramaṇa* (sangmen 桑門, shamen 沙門), monk; *bhikṣu* (biqiu 比丘); *śramaṇera* (shami 沙彌), novice; *ācārya* (aqili 阿祇梨), master; the use of the term Boddhisattva 菩薩, given to both monks and lay devotees, testifies of a touching optimism and of a profound ignorance as to the real meaning of this appellation.

The missionaries at Luoyang formed a very heterogeneous group. There were two Parthians, the monk An Shigao 安世高 and the *upāsaka* An Xuan 安玄; three Yuezhi, Zhi Loujiaqian (? Lokakṣema) 支婁迦讖, Zhi Yao 支曜 and Lokakṣema's disciple Zhi Liang 支亮, two Sogdians, Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 and Kang Ju 康巨, and three Indians, Zhu Shuofo 竺朔佛 (*var*. Foshuo 佛朔), Zhu Dali 竺大力 and Tanguo 曇果.

An Shigao.

The earliest and most famous among these masters was the Parthian An Shigao, who is the first undoubtedly historical personality in Chinese Buddhism. It was probably he who initiated the systematical translation of Buddhist texts and who organized the first translation team. In this respect his importance is indeed very great: his translations, primitive though they may be, mark the beginning of a form of literary activity which, taken as a whole, must be regarded as one of the most impressive achievements of Chinese culture.

His name is not very clear: apart from the first syllabe *An*, an *ethnikon* which stands for Anxi 安息 (= Arsak, the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia), it looks like a translation rather than a transcription. Bagchi's suggestion Shigao = Lokottama is not supported by any evidence.[74] It may, however, be a honorific appellation; in later biographies he is usually referred to as An Qing 安清, with the *zi* Shigao, where *zi* obviously cannot be taken

to mean a "style" of the Chinese type. The two names, Qing and Shigao, are attested in a document of the middle of the third century,[75] but a still older source speaks only of "a Bodhisattva hailing from Anxi, whose name (字) was Shigao".[76]

According to a very early tradition,[77] Shigao had been a crown-prince of Parthia who had abandoned his rights to the throne in order to devote himself to the religious life. Afterwards he went to the East, probably as a refugee,[78] and settled in 148 AD at Luoyang where he spent more than twenty years.

Nothing more is known about his life; the stories about his peregrinations in Southern China recorded in his biographies in *CSZJJ* and *GSZ*[79] must be relegated to the realm of hagiography. An Shigao has never been successfully identified with any Parthian prince figuring in occidental sources.[80] The futility of such attempts has been pointed out by Maspero; Parthia under the Arsacides (ca. 250 BC–224 AD) was not a unified state but a conglomeration of petty kingdoms, and An Shigao had probably been a member of a ruling family in one of these little feudal domains.[81]

It is still an unsolved problem which and how many translations may safely be attributed to An Shigao and his collaborators. The number of scriptures ascribed to him by later bibliographers ranges from ca. 30 to 176. The earliest available source, Dao'an's catalogue of 374, comprises 34 titles, but four works out of these were only hesitatingly ascribed to An Shigao. Of the remaining thirty translations nineteen have been preserved,[82] but among these there are only four which on account of early colophons or prefaces may positively be attributed to this patriarch of Chinese Buddhism.[83] Neither these four nor the other fifteen works which with some degree of probability may be attributed to him and his school show any trace of Mahāyāna influence.

To judge from the nature of the scriptures translated, the two main subjects of his teachings seem to have been

(a) the system of mental exercises commonly called *dhyāna* (*chan* 禪) in Chinese sources, but which is more adequately covered by the term "Buddhist yoga",[84] comprising such practices as the preparatory technique of counting the respirations leading to mental concentration (*ānāpānasmṛti*, 安般, 數息觀); the contemplation of the body as being perishable, composed of elements, impure and full of suffering; the visualization of internal and external images of various colours, etc.;

(b) the explanation of numerical categories such as the six *āyatana* 六入, the five *skandha* 五陰, the four *ṛddhipāda* 四神足行, the five *bala* 五力, the four *smṛtyupasthāna* 四意止 etc.; short sūtras devoted to such classifications form the bulk of the *oeuvre* attributed to him.

Some of the "*dhyāna*" practices mentioned above, notably the *ānāpānasmṛti*, outwardly resembled certain Daoist respiratory techniques, and it has repeatedly been stressed that the existence of such mental and bodily exercises in Daoism must have largely contributed to the popularity of this aspect of Buddhism in the second century AD. Daoist influence is furthermore attested by the use of a number of Daoist expressions in rendering Buddhist terms in early translations. However, the importance of Daoist terminology has generally been overestimated: terms of undoubtedly Daoist provenance actually constitute

a very small percentage of the Chinese archaic Buddhist vocabulary, the bulk of which consists of terms which cannot be traced to any Chinese source and which probably have been improvised by the earliest translators.

An Shigao's versions, and the archaic translations in general, are in several respects highly interesting: for the general history of Buddhism, since the approximate date of their translation often forms a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the Indian prototypes or for the stage of development of a certain text at that date; for the earliest history of Chinese Buddhism, since both the nature of the texts selected for translation and the terminology employed in translating them reveal some basic characteristics of Han Buddhism; from a literary point of view, since they constitute a new and foreign element in Chinese literature, the stylistic features of which strongly deviated from and often even conflicted with the Chinese norms of literary composition; from a linguistic point of view, since the majority of these translations teem with vernacular expressions and syntactic structures which, if studied more closely than hitherto has been the case, would yield much interesting information on the Northern Chinese spoken language of the second century AD.

As translations, they are generally of the poorest quality. It is somewhat surprising that later Chinese Buddhist bibliographers, and especially Dao'an, the great specialist on archaic translations, have praised the products of An Shigao and his school as masterpieces and classical examples of the art of translating. It is hard to see on what criteria their appreciation was based, if it indeed was something more than an expression of the traditional Chinese veneration for the work of the Ancients, the patriarchal, the prototype. Most archaic versions are actually no more than free paraphrases or extracts of the original texts, teeming with obscure and not yet standardized technical expressions, and coated in a language which is chaotic to the extreme and not seldom quite unintelligible even when we possess Indian versions or later and more literal Chinese translations of the same scriptures.

An Xuan and Yan Fotiao.

An Shigao worked together with his countryman An Xuan 安玄, an *upāsaka* who in 181 AD had come to Luoyang as a merchant, and who for some not further specified "meritorious work" (功) had obtained the Chinese military title of cavalry commander (騎郡尉),[85] and with a Chinese from Linhuai 臨淮 (Anhui) named Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 (*var.* Fu 浮- or Fu 弗-iao), the first known Chinese monk.[86] An Xuan translated together with Yan Fotiao the *Ugradattaparipṛcchā* (T 322, *Fajing jing* 法鏡經); the attribution is confirmed by Kang Senghui (mid. third century).[87] This is somewhat surprising because this sūtra, a summary account of the career of a Bodhisattva, wholly belongs to the Mahāyāna.

In spite of this, Yan Fotiao regarded himself as a disciple of An Shigao, whose virtues he extols in the preface to his "Commentary on the ten (kinds of) understanding (explained on behalf) of the Novice" 沙彌十慧章句序 (*CSZJJ* X 69.3), written some time after the master's death.[88] He seems to have been converted to Buddhism at a very early age.[89] Thus the coexistence of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, characteristic of early Chinese Buddhism as a whole, is already reflected in the works of the "three inimitables",[90] the two Parthians and their Chinese collaborator, in the second century AD.

Lokakṣema

The Mahāyāna was mainly represented by a second generation of translators, the most prominent among whom was the Indoscythian Zhi Loujiaqian 支婁迦讖, "?Lokakṣema the (Yue)zhi", who arrived some twenty years after An Shigao, during the period 168–188 AD. Among his collaborators we find an Indian, Zhu Shuofo 竺朔佛, but also three Chinese laymen: Meng Fu 孟福 from Luoyang, Zhang Lian 張蓮 from Nanyang (Henan), and Zibi 子碧 (obviously not a surname) from Nanhai (Guangzhou).

Here, again, we encounter signs of Daoist influence. By a rare chance, the names of two of these assistants have been discovered by Tang Yongtong in the (unfortunately rather mutilated) text of two Han inscriptions dating from 181 and 183 AD, where they are mentioned as devotees of a local Daoist cult at Yuanshi Xian 元氏縣 (Hebei); one of them, Guo Zhi 郭稚, *zi* Zibi 子碧, here bears the title of Libationer (jijiu 祭酒).[91]

When dealing with Lokakṣema, we again have to face the problem of earlier and later attributions. Sengyou mentions fourteen works; Dao'an twelve, nine of which are marked as hypothetical attributions; of the remaining three, two have been preserved:
T 224 *Daoxing (boruo) jing* 道行般若經 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*) in ten ch.[92]
T 417/418 *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 (*Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra*)[93]

According to an early fourth century source he would also have made the first translation of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* (*Shoulengyan sanmei jing* 首楞嚴三昧經) in 185/186 AD.[94]

This translation and that of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* were based on manuscripts brought from India by Zhu Shuofo. These three sūtras are among the most basic scriptures of Mahāyāna literature; in the course of the third and fourth centuries they were re-translated several times, and especially at that period their influence was very great. The attribution of the first Chinese version of these works to Lokakṣema and Zhu Shuofo seems to be well-established; however, like so many early translations the original texts of the *Daoxing jing* and the *Banzhou sanmei jing* may have undergone some alteration in the course of later redactions, and especially the two versions of the latter work (T 417/418) pose problems of textual criticism which have not yet been solved.[95] According to the same early fourth century source, two other still existing Mahāyāna sūtras were also translated by Lokakṣema: T 626 阿闍世王經 (*Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana*) and T 624, 化真陀羅所問如來三昧經 (*Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchā*); the latter work occurs in Dao'an's catalogue among the anonymous translations;[96] it certainly existed already in the first half of the third century.

Lokakṣema is commonly credited with the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism into China. His partial translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* marks the beginning of a development which is of paramount importance for the subject of the present study: when Buddhism in the late third and early fourth century began to penetrate into the life and thought of the cultured upper classes, it was especially the doctrine of universal "Emptiness" as expounded in the basic scriptures of this school of Mahāyāna gnosticism (*Prajñāpāramitā*, *Vimala-*

kīrtinirdeśa) that became popular in gentry circles, mainly on account of its apparent affinity with the prevailing *xuanxue* speculations. The "*dhyāna*"-trend initiated by An Shigao and his school remained important all through the history of early Chinese Buddhism, but its sphere of influence was as a matter of course more restricted to the monastic community. The cultured laymen who were interested in Buddhist yoga practices are to be found as lay-brothers temporarily staying at a monastery rather than as *qingtan* adepts at the mansions of the highest gentry.

Other early translators

Later sources speak also about a Sogdian translator named Kang Ju 康巨 contemporary with Lokakṣema; he is for the first time mentioned in *GSZ*.[97]

When in 190 AD the powerful war-lord Dong Zhuo 董卓 burned Luoyang and removed the puppet emperor to Chang'an, the Buddhist community survived the devastation, and at the very end of the second and the beginning of the third century we find still another group of translators at work. The Mahāyāna was represented by Lokakṣema's disciple, the Indo-scythian Zhi Liang 支亮[98] and the latter's lay pupil Zhi Qian 支謙 (*alias* Zhi Yue 支越, *zi* Gongming 恭明), who later would become the most prominent translator in the region of the lower Yangzi. Zhi Liang probably transmitted to him Lokakṣema's translation of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* of which Zhi Qian would later make a revised and more polished version. There were also the Indian Tanguo 曇果 (? Dharmaphala) who is said to have come from Kapilavastu and who worked together with his compatriot Zhu Dali 竺大力 (? Mahābala) and the Sogdian Kang Mengxiang. To this team we owe the earliest extant Chinese accounts of the life of the Buddha: the *Zhong benqi jing* 中本起經 (T 196) and the *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經 (T 184).[99]

In the last decade before the final downfall of the Han and the foundation of the Wei (220 AD) we lose sight of the Church of Luoyang. Some of the leaders fled to the South: Zhi Qian, who ca. 220 turns up at Jianye, the capital of Wu, and three Chinese laymen of the school of An Shigao, Han Lin 韓林 from Nanyang, Pi Ye 皮業 from Yingchuan and Chen Hui 陳慧 from Kuaiji, who around the middle of the century transmit An Shigao's exegesis of the *Ānāpānasmṛti*-"*sūtra*" to the sinicized Sogdian preacher Kang Senghui 康僧會 from Jiaozhi.[100]

The Church of Luoyang no doubt continued to exist under the Wei (220–265), but it never regained its former glory. In the third century the centres of Buddhist activity have shifted, first to Jianye at the lower Yangzi, then to Chang'an.

The imperial sacrice of 166 AD; Xiang Kai's memorial.

There is no evidence of any connection between the Buddhist community and the imperial court at Luoyang. In the famous memorial of Xiang Kai which we shall treat below, a certain kind of pseudo-Buddhist ceremony held at the court is indeed alluded to, but it is very clear that here we have to do with a basically Daoist ritual tinged with some Buddhist elements, a cult of the type which already existed some hundred years earlier at the court of Liu Ying. There is no reason to assume that the performance of this ceremony was directly due to the influence of the Buddhist community at Luoyang upon the court.

The event in question took place in 166 AD. In that year emperor Huan (147–167) who, like many of his predecessors, was deeply interested in Daoism, personally performed a *suovetaurile* to Laozi in the Zhuoyang 濯陽 palace before a lavishly adorned altar; the vessels were made of gold and silver, and the ceremony was accompanied by the sacral music belonging to the semiannual sacrifice to Heaven.[101] This was nothing exceptional; in fact, at least twice in 165/166 AD sacrifices had been performed by imperial order at Huxian 苦縣 (Henan), the reputed birth-place of the sage.[102] But Fan Ye, the compiler of the *Hou-Han shu*, elsewhere mentions the fact that the emperor on this occasion performed a joint sacrifice to Laozi and the Buddha,[103] and this statement is corroborated by a highly interesting contemporary document: the memorial which the scholar Xiang Kai 襄楷 submitted to the throne in 166 AD.

Xiang Kai came from Xiyin 隰陰 (Southern Shandong); he was especially well-versed in the astrological and cosmological speculations current in his time (天文陰陽之術). Shortly after his arrival at the capital he addressed emperor Huan in a memorial of more than 1400 words, in which he gave an extensive account of recent inauspicious portents by which Heaven showed its disapproval with the conditions prevailing at court. Xiang Kai was the spokesman of the scholars; the whole document is primarily directed against the eunuchs, the "third force" on which the Han emperors came to rely more and more in order to counterbalance the power and privileged position of the Confucian scholar-gentry. At the end of his memorial (which almost landed him in prison) Xiang Kai comes to speak about the emperor's addiction to sensual pleasures:

> "Moreover, I have heard that in the palace sacrifices have been performed to Huanglao and the Buddha. This doctrine (teaches) purity and emptiness; it venerates non-activity (*wuwei* 無為); it loves (keeping) alive and hates slaughter; it (serves to) diminish the desires and to expel intemperance. Now Your Majesty does not expel your desires; slaughter and (the application of) punishments exceed the proper limit. Since (Your Majesty) deviates from the doctrine, how could you (expect to) obtain the happiness resulting from its (observance)? Some people say that Laozi has gone into the region of the barbarians and (there) has become the Buddha.
>
> The Buddha 'did not sleep three nights under the (same) mulberry tree', for he did not want (by dwelling) a long time to give rise to feelings of affection: this is the perfection of spirituality (精). A heavenly spirit (天神) presented him with beautiful girls, but the Buddha said: 'These are no more than bags of skin filled with blood', and he paid no attention to them any more. If one has reached this degree of mental concentration (守一)[104] then one is able to realize the Way. Now the lascivious girls and the seductive ladies of Your Majesty are the most beautiful of all the world, and the delicacy of your food and the sweet taste of your drink are unique in all the world. How would you then become equal to Huanglao?"[105]

Xiang Kai's memorial is illuminating in several respects. Firstly, it mentions a joint sacrifice to Huanglao and the Buddha performed by emperor Huan, and at the same time very clearly demonstrates that here we have not to do with "court Buddhism", but with court Daoism slightly tinged with Buddhism. Secondly, it contains the first allusion to the so-called *huahu* 化胡 theory, according to which the Buddha was nothing but a manifestation of Laozi

(on this theory see below, chapter VI). Thirdly, the memorial contains two quotations from the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections", which (a) proves that Xiang Kai was conversant with the contents of this scripture, (b) furnishes a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the original version of this text, and (c) demonstrates the considerable difference between the original text and even the most archaic extant version, provided that Xiang Kai is quoting literally.

At the beginning of his memorial Xiang Kai also mentions the "divine books of Yu Ji" 于吉神書, i.e. the (original) *Taiping jing* 太平經 in 170 *juan*, transmitted by the Daoist magician You Ji to his disciple Gong Chong 宫崇 at Langye in Southern Shandong; under emperor Shun (126–144) Gong Chong had brought the work to the capital and had presented it to the throne. In the last decades of the second century the *Taiping jing* became the fundamental scripture of the ideology of the Daoist movement of the Yellow Turbans.[106] We have seen that Xiang Kai himself came from the same region (Southern Shandong) which was a stronghold of Daoism, and this again testifies of the close connection between Daoism and Buddhism in Later Han times.

Connections with the bureaucracy.

Although hardly anything is known about the relations between the Buddhist community at Luoyang and its immediate surroundings, it is clear that the Church was not an isolated enclave of foreign culture. It depended upon and included Chinese lay devotees, some of whom appear to have belonged to the cultured class. Lack of documents makes it impossible to say anything about their social background; they were most probably members of lesser gentry families, lower-grade officials who in some way or other had made contact with Buddhism, presumably on account of their Daoist inclinations. As disciples of the foreign *ācāryas* these cultured laymen seem to have taken part in the practice of the religious life; as their assistants they noted down whatever they understood of the Buddhist scriptures dictated to them; as revisors and editors of the translated works they gave them the form in which they were presented to the Chinese, occasionally introducing their own notions and interpretations into the texts. Nothing more is known about their life, but we may assume that, precisely because they were laymen, they may have formed a link between the foreign clergy and the cultured Chinese public. However, even if they may have filled subordinate functions in the government service, their relation with the *saṅgha* was a of private and non-official nature.

Another problem is whether the Buddhist community at the capital had any official connection with the imperial bureaucracy, c.q. with the department of Foreign Relations, the office of the *Da honglu* 大鴻臚. This institution was very important in Han times; it was, *inter alia*, charged with the care for and control over foreign envoys and with the regulation of the ceremonial towards foreign rulers. It was presided by the da honglu(-qing) 大鴻臚[卿], one of the nine ministers, who in Later Han times had a staff of fifty-five officials.[107]

The Chinese term for "monastery"

One fact perhaps indicates a certain connection between the Buddhist clergy at the capital and this institution: the peculiar use of the word *si* 寺 for "Buddhist monastery". We can only partly agree with Maspero's theory[108] (already

in 1921 suggested by Ōtani but in the same article abandoned by him in favour of a slightly different explanation)[109] according to which *si* (*zi_4) 寺 is a "phonetic loan" for the almost homophoneous *si* (*zi_1) 祠 "cult, (place of) worship or sacrifice", which in some early secular texts (but, as far as I am aware, never in Buddhist scriptures!) does figure alongside of 寺. Even if 祠 would have been the original Chinese term for a monastery, Maspero's theory still fails to explain how *si* 寺 with its narrow and clearly defined range of application (in Han texts it almost exclusively means "(government)-office, bureau") could ever obtain such a strong Buddhist connotation that it even completely supplanted the "original" term 祠 which on account of its ancient cultic significance would seem to be much better suited to the purpose. In another article Maspero has stated that the earliest occurence of 寺 as "Buddhist monastery" is to be found in the anonymous colophon to the *Banzhou sanmei jing* (208 AD);[110] however, we find it already used in this way in one of the archaic translations attributed to An Shigao.[111] Whatever may have been the older term, in the case of *si* 寺 it seems reasonable to suppose that the meaning "monastery" was derived from the current use of this word as "government office", and, more specifically, from the name of what to foreigners must have been "the office" *par excellence*, the Honglu si 鴻臚寺.

Unfortunately, in Han sources the department in question is not referred to as Honglu *si*; I have been unable to find this term, which in later times became the official name of the institution, in sources earlier than the sixth century. This does not completely invalidate the explanation mentioned above; the term Honglu si may have been current long before it was adopted as the official denomination, and it is difficult to see in what other way the word *si* would have come to mean "monastery".

The "system" of transcription.

There is, however, another fact which also points to a connection between the Department of Foreign Relations and the Buddhist Church, viz. the origin of the Buddhist system of phonetic transcription.

From the earliest times the translators of Buddhist texts (and more especially the Chinese *literati* who wrote down the translation) had to face the problem of phonetic transcription of Indian proper names and Buddhist technical expressions by means of Chinese characters—a script which by its ideographic nature was (and is) much less suited to this purpose than any alphabetical writing system would have been. In order to avoid the danger of confusion and misunderstanding (which of course would have been very great if all Chinese characters without distinction would have been used in this way), the transcribers appear to have used a limited set of signs conventionally employed in phonetic renderings. For obvious reasons preference was given to those characters which seldom occurred in normal written Chinese (such as 薩, 闐, 鞮, 伊, 曇 etc.). But on the other hand, quite common signs like 山, 尸, 于, 門, 車, and 沙 are frequently found in Buddhist transcriptions. We can hardly speak of a "system of transcription" for the earliest period; the foreign words, transposed into Chinese phonological patterns, are broken up at random into syllable units, each of which is rendered by one of these signs. One Chinese syllable may be written in various ways (**ʑi̯än*: 善, 膳, 鄯, 禪,

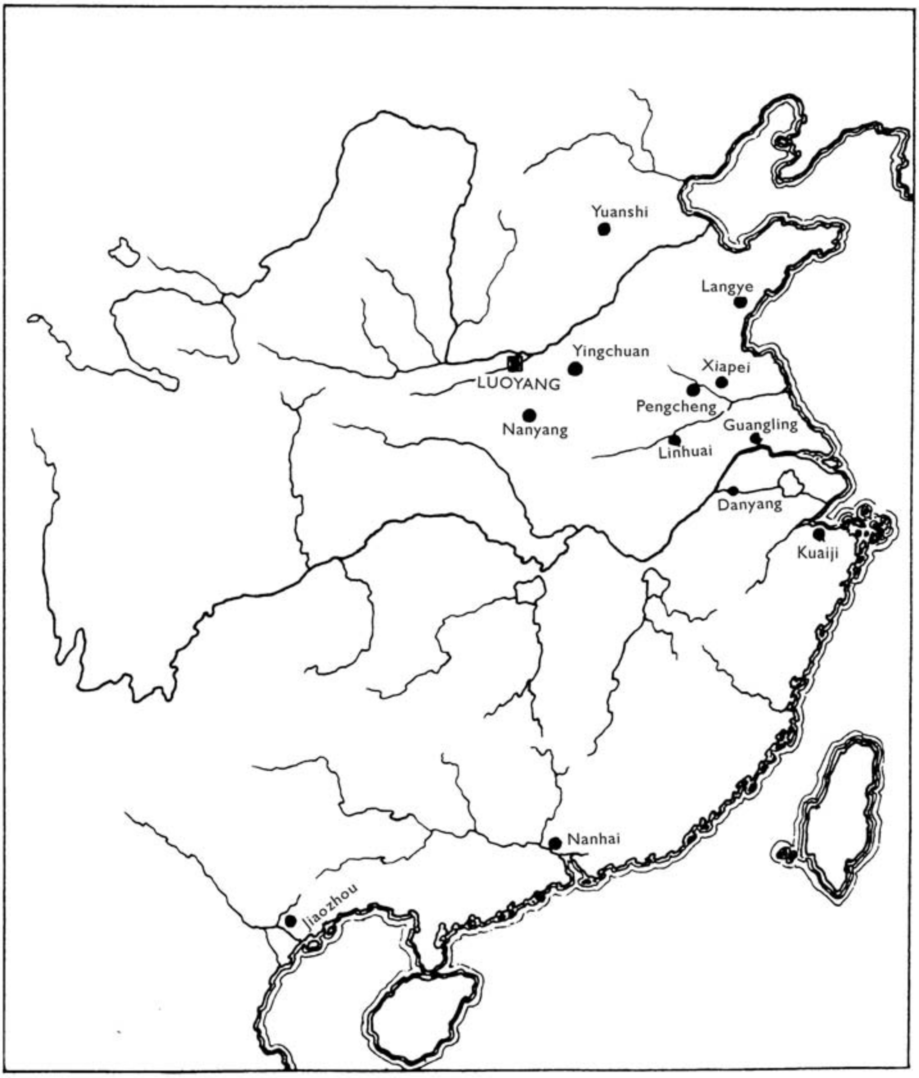
饍, 繟; **b' uāt*: 軷, 鈸, 颰, 跋), and may stand for a great variety of foreign sounds (*b' uā*, 婆 or 陂: *va*, *vā*, *pā*, *bā*, *pha*, *bhā*, *vat*, *vajra*, *ava*, *upa*, *sphā*, etc.). The transcriptions of the individual words are not yet standardized (*buddha*: **b' ji̯əu.d' uo* 浮屠, *id.* 浮圖, **b' ji̯əu.d' əu* 浮頭, **b' juət* (—δ) 佛). But both in most ancient phonetic renderings and in the highly developed and normalized transcription systems of much later times we find the same marked tendency to use a certain restricted number of characters for transcriptions purposes, a conventional set of signs which could be used as phonetical symbols without semantic value.

However, it is a notable fact that this primitive transcription system was not a Buddhist invention at all; it can already be traced in secular literature from Former Han times. We find it applied in the Accounts of the Western Regions (*Xiyu zhuan*) of the *Hanshu* and *Hou-Han shu* which together contain some two hundred foreign words (mainly geographical names) in transcription. More than eighty percent of the characters which are used phonetically in these texts more than one time (*viz.* 77 out of 93) consists of signs which regularly occur in "Buddhist" phonetic renderings. The great number of rather exceptional characters which are thus shared by secular and Buddhist transcriptions proves that coincidence is out of the question; we must conclude that the Buddhist transcribers made use of an existing rudimentary system for rendering foreign sounds. We cannot give a satisfactory explanation for this fact, but one possible clue as to its origin may be found in the activities of the Department of Foreign Relations.

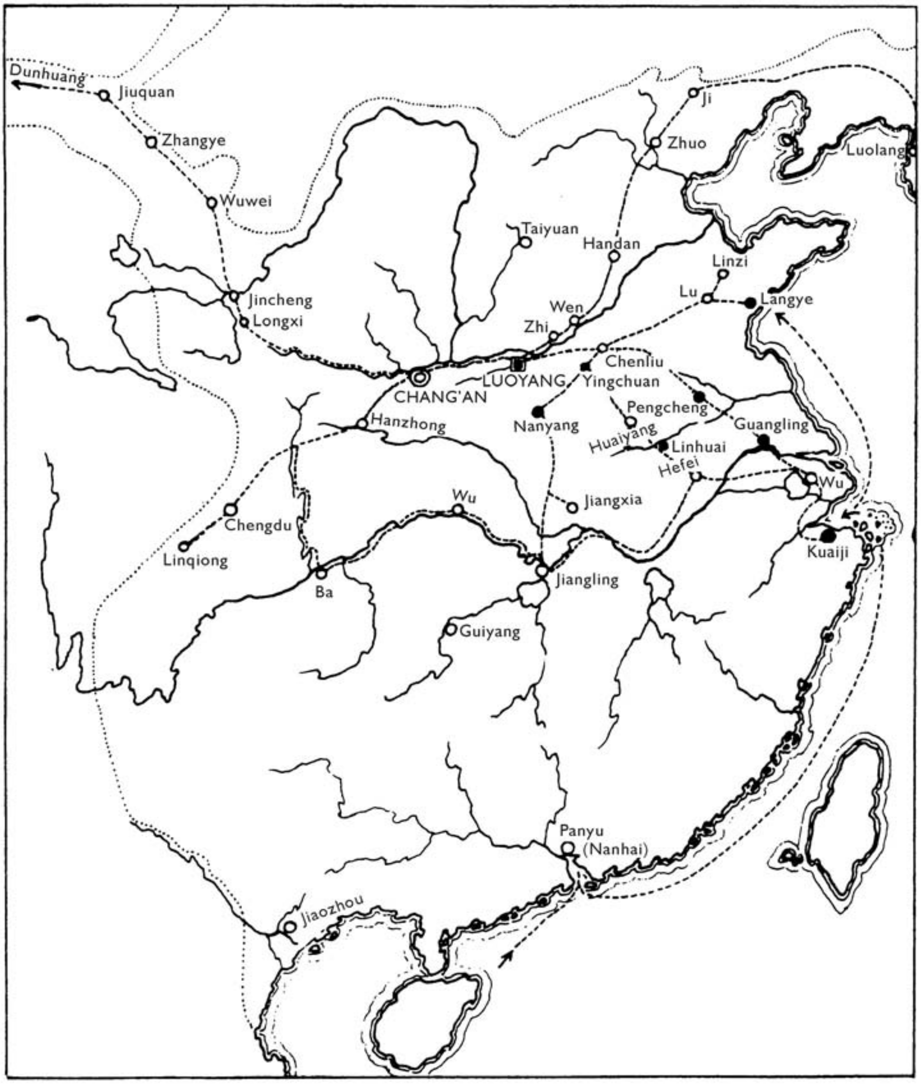
We do not know in any detail what kind of administrative work was done in Han times at the Honglu bureau in dealing with foreign nations and with foreigners on Chinese soil. It is, however, certain that there were several interpreters in its staff[112] and it is quite probable that here, in this administrative sphere, the first attempts were made to normalize the transcription of foreign names, especially in the last decades of the second century BC, the period of the first Chinese expansion on the continent and of the establishment of Chinese military and administrative centres in the Western regions. It may also be remarked that at all these centres a considerable number of interpreters were employed by the Chinese residents; the existence of (Chinese?) "directors of interpreters" (譯長) is attested in Former Han times in no less than twenty-three Chinese headquarters in Central Asia.[113] It remains obscure how the transcription system developed in Chinese government circles (and most probably at the Department of Foreign Relations) came to be used by Buddhist translators.

Territorial expansion under the Later Han.

On map I all localities which have been mentioned in the preceding pages in connection with Buddhism (centres of Buddhist activity as well as places of origin or prolonged residence of priests and lay devotees) have been marked. Map II shows the main routes and trade centres under the Later Han; a comparison of the two maps may illustrate how the penetration of Buddhism took place along these highways to the East. It must be remembered that Map I is based upon extremely fragmentary data, and that the empty spaces, notably the one covering the North-Western part of the empire, do not necessarily indicate that Buddhism did not exist in these regions. In the first decades



Map I. Buddhism during the later Han (25–220 AD)



Map II. The main routes and trade centres in later Han times

of the third century we find the first trace of Buddhism in the extreme South; Jiaozhou must have been a Buddhist centre, for it was here that the sinicized Sogdian missionary Kang Senghui was born and joined the *saṅgha*. The existence of Buddhism at Nanhai (Guangzhou) is less certain; it figures on the map as the place of origin of one of Lokakṣema's Chinese collaborators. It is of course very probable that Nanhai, the main centre of oversea trade, was among the first places where Buddhism penetrated from Jiaozhou and via the sea route.

II. The period of the Three Kingdoms (220–265/280)

Political and social changes.

The gradual disintegration of the Han empire had started at least as early as the middle of the second century, when the power of the central government was more and more undermined by the activities of competing factions and cliques, by the bloody struggles between court eunuchs and scholar-gentry and by the growing independence of provincial satraps. It was almost swept away by the "rebellion of the Yellow Turbans", a large-scale revolutionary movement under Daoist guidance or in Daoist guise, which in 184 AD broke out in various parts of the empire. The violent repression of this uprising and the military intervention at court against the party of the eunuchs and their shadow emperor (189 AD) marked the beginning of a period of unbridled warlordism and political chaos. In the North, all power gradually passed into the hands of the supreme warlord and "protector of the dynasty", Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220). By establishing military agricultural colonies which guaranteed a regular supply of grain for his armies, by reducing the taxes, by reviving the state monopoly on salt and by stimulating the repopulation of the deserted countryside, this exceptionally gifted statesman, general and poet succeeded in conquering and consolidating the whole of Northern China. He died before his final aim, the unification of the whole empire and the establishment of a new dynasty, had been realized. In the South, two independent centres of political power had developed in the meantime. Liu Bei 劉備 (162–222), a scion of the Han imperial family, had entrenched himself in Shu, the present-day Sichuan; at Wuchang, behind the formidable barrier of the Yangzi, the "marquis of Wu" Sun Quan 孫權 was waiting for an opportunity to throw off his allegiance to Cao Cao. On December 11, 220 AD, the last puppet emperor of the Han officially ceded the throne to Cao Cao's son Cao Pi 曹丕, who by that ritual act became the "legitimate" heir of the empire and the first emperor of the Wei 魏 dynasty (220–265). Five months later, Liu Bei at Chengdu assumed the title of emperor of Han; in May 229 Sun Quan, since 222 in open conflict with Wei, proclaimed himself emperor of the Wu 吳 dynasty, and moved his capital from Wuchang to Jianye 建業 (the present-day Nanjing).

In the North, Cao Cao (the factual founder of the Wei) had made an heroic effort to strengthen the power of the central government by building up a new corps of state officials selected on the basis of "talent only", and in various ways to curb the influence of the great families of land-owners. This policy, continued by the first Wei emperor, was an anachronism; the structure of society had undergone such radical changes that all attempts to reestablish

the centralized bureaucratic state—the ideal of the Qin and Han rulers—was doomed to failure. The great families had managed to survive the decades of civil war which had ruined the country and decimated the population. They had been living on their fortified estates under the protection of their private armies, and they had even been able to extend their domains by appropriating land and incorporating into their service the numberless small peasants and refugees who sought to enter their service as clients and serfs. This process, which by some authors is qualified as a "refeodalization" of society, created conditions which remained characteristic of medieval China. However, the result was not a "feudal state" consisting of virtually independent regions hereditarily ruled by enfeoffed aristocratic clans. With the unification of the North, the hierarchy of state officials (which theoretically never had ceased to exist) became effective and remained so; it was this very hierarchy itself which became an instrument in the hands of a relatively small number of high gentry clans, the members of which filled the higest civil and military posts and thereby monopolized all political power in the state.

Under such circumstances, the fortune of the house of Cao could not last long. The great families, threatened by Cao Cao's dictatorial measures, soon found a partisan in the powerful general Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251), who by a *coup-d'état* in 249 became the factual ruler of the state. The power of the great families was furthermore increased by the system for the selection of government officials introduced either under Cao Cao or under Cao Pi. This system was meant to secure a quick supply of candidates for the magistracy chosen from the local gentry under government supervision; by its simplicity it accorded well with the bold and experimental line of policy followed by Cao Cao. Information concerning the character and capacities of the candidate as reflected by the popular opinion was assembled by a magistrate called *zhongzheng* 中正, who had to be a native of the candidate's place of origin; this magistrate summarized his findings in a short "characterization" of the candidate's abilities, on the base of which the latter was assigned to one of the "nine classes" 九品 of individuals. The verdict tended to be decisive for the rest of his career. As might have been expected, the system became a powerful instrument in the hands of the great families who thereby found themselves in lasting control of the whole bureaucratic apparatus of the empire.

In 265 AD Sima Yan 司馬炎, a grandson of the general, dethroned the last ruler of the Wei and founded the Jin dynasty (265–420). The state of Han had already fallen in 263; the conquest of Wu and the unification of the empire were only a question of time. Attacked by the Jin armies from the West and from the North, Wu ceased to exist in 280 AD.

The role of Wu in early medieval history is very important; it marks the beginning of the intensive "sinification" of Southern China, at that period still a colonial region sparsely inhabited by the tribes of "Southern Barbarians", where vast stretches of virgin soil were opened for cultivation by the primitive method called *huogeng shuinou* 火耕水耨, i.e. by burning the vegetation and flooding the land. In contrast with the purely continental state of Wei, which was still connected with Central Asia, Wu was naturally directed towards the South and the sea-coast. The court at Jianye received products and used labourers from the "regions beyond the mountains" (Guangdong, Guangxi

and Indo-China); it was regularly visited by merchants and emissaries from the Southern kingdoms of Funan 扶南 and Linyi 林邑, and sent its own envoys as far as Southern Cambodia. The rise of Jianye as a great administrative and cultural centre in the South paved the way to future happenings; when some thirty years after the downfall of Wu the Northern provinces were overrun by the Xiongnu armies and the exodus of the court and the gentry to the South took place, it was again Jianye that became the seat of the Chinese government in exile and the main centre of culture.

Changes in the field of thought.

The great social and political changes which took place in the late second and early third century were accompanied and partly foreshadowed by an intense activity in the realm of thought.

During most of the Han period, Confucianism, thoroughly impregnated with Legalist notions, had served the government as the official state doctrine at the exclusion of other schools of thought. It had provided the government with a standard code of morals and ritual rules regulating the deportment of and the relations between rulers and subjects. As taught by state-appointed "scholars of wide learning" in the Great Seminar at the capital, it had served to imbue future officials with the standardized moral principles deemed indispensable for the fulfilment of their task: filial piety, integrity, loyalty to the throne. The Confucian classics formed a sacred Canon, revealed and fixed for all eternity by a superhuman Saint. Attempts were made to come to an authoritative and orthodox interpretation of the canon by means of theological councils held under imperial auspices. This interpretation was dominated by cosmological speculations on *yinyang* and the five elements, resulting in stupendous systems of classification and interrelation of all phenomena—veritable orgies of scholasticism.

At the beginning of our era, the more rationalistic "Old Text" school which challenged the validity of much of the traditional exegesis and which professed to base its doctrine upon the original, non-adulterated version of the classics, had started to gain some influence; its resistance against the ideas of what was henceforward known as the "New Text" school had gained full force in the course of the first century AD. However, all theoreticians of the period agreed in advocating the precepts of Confucianism as the only course of action to be followed by the government: the revival of the institutions of the golden past, strict observance of ritual rules and social duties, exaltation of the family as the cornerstone of society, government by means of "virtue" rather than by force or law.

When in the second half of the second century the centralized organization of the Han empire started to collapse, Confucianism lost much of its former prestige—it had obviously not succeeded in saving the world from disintegration, or safeguarding the position of those groups whose fate was tied to that of the central government. Disappointed members of the scholar-gentry started to look for other ways and means. Thus we find a sudden revival of various schools of thought which, in a combat of opinions not unlike that of the fourth and third century BC, strove to replace or to modify the doctrine that had failed.

The craving for order and peace pathetically manifests itself in a conspicuous

revival of Legalism—propagating "government by means of punishments and rewards" and "taking measures according to circumstances"—which anticipated and paved the way to Cao Cao's dictatorship. But we find also a renewed interest in Daoist philosophy, advocating a return to the rustic simplicity of primeval society without laws or prescribed ethics, and stressing the pursuit of personal bliss by following one's inclinations and by a mystic union with the course of Nature. Even Mohism and the ancient school of the Dialecticians (刑名家) regained some influence.

In the middle of the third century, the scene has changed again. Cao Cao's legalist policy had failed. Ideologically, the victory of the Sima clan means the supremacy of Confucianism with its stress upon tradition, social virtues and ritual. It was, however, the Confucianism of the Old Text school which had gained the victory; the cosmological theories of the New Text scholars no longer occupied the central position. Confucianism, once more reduced to a system of social and political thought, was deprived of its overblown scholastic metaphysics, and this vacuum *in Confucianism* was in the course of the third century filled by a set of ideas and notions which consequently never formed a "school" outside of or opposite to Confucianism. This new trend in Chinese philosophy is known as "Dark Learning" (*xuanxue* 玄學); its origin is traditionally associated with the names of He Yan 何晏 (?–249) and the precocious genius Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249). *Xuanxue* is primarily based on the philosophy of the *Book of Changes*, mingled with ideas extracted from early Daoist thought (notably from *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*), all of which was, however, subjected to a drastic reinterpretation. About He Yan's role in the "creation" of *xuanxue* not much is known. Wang Bi's commentaries to the *Book of Changes* and to the *Daode jing* became two of the three most authoritative texts of "Dark Learning", the third one being the *Zhuangzi* commentary by Guo Xiang 郭象 (?–312) in which the author incorporated most or all of the earlier commentary by Xiang Xiu 向秀 (223–ca. 300). Guo Xiang's work has remained the most comprehensive and clear exposition of this line of thought (which, like most forms of Chinese philosophy, never became a well-defined system or doctrine). Dark Learning remained the leading way of thought among the cultured gentry during the whole period which we propose to treat in this book. Not without reason: *xuanxue* appears essentially to be the philosophy (and, in many cases, the intellectual pastime) of a refined and aristocratic leisure class, whose interest has turned from the practical business of everyday life to gnostic and ontological problems such as the relation between "original non-being" (本無) and the world of phenomena, the presence or absence of emotions in the Sage, the nature of music, the extent to which words can express ideas, and other subjects of a highly speculative nature. We shall see how the popularity of such "talk about emptiness and non-being" was a factor of the utmost importance in the development of early Chinese gentry Buddhism.

Buddhism in the state of Wu, 220–284 ad.

Translators and translations.

The capital of Sun Quan was situated from 221 to 229 at Wuchang; in 229 Jianye became the seat of the government. Around 225 we find three

Buddhist translators working at Wuchang, and shortly after 229 two of them appear to have moved to the new capital. This single fact may illustrate the most striking aspect of Southern Buddhism in the first half of the third century: its orientation towards the higher and highest strata of society, the government, the court.

The two most important figures of Buddhism at Wu, the Indo-scythian *upāsaka* Zhi Qian 支謙 and the Sogdian monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 had both been born on Chinese territory, and both had obtained a Chinese literary education. A translator and a preacher—but how different from the first pioneers at Luoyang! There we found culturally isolated *ācāryas* who in broken Chinese tried to expound the principles of a "barbarian" creed in a world of strangers; here we meet naturalized *literati* like Zhi Qian "whose talents and learning were profound and penetrating, and who had completely mastered the Buddhist and secular (teachings)"[114] and like Kang Senghui who was "widely read in the six (Confucian) classics… and able to expound the principles of government, and who excelled in literary composition".[115]

The two Indian masters who in 224 arrived at Wuchang were Vighna (Weiqinan 維祇難) and Zhu Jiangyan 竺將炎 (var. Lüyan 律炎).[116] According to a tradition, for the first time attested in *GSZ*, Vighna came from a Brahmin family; after his conversion and ordination he had become a specialist in the *Āgamas*.[117] About his companion nothing more is known. Among their collaborators at Wuchang we find the famous Zhi Qian, about whose life and activities we shall speak below. Together they made a rough translation of the *Dharmapada* (*Udānavarga*), entitled *Faju jing* 法句經, a collection of Buddhist verse the compilation of which is attributed to Dharmatrāta; the translation, which was made from an Indian original counting 500 verses, consisted of twenty-six sections which roughly correspond to the Pāli *Dhammapada*.[118] The Dharmapada, which remained one of the most popular works of Buddhist literature in China, seems already before Vighna's arrival to have been accessible to the Chinese in a still older translation. The tradition which attributes a translation of this work to An Shigao seems apocryphal, but a "version in 700 verses in recent times transmitted by Master Ge 葛氏" is mentioned in a very early "Preface to the *Dharmapada*" 法句經序.[119] The name of the author of this preface is not indicated; it is, however, practically certain that it was written by Zhi Qian.[120] This important document gives a contemporary account of the work performed by Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan and their Chinese assistants, and contains some remarks about the problems connected with the translation of Indian texts in general. It proves that the translators had become aware of the fundamental difficulty inherent in all Buddhist translation work: the alternative between producing a faithful and literal, but (according to Chinese taste) unpalatable rendering, and sacrificing literalness to the demands of stylistic refinement and making a polished version, a "Buddhism for Chinese Readers", adapted to the taste of the literate Chinese public. By Chinese critics these alternatives, are often associated with the traditional distinction between *zhi* 質, "(crude) material" (implying simplicity and sincerity, but also coarseness and boorishness) and *wen* 文, "culture" (suggesting elegance and formal attractiveness).[121] The following passage is most interesting, as it shows both the attitude of the Indian translator towards his work, and the reaction of his Chinese collaborators:

"At first I objected against the wording (of this translation) as being unrefined. (To this), Vighna replied: "As to the words of the Buddha, we are concerned with their meaning, and do not need to adorn them; the grasping of the doctrine they (contain) is not effected by adding embellishment. Those who transmit the scriptures (in another language) must make them easy to understand, and the meaning must not be lost—(only) then the work is well done." All those present said: "Laozi has said: 'Beautiful words are not reliable, reliable words are not beautiful'.[122] Likewise, Confucius has said: 'Writing does not completely express speech, nor does speech completely express the ideas'.[123] This (correspondence) clearly shows the unfathomable depth of the Saint's thoughts" . . .".[124]

To Zhi Qian, Vighna seems to have spoken these words in vain. Somewhat later, at Jianye, he and Zhu Jiangyan made a more comprehensive and "polished" version of the *Dharmapada* in 39 sections and 732 verses; it is this version that still figures under the name of Vighna in the Buddhist canon (T 210).

Zhi Qian.

Zhi Qian, also named Zhi Yue 支越 (*zi* Gongming 恭明)[125] was the grandson of an Indo-scythian who under emperor Ling (168–188 AD) had come to settle at Luoyang. When twelve years old, he took up the study of "barbarian writing(s)" 胡書 and mastered six foreign languages.[126] At Luoyang he became a lay disciple of his compatriot Zhi Liang 支亮, who himself had been a pupil of Lokakṣema;[127] he consequently belonged to the predominantly Mahāyāna school of Buddhism represented by the Yuezhi missionaries at Luoyang.

Shortly before 220 he went to the South, first to Wuchang, after 229 to Jianye. It is here that he started translating a considerable number of Buddhist scriptures, the original copies of which he is said to have gathered himself, most probably at Jianye. This fact, which implies of course the existence of Buddhism in the lower Yangzi region at the beginning of the third century, need not surprise us. The traditional view is that Kang Senghui (cf. below), who in 247 AD arrived at Jianye, was the first to preach the doctrine in the region South of the Yangzi (Zhi Qian, being a *upāsaka*, could perform the meritorious work of translating scriptures, but was not authorized directly to engage in missionary activities). This tradition does not seem to be based on fact. Buddhism must have infiltrated into the region of Jianye either from the Huai basin in the North or from Wuchang along the Yangzi. There is one additional fact which proves the existence of Buddhist clergy at Jianye several years before Kang Senghui's arrival at the new capital.

In his preface to the *Shi'ermen jing* 十二門經 (ca. 350 AD)[128] Dao'an tells how the ancient manuscript of this sūtra was discovered by a certain monk named Zhu Daohu 竺道護 among the scriptures owned by a gentleman at Dongyuan 東垣 (N.W. Henan); the manuscript bore a colophon which read: "Copied in the seventh year of Jiahe (238 AD), at Jianye, in the house of Mr. Zhou, the *sili*" 嘉禾七年在建業周司舍寫. The *sili* (or *sili xiaowei* 司隸校尉) was the commander of the police troups in the metropolitan area, a functionary of considerable importance. Unfortunately, the historical records do not mention any person named Zhou who filled this

post in the first half of the third century. If the colophon reproduced by Dao'an is genuine—and we do not see any reason to question its authenticity—it follows not only that the Buddhist clergy (who no doubt supervised the work of copying) at that date existed at Jianye, but also that its influence had already reached the upper classes, and that *dānapatis* were found among the highest government officials.

According to his biography in *CSZJJ* and *GSZ*, Zhi Qian would have had an interview with Sun Quan, the ruler of Wu (reigned 229–252).

> "When Sun Quan heard about (Zhi Qian's) wide learning and extraordinary wisdom, he immediately summoned him to court. When questioned about the deep and hidden meaning (of certain passages) of the canonical scriptures, (Zhi) Yue (i.e. Zhi Qian) explained the difficult points with great versatility, leaving no doubt unsolved. (Sun) Quan was greatly pleased with him, and appointed him as a scholar of wide learning (*boshi*) charged with the instruction of the crownprince, heaping favours and ranks upon him".[129]

The *GSZ* adds that Zhi Qian shared this function with Wei Yao 韋曜 (originally named Wei Zhao 昭, ca. 200–273 AD), a famous Confucian scholar and one of the compilers of the *Wushu* 吳書:

> "but since (Zhi Qian) was a foreigner by birth, the Annals of Wu (吳志) do not mention him . . .".[130]

This story is perhaps not as apocryphal as it looks, in spite of the fact that actually neither the *Sanguo zhi* nor any contemporary text contains any trace of Zhi Qian's alleged career as a court official. As has been demonstrated by Tang Yongtong (*History*, p. 131) the crownprince in question was Sun Deng 孫登, who was given that status in 229 and who died in 241. According to his biography[131] Sun Deng was surrounded by a great number of scholars and tutors whom he treated in a very friendly and unceremonious way; on account of these relations the palace of the crownprince was commonly called "the Numerous Scholars" 多士 (an allusion to the title of a chapter of the *Shujing*). However, Zhi Qian can hardly have been there together with Wei Yao who at that time was still at the beginning of his career; he became a tutor to Sun He 孫和 who was crownprince from 242 to 250,[132] whereas Zhi Qian is stated to have left the capital after Sun Deng's death, i.e. in or shortly after 241 AD.

Zhi Qian's biography furthermore contains a quotation from a "Letter to the monks" 與眾僧書 by Sun Quan's successor Sun Liang 亮 (reigned 252–257) expressing his regret at Zhi Qian's death.[133] If this letter is genuine, it is another symptom of the connection between Buddhism and the court at Jianye.

So, in or shortly after 241 Zhi Qian retired to the Qionglong Shan 穹隆山 (South-West of Wuxian 吳縣, Jiangsu), where he joined a (Chinese?) master named Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (? Dharmaratna). This detail does not occur in the *GSZ*, which in all other respects faithfully copies the account of the *CSZJJ*. The reason for this omission is probably that according to the well-known legend about emperor Ming's dream as set forth by Huijiao in the first chapter of his *GSZ*, a Zhu Falan was one of the two Indian teachers who around 67 AD arrived at Luoyang, so that the story of Zhi Qian's association with Zhu Falan around the middle of the third century must have

struck Huijiao as a flagrant anachronism. On the other hand, Sengyou's *CSZJJ* (slightly earlier than the *GSZ*) does not mention the names of the two first Indian missionaries at all; there is consequently no reason to doubt the historicity of this passage. Nothing more is known about this Zhu Falan under whom Zhi Qian "practised the five rules (for laymen), conversing with nobody but monks";[134] he cannot be identical with the Chinese master Yu Falan 于法蘭 who some fifty years later lived in about the same region.[135] Zhi Qian did not return to the capital; he must have died under the reign of Sun Liang, i.e. between 252 and 257.

In the period 220–252 AD (coinciding with the reign of Sun Quan) Zhi Qian translated a considerable number of scriptures;[136] he was, in fact, the only important translator in Southern China before the late fourth century.

Of the thirty-six works attributed to him by Sengyou in the early sixth century, twenty-three have been preserved.[137] The majority of these works belong to the Mahāyāna; among the sūtras which were translated into Chinese for the first time the most important was no doubt his still existing version of the *Vimalakīrti* (*nirdeśa*) *sūtra* 維摩詰經 (T 474), one of the masterpieces of Buddhist literature which in China has ever since been among the most highly venerated works of the canon. Between the beginning of the third and the middle of the seventh century it was seven times translated into Chinese, and at least nine commentaries were written to it before the seventh century. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* played a very important role in the Buddhism of the cultured gentry, to which this sūtra appealed both by its remarkable literary qualities and by its abstruse and highly philosophical contents. Zhi Qian was also the first to translate the fundamental scripture of the cult of Amitābha (Amitāyus) which in later times would come to play such a prominent role in Far Eastern Buddhism: the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (T 362).

We must also mention his translation of an account of the first part of the Buddha's life, the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 (T 185) which would remain the most popular work of its kind; it is another version of the work which at the end of the second century had already been translated under the title of *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經 (T 184).

Zhi Qian's translations are very free. All sources stress his mastery of the language and the elegance of his style, but more often than not there is an undertone of criticism directed against his habit of adding stylistic ornaments, of translating every word (including proper names) into Chinese, and of summarizing the wording of the original texts with their long-winded narratives and endless repetitions.[138] The urge to present the doctrine to the literate public in a more palatable form is also manifested by his revisions of existing translations. Thus he wrote a "streamlined" version of Lokakṣema's *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*,[139] a new translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* translated before by Lokakṣema,[140] an enlarged edition of Vighna's *Dharmapada*, a new redaction of Kang Mengxiang's *Xiuxing benqi jing*, and perhaps also a more elegant version of the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections".[141]

Zhi Qian is furthermore said to have composed the first Chinese Buddhist hymns (*fanbai* 梵唄, *zan* 讚), stanzas sung to an accompaniment of musical instruments and inserted in the recitative of Buddhist scriptures (*zhuandu* 轉讀). A work of his hand, entitled "Hymns consisting of correlated phrases

sung in praise of the Bodhisattva", *Zanpusa lianju fanbai* 讚菩薩連句梵唄, is mentioned in his biography;[142] it still existed at the beginning of the sixth century.[143] As we shall see below, another (certainly apocryphal) tradition, not attested before the middle of the fifth century, attributes the composition of the first Chinese Buddhist hymns to the great poet Cao Zhi 曹植, king of Chensi 陳思王 (192–232 AD; see below).

Kang Senghui.

In 247, a few years after Zhi Qian had left Jianye, the famous Sogdian monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 arrived at the capital. He came from Jiaozhi 交趾, the provincial capital of Jiaozhou in the extreme South of the empire (near present-day Hanoi). His family had been living in India for generations; his father, a merchant, had come to settle at this important commercial town.

At that time, Jiaozhi had already become a centre of Chinese culture. Since the last decades of the second century a great number of Chinese officials and *literati* had fled from the central and northern provinces to this prosperous and comparatively peaceful region, where they must have formed a Chinese élite in a practically autonomous area. But, besides the Chinese, other foreigners must have been numerous as well. Already in the second century the route followed by travellers from India and the Roman Orient went via Funan 扶南 (the region of the lower Mekong), Linyi 林邑 (Champa), Rinan 日南 and Jiaozhou.[144] It was here that in 226 AD a merchant from the Roman Orient, named Qinlun 秦倫, arrived.[145] The same king of Funan who in 243 AD sent an embassy to Sun Quan[146] a few years earlier had charged one of his relatives with a mission to India.[147] Thus, in this borderland half-way between the centres of Chinese and Indian civilization, the intelligentsia must have been exposed to influences from both directions. At Jiaozhi the influence of Chinese culture no doubt predominated: Shi Xie 士燮 (177–266), since 204 governor of Jiaozhou, had become one of the great patrons of Chinese culture in the South. But on the other hand we read how this satrap and his brothers (whose family had been living in this region since the beginning of the first century) had undergone the influence of their non-Chinese surroundings; wherever they went, they were followed, like real nabobs, by musicians playing flutes, bells and drums and accompanied by several tens of "barbarians" (胡人) who walked on either side of their carriages and burned incense. Another governor of Jiaozhou, Zhang Jin 張津, went perhaps even farther in his un-Chinese behaviour: "he abandoned the norms and teachings of the former Sages and abolished the laws and statutes of the Han, and he used to wear a purple turban, to play the lute and to burn incense, and to read heterodox and vulgar religious scriptures 邪俗道書; this, he said, contributed to the transforming influence (of his government)".[148]

Kang Senghui became an orphan when he was in his teens. After his parents' death he joined the order—a fact which proves the existence of an organized Buddhist community at Jiaozhi at the beginning of the third century. We do not know anything about his first masters whom he mentions twice with great affection and veneration; it seems that they had died before he went to the North.[149] Kang Senghui certainly knew Sanskrit, and he is said to have excelled by his great knowledge of the Tripiṭaka (probably a laudatory formula which must not be taken literally). But on the other hand,

he was "widely read in the Six (Confucian) Classics, and well-versed in astronomy, diagrams 圖 and apocrypha 緯", which implies that he had obtained a Chinese literary education, and the truth of this statement is amply borne out by the nature of his writings. All this proves that in the extreme South a hybrid form of Buddhism strongly influenced by Chinese notions had already developed and that some kind of contact existed between the foreign clergy and the Chinese cultured minority in that region. The famous propagandistic treatise known as the *Li huo lun* 理惑論 by Mouzi 牟子 is perhaps a product of this highly sinicized Buddhism, although in our opinion (cf. above, ch. I) it certainly does not date from the late second century as it professes to do, and probably is not older than the fourth century.

Shortly after his arrival at Jianye (247 AD), Kang Senghui seems to have come in contact with the court and the reigning family. Unfortunately, the sketch of his life as given in *CSZJJ* ch. XIII and *GSZ* ch. I[150] is obscured by legend. According to these biographies he was arrested by imperial order and brought to the court for investigation. When asked to produce concrete evidence for the truth of the new religion, he effected the miraculous apparition of a Buddha-relic, after which Sun Quan built for him the first Buddhist monastery at the Southern capital, the *Jianchusi* 建初寺. Sun Hao 孫皓, who from 264 to 280 reigned as the fourth and last ruler of Wu, did not share his grandfather's favourable attitude towards Buddhism; however, his plan to destroy all Buddhist temples was discarded after Kang Senghui had eloquently defended the right of existence of the doctrine. The biographies contain what professes to be a record of this discussion, which, if it were authentic, would be an extremely interesting document; it would e.g. be the first case in which the dogma of karmic retribution of good and evil actions is associated with the Chinese concept of "stimulus and response" 感應 in Nature, Heaven automatically reacting to the ruler's virtues or sins by manifesting auspicious or ominous portents. However, the whole story seems to be apocryphal.

Sun Hao's iconoclastic inclinations remained unshaken. When a Buddhist image was dug up in the park of the imperial harem, he had it moved to an urinal and personally performed what he called "the (ritual of) washing the Buddha" 灌佛, to the great hilarity of his courtiers. Instantly struck with a mysterious and painful disease, the tyrant submitted to the power of the Buddha. He accepted the five rules, enlarged the Jianchusi and ordered all his courtiers to adore the Buddha. In 280 the state of Wu was conquered by Jin, and in the same year Kang Senghui died.

It is hard to say whether this piece of hagiography has any historical foundation. Two facts must be noted. In the first place, there was indeed a persecution of Buddhism, although it took place several years before Sun Hao's accession to the throne. It was, moreover, not directed against Buddhism only, but against "heterodox cults" in general. According to the biography of Sun Lin 孫綝 (231–258), this general

> "insulted the gods (venerated by) the people. He then burned the shrine of Wu Zixu at Daqiaotou;[151] he also destroyed the Buddhist temple(s) and had the priests decapitated".[152]

Sun Lin's drastic measures appear to have been directed against the popular Buddhist cult; the Jianchusi is not mentioned.

Secondly, it is not improbable that Kang Senghui was actually connected in some way with the imperial court during the last years of Sun Quan's reign. We have already spoken about the tradition which makes Zhi Qian fill a position at court. Sun Quan seems to have ardently believed in the words and practices of Daoist magicians, especially in his last years. In 241 AD Sun Deng urges him "to cultivate the arts of Huanglao and diligently (thereby) to nourish the light of the spirit".[153] Around the middle of the third century there was a "divine man (神人) named Wang Biao 王表, who roamed among the people, speaking and drinking and eating just like other men". In 251 Sun Quan summoned him to court, had a house built for him outside the Canglung gate and from time to time sent courtiers to him with presents of wine and food. Wang Biao used to speak with the emperor about future happenings like floods and droughts, "and his words often came true"; it was this "divine man" who in 251 AD told Sun Quan to change the name of the era into *taiyuan*. High officials and generals used to visit him and to ask for good fortune (請福). In 252 Sun Quan died and Wang Biao fled from the capital.[154] Here we have a Daoist counterpart of Kang Senghui who, according to his biography, also used miracles to impress the ruler and who equally felt compelled "to restrict his teachings to (adducing) superficial proofs of the (reality of) karmic retribution".[155] In view of these facts it is indeed not improbable that Kang Senghui was attached to the court as a kind of "Buddhist magician", as also repeatedly happened with other Buddhist masters in the course of the fourth century.

Kang Senghui's activities as a translator were rather limited. The canon contains two collections of *avadānas* ascribed to him: *Liudu jijing* 六度集經 (T 152)[156] and (*Jiu*) *Zapiyu jing* (舊)雜譬喻經 (T 206;[157] the latter work, however, is not mentioned in the oldest catalogues. Dao'an furthermore mentions a work called *Wupin* 吳品, in five *juan* and ten sections (*pin*), perhaps a version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*? It had already been lost at the time of Sengyou.[158]

Kang Senghui's Buddhism formed a continuation of the Northern school of An Shigao, An Xuan and Yan Fotiao with its stress upon *dhyāna*. Together with a certain Chen Hui 陳慧 from Kuaiji he wrote a commentary to the *Anban shouyi jing*, the basic scripture of this school, which, in spite of its title, has none of the characteristic features of a sūtra; its contents closely agree with the section on *ānāpānasmṛti* in scholastic treatises like Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogacārabhūmi* and the *Mahāvibhāṣa*.[159] The text of the present *Anban shouyi jing* (T 602) is mixed with an ancient commentary, which probably consists of Chen Hui's and Kang Senghui's explanations and of glosses added by Dao'an (312–285). Kang Senghui also wrote a commentary to the (Mahāyāna) *Fajing jing* 法鏡經 translated by An Xuan and Yan Fotiao. His prefaces to these two commentaries have been preserved (cf. note 149); they contain a few interesting remarks about his own life: how his parents died when he was a boy, his excessive grief at the death of his masters (at Jiaozhi), the years of war and chaos during which it was almost impossible to practise the religious life, his great joy at meeting three adepts from the school of An Shigao.

From a doctrinary point of view, the most interesting documents are no doubt the introductory sections to five of the six parts of Kang Senghui's

Liudu jijing 六度集經 (T 152)—the section on the *prajñāpāramitā* has been lost—which were written by Kang Senghui himself.[160] His connection with the "*dhyāna*" school appears already from the fact that the fifth section, a detailed description of the four stages of trance, is about as long as the other four introductions taken together.

Two other very early commentaries have been preserved; the quotations from Buddhist scriptures which they contain point to the middle of the third century as the date of their composition and to Wu as their place of provenance. The "Commentary on the *Yinchiru jing* 陰持入經 (T 1694) wholly belongs to the Hīnayānistic "*dhyāna*"-school founded by An Shigao, whose talents and virtues are extolled in the preface to this commentary. In the canon the work is attributed to "master Chen" 陳氏 or Chen Hui, the same man who together with Kang Senghui wrote the commentary on the *Anban shouyi jing*, but in the preface the author calls himself Mi 密. About his identity or that of his master nothing is known; many glosses are headed by the words "the master says—" (師云). "The master" may be Kang Senghui, as among the thirteen works quoted in the commentary we find an "Explanation of the *Anban*", *Anban jie* 安般解, which probably refers to Kang Senghui's commentary on the *Anban shouyi jing* mentioned above. It must be noted that the work in question—a commentary to a Hīnayānistic scripture—refers many times to Mahāyāna texts in order to elucidate passages from this "sūtra"; we find, *inter alia*, three quotations from the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*) and one from the *Vimalakīrtisūtra*, both translated by Zhi Qian.[161]

The same may be observed in the second commentary: the anonymous glosses which are contained in the first chapter of Zhi Qian's *Da mingdu jing* (T 225). They are very probably a product of the same school as the work mentioned above: the same scriptures (both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna) are quoted, and most glosses are introduced by "the master says—". The terminology and style shows that this "master" was either a Chinese or a thoroughly sinicized foreigner.[162] A detailed study of the three oldest Chinese Buddhist commentaries which have been preserved would be an important contribution to our knowledge of the doctrinal aspects of this earliest phase of Chinese Buddhism.

To judge from the quotations contained in these two commentaries, the following works seem to have been the most fundamental scriptures of Southern Buddhism around the middle of the third century:

A. *Anban shouyi jing* (T 602), *Yinchiru jing* (T 603), *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T 607; *Yogācārabhūmi*), *Fajing jing* 法鏡經 (T 322; *Ugra*(*datta*)*paripṛcchā*), all very early products of the school of An Shigao at Luoyang.

B. *Dunzhen jing* 屯 (var. 純) 真經, i.e. the *Dunzhentuoluo suowen rulai sanmei jing* 伅真陀羅所問如來三昧經 (T 624, *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchā*), probably translated by Lokakṣema.

C. *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經 (T 225; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'*), *Weimo jing* 維摩經 (T 474; *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*), *Laomu jing* 老母經 (var. *Lao nüren jing* 老女人經, T 559; *Mahallikāparipṛcchā*), *Huiyin (sanmei) jing* 慧印[三昧]經 (T 632, *Tathāgatajñānamudrasamādhi*) and *Liaoben shengsi jing* 了本生死經 (T 708), all translated by Zhi Qian.

D. The *Faju jing* 法句經 (T 210; *Dharmapada*), also referred to as "the Stanzas" (偈); translated by Vighna and enlarged and revised by Zhu Jiangyan and Zhi Qian.

E. *Zhongxin jing* 中心經 (var. *Zhongxin zhengxing jing* 中心正行經, T 743), an anonymous early third century version, in the *Lidai sanbao ji* (597 AD) and later catalogues wrongly attributed to the late fourth century translator Dharmaratna 竺曇無蘭.[163]

Buddhism in the state of Wei, 220–265 *AD*.

If the main trends of the development of Buddhism at the Southern capital are reasonably clear, the same cannot be said about the history of the Buddhist centres in the Northern empire, where we are seriously handicapped by lack of source material. Nothing at all is known about the period from the last decade of the Han to the middle of the third century, and the little information which is available for the next two decades is only to be found in rather late sources. As far as the translation of scriptures is concerned (it must be remembered that this is the only aspect of early Chinese Buddhism about which we are sufficiently well-informed) the Wei seems to have been a period of non-activity. The earliest bibliographers (Dao'an and Sengyou) do not list any names of translators or works translated during this period. The *Gaoseng zhuan* and the later catalogues speak about a few foreign masters: the Indian Dharmakāla (in the earlier sources curiously transcribed as Tankejialuo 曇柯迦羅), the Sogdian Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧 (? Saṅghavarman), the two Parthians Tan(wu)di 曇[無]諦 (? Dharmasatya) and An Faxian 安法賢 (? Dharmabhadra).[164] They all arrived in or shortly after 250 AD at Luoyang, which at that time still must have been the stronghold of Buddhism in the North. Only a few translations of minor importance are attributed to them.

The only notable fact which probably has more than strictly philological significance is the sudden appearance of several treatises on monastic discipline which mark the beginning of the introduction of the Vinaya in a written form into China. As Maspero has rightly remarked,[165] some code of monastic rules—notably those pertaining to the ordination of monks—must have been known in China, at least summarily, before that time, probably by oral transmission, and the statement of the *Gaoseng zhuan* that before Dharmakāla's arrival the ordination ceremony simply consisted of accepting the tonsure seems incorrect. However, it may well be that the oral transmission of the Vinaya rules and the regular ordination of monks had by that time fallen into disuse because no foreign *ācāryas* qualified to perform these tasks were present at the capital, a hypothesis which is corroborated by the complete silence of our sources over a period of some forty years during which no translation activities are reported. The lack of competent religious leaders may have resulted in such a disorderly state of affairs as is pictured by the *Gaoseng zhuan*:

> "There were monks who had never been ordained (歸戒) and who only by their tonsure distinguished themselves from the profane; when performing[166] the (ceremonies of) fasting and confession (of sins) they imitated the (non-Buddhist) sacrificial rites (祠祀)".[167]

In any case, the translation of these works around the middle of the third century proves that at that time in the Buddhist colony at Luoyang the need

was felt for a stricter and more detailed formulation of the rules for the religious life. In 250 AD Dharmakāla made a Chinese version of the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsāṅghikas, *Sengqi jieben* 僧祇戒本; shortly afterwards Kang Sengkai translated the *Karmavācanā* of the Dharmaguptaka school, *Tanwude lübu zajiemo* 曇無德律部雜羯磨 (T 1432) probably from a Prākrit original, and another version of the same work was made by Tandi in 255: *Jiemo* 羯磨 (T 1433).[168]

There is no reliable evidence of any contact between the Buddhist Church at Luoyang and the cultured upper classes there. The existing translations of this period show no traces of the influence of the Chinese literary tradition; on the other hand, not a single allusion to the existence of Buddhism has so far been found in the works of the great philosophers, poets and prose-writers of the Wei. You Huan's confused and almost unintelligible account of Buddhism, no doubt based on third century source material, clearly demonstrates the all but complete ignorance about the history and contents of the doctrine in official circles.

Later Buddhist literature contains some allusions to the existence of contact between Buddhism and the imperial family of the Wei; none of these sounds very convincing.

One of these traditions mentions a letter by Cao Cao, written in reply to the scholar Kong Rong 孔融 (late second century) in which he is said to have spoken about the Buddhist faith.[169] Nothing more is known about the contents of this letter which does not occur in collections of Buddhist documents like the *Hongming ji* and which is never quoted in Buddhist apologetic literature, although it appears to have existed around the middle of the fifth century when it is mentioned for the first time. In view of this, Cao Cao's letter must very probably be relegated to the realm of pious forgeries, apocrypha and false attributions.

According to a second tradition, the great poet Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232), the fourth son of Cao Cao, was not only a fervent admirer of the doctrine but also the creator of Buddhist hymns (*fanbai* 梵唄). In one of the last years of his life, when he was sent to Donge 東阿 (Shandong), he once visited Mt. Yu 魚山 and was there inspired by the singing of heavenly voices to compose more than three thousand pieces of *fanbai*, of which impressive number only forty-two were transmitted to posterity. The tradition is obviously apocryphal. Cao Zhi, who is known to have shared his father's sceptical attitude towards the practices of Daoist masters, was certainly not the man to be deeply interested in the doctrine which at that time was still so closely affiliated with Daoism. In a recent article Mrs. Whitaker has shown that the earliest form of the legend—one of the two versions which are to be found in a fifth century collection of tales of marvels, the Yiyuan 異苑 by Liu Jingshu 劉敬叔—is definitely of Daoist provenance. The earliest known Buddhist version (equally found in the *Yiyuan*), which by its very form betrays its later date, is merely an adaption of a Daoist story in which, for propagandistic purposes, the name of the famous poet and king of Chensi 陳思 was used to enhance the prestige of the Buddhist Church.[170] This was not the first time that the person of Cao Zhi became the subject of a Daoist propagandistic story: Ge Hong 葛洪 (ca. 250–ca. 330) in the second chapter of his *Baopuzi* gives a so-called quotation from a treatise by Cao Zhi entitled *Shiyi lun*

釋疑論, in which the latter declares himself fully convinced of the miraculous powers of the Daoist adepts.[171] Although it is possible that this *Shiyi lun* is one of the lost works of Cao Zhi (of his collected works, which according to the *Suishu jingji zhi* counted thirty *juan*, only about one third has been preserved), the contents of this treatise contrast strangely with his very critical and ironical remarks about such Daoist practices in his famous *Biandao lun* 辨道論 (which on account of these has even been included in the Buddhist *Guang hongming ji*).[172] Hence it seems more probable that the *Shiyi lun* quoted by Ge Hong was a Daoist forgery, intended to make the illustrious poet a champion of Daoism.

A third tradition according to which emperor Ming of the Wei (227–240) erected a large Buddhist temple at Luoyang, is not found in sources before the middle of the sixth century (the earliest one being the "Section on Buddhism and Daoism" from the *Weishu* by Wei Shou 魏收, 502–572 AD) and is of no value whatsoever.[173]

III. The Western Jin (265–317 AD)

The political scene.

For a few decades after the re-unification of the empire the power of the Sima family remained unshaken. The reign of emperor Wu (265–290), the first Jin ruler, was a period of order and relative prosperity, a short interlude between the turbulent age of the Three Kingdoms and the dark times which were lying ahead. After the conquest of Wu (280), the empire had been reunited under one central government, and the ruler's position at that time seems to have been strong enough to undertake various important reforms such as the introduction of a new system of taxation by "household levies" (戶調) of the whole population including the "barbarian" tribes in the outlying territories. Other measures taken by the Jin government testify of the influence of the great families and of the desire of the ruling family to keep the power of these rival clans within certain limits, at the same time, however, recognizing and institutionalizing the latter's privileges, i.a. by a fixation of the amount of landed property allowed to government officials, and of the maximum numbers of protegees and clients which magistrates were allowed to attach to their private household.[174] Another aspect of the ever-growing influence of the aristocracy behind the Confucian facade appears from the fact that the Great Seminar (太學), where future officials were deemed to receive their literary education, had proved to be a complete failure since its reestablishment in 224,[175] and that the importance of this Han time institution was soon overshadowed by the "Academy for young noblemen" (國子監); this exclusive college was already enlarged and reorganized in 278, two years after its establishment.[176]

The relative strength and prestige of the court at Luoyang are also apparent from the frequent contacts between the Chinese government and the rulers of the countries of Central and South-eastern Asia in the period 265–290. We hear about embassies and tribute from the Western Region, notably from Shanshan (鄯善, Lop nor), Khotan, Kuchā, Qarašāhr (焉耆) and Ferghana, in the years 271, 283, 285 and 287, and about emissaries from the Southern states of Linyi (Champa) and Funan (the region of the lower Mekong)

in 268, 284, 285, 286, 287, and 289.[177] In 285 AD a Chinese ambassador was sent to Ferghana to confer the title of King 王 upon the ruler of that country;[178] around the same time emperor Wu appears to have entertained friendly relations with the kingdoms of Shanshan, Khotan, Qarašāhr, Kuchā and Kashgar, the kings of which had been given Chinese titles.[179] Equally significant is the fact that in the year 290 the rapid succession of foreign embassies comes to a sudden end; from that date to the unglorious end of the western Jin the annals do not mention one single case of official contact between the Chinese court and the surrounding states.

We can only summarily trace the course of events during the twenty years following the death of emperor Wu which led to the complete dislocation and final breakdown of the Chinese government in the Northern half of the empire. The process of disintegration took place in three distinct phases:

(a) The struggles between rival clans at the court. In the last years of emperor Wu's reign several members of the Yang 楊 clan (as usual, near relatives of the empress) had come to play a dominating role in government affairs. In 291 it came to a clash between the Yang and the combined forces of the Sima and Jia 賈 clans, headed by the empress Jia who acted as a regent for the young emperor. The extermination of the Yang family marked the beginning of the supremacy of the Jia, but after a successful revolt (300) the surviving members of the Sima applied the same procedure to empress Jia and all members of her family.

(b) The banishment of the emperor and the usurpation of the throne by one of the Sima princes led to an internecine war on an unprecedented scale between the imperial princes who as virtually independent military governors of great parts of the empire disposed over huge armies, partly recruited from the non-Chinese frontier tribes. The war between the Sima brothers lasted at least six years (301–307); it ruined the country and decimated both the population and the members of the imperial family. The familiar signs of disintegration appeared: collapse of the central government, decentralized military control of the provinces, famine, large-scale banditry and messianic-revolutionary peasant movements.

(c) For the first time in recorded Chinese history, the vacuum was filled by a force from beyond the frontier. After years of preparation the completely sinicized Hun ruler Liu Yuan 劉淵 (?–310), since 290 "supreme commander of the five Xiongnu hordes", assumed the title of "king of Han" 漢王 (304) and started the conquest of the realm of his alleged ancestors, the emperors of the Han dynasty. Operating from bases in Western and Southern Shanxi, the Xiongnu armies, supported by local bandit leaders and Chinese rebels, gradually conquered the greater part of Northern China. The fall of the two capitals Luoyang (311) and Chang'an (316) made an end of the Chinese sovereignty in the North for almost three centuries. In the North-West, the province of Liangzhou 涼州 (Gansu) became an independent kingdom hereditarily governed by members of the Zhang 張 family (the "Former Liang", 314–376); in 304, the governor of Yizhou 益州 (N. Sichuan) made himself king (in 306 emperor) of the state of Cheng 成 (304–347), comprising Sichuan and the greater part of Yunnan. However, during the whole medieval period it is the South-Eastern part of the empire, the former territory of Wu, which remains the stronghold—the word is rather euphemistic—of the "legitimate" Chinese

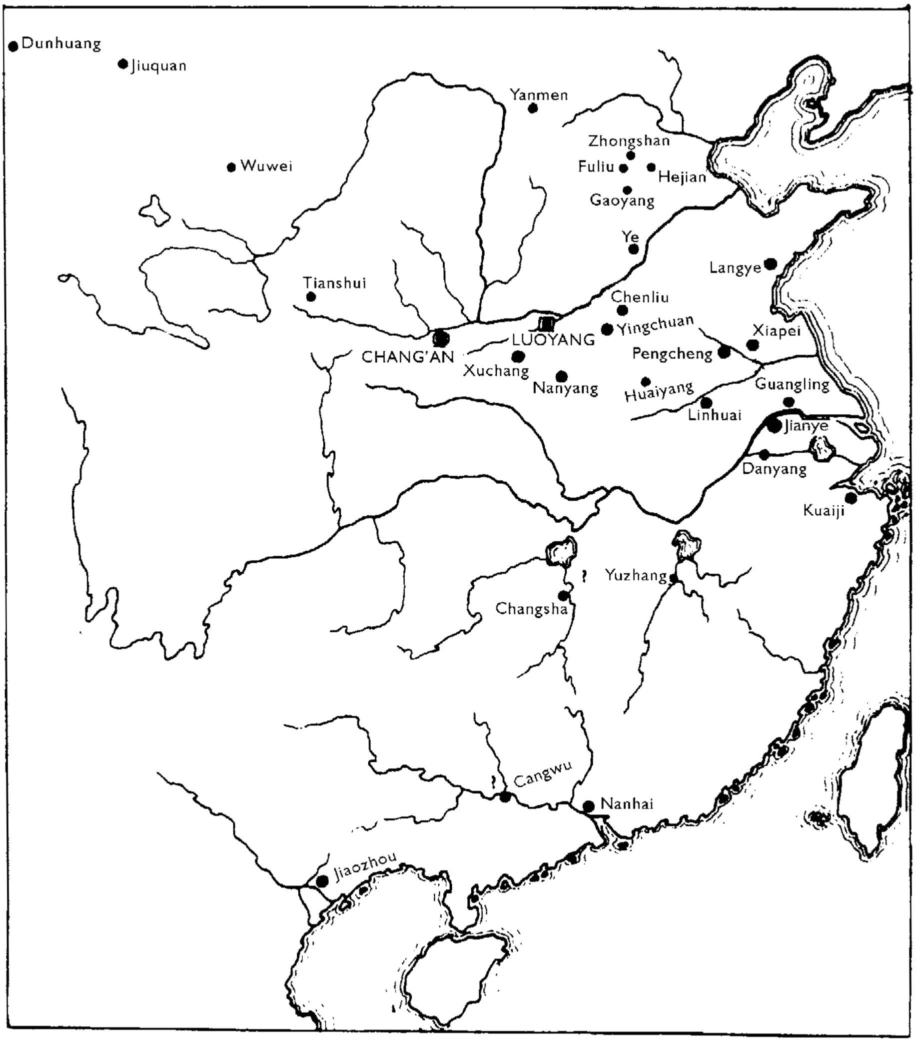
dynasties which from now on follow each other in rapid succession. During the last years of the Western Jin, when the Xiongnu invaders and their allies ravaged one city after another, many magistrates relinquished their posts and fled to the South. The members of the metropolitan gentry who managed to survive (30.000 of them are said to have been massacred by the Huns when Luoyang was taken in 311) did the same. Sima Rui 睿, since 307 stationed at Jianye as military governor of the Southern provinces, surrounded himself with prominent members of the exiled gentry; in 317 he assumed the imperial title at the new capital, the name of which was changed from Jianye to Jiankang 建康 (Eastern Jin, 317–420).

Buddhism under the Western Jin; general remarks.

The sudden flourishing of Buddhism in Northern China in the period 265–300 AD is directly connected with the close communications which existed between that part of the empire and the Buddhist countries of Central Asia. We have already mentioned the successive embassies which in this period reached the Chinese court; the reassertion of Chinese authority in the Western Region under emperor Wu (265–290) is furthermore clearly attested by the official documents excavated in Central Asia.[180] The relative prosperity and political stability of the country favoured the development of international trade and traffic; in the main cities in Northern and North-eastern China there were important colonies of foreign merchants who entertained a regular correspondence with their firms and colleagues in their home countries. The region of Dunhuang (W. Gansu), the gateway to China and a main commercial centre with a mixed Chinese-"Barbarian" population, had become even more prosperous and economically independent since the introduction of improved agricultural techniques and irrigation around the middle of the third century.[181]

Chinese Buddhism in the second half of the third century bears the stamp of these developments. The places from which Buddhist activities are reported are all main cities situated along the Eastern extension of the continental highway: Dunhuang, Jiuquan, Chang'an, Luoyang, Chenliu. About the spread of Buddhism among the rural population no information is available; as usual, the sources restrict themselves to a summary account of translation activities in the cities. In fact, for all we know early Chinese Buddhism was from the outset a distinctly urban phenomenon: it was in the cities that foreigners congregated, and that the Church found its donors and devotees. Around the middle of the third century Central Asia, once more made accessible, is explored by the first Buddhist travellers from China who go there in search of sacred scriptures; the inflow of preachers and texts from the oases of Central Asia leads to translation activities on an unprecedented scale. Dunhuang is drawn within the sphere of Chinese Buddhism by the foundation of an important Buddhist monastery, actually a branch of the community at Chang'an.

Around 300 the picture changes. War and chaos spread over the country; the roads to and from the West are blocked. The years before and after 300 witness three events of outstanding importance. In the first place the gradual penetration of Buddhism in a number of the higher and highest gentry clans including the reigning Sima family, a process which must have started in the last decades of the third century. Secondly, at the time of the exodus to the South and the establishment of the Eastern Jin at Jiankang, this



Map III. Buddhism from the first to the end of the third century

hybrid high-class Buddhism is transplanted to the Lower Yangzi region where it soon comes to play a dominant role in the intellectual life of aristocracy at the Southern capital; its characteristic ideas and practices, which form the main subject of our study, will occupy us in later chapters. In the third place, we observe the penetration of Buddhism at the court of the Xiongnu ruler of the Later Zhao dynasty, Shi Le 石勒 (319–333), an event which marks the beginning of a particular, "Northern", form of Buddhism, a kind of state church which in many respects—even in its most scholarly and artistic pursuits—was closely connected with and supervised by the rulers of the successive non-Chinese dynasties. State-sponsored Northern Buddhism would in later times exert a great influence upon the development of the Buddhist Church after the reunification of the empire in 589.

Thus the main lines stand out with sufficient clarity; for the history of Buddhism in the fourth century, both in the North and in the South, an evergrowing wealth of information is available. But the history of the Buddhist Church before ca. 290 is still for ninety percent a history of translations. Translator's biographies, colophons and catalogue entries give a rather detailed (though not always reliable) account of the formation of the Chinese Buddhist canon, but they seldom contain data of a broader historical significance.

Zhu Shixing at Khotan.

A highly interesting event opens the history of Chinese Buddhism of the second half of the third century: the journey of the Chinese monk Zhu Shixing 朱士行 to Khotan. It is the first recorded case of a Chinese leaving his country in quest of Buddhist scriptures, and the first clearly localized Chinese account of Buddhism in Central Asia.

Zhu Shixing came from Yingchuan 穎川 (near Xuchang in E. Henan), where Buddhism may have penetrated at a rather early date; we have already seen that one of Kang Senghui's Chinese Buddhist teachers or informants hailed from that city. Zhu Shixing must have been born in the first half of the third century. After his ordination he went to Luoyang where he studied the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, at that time only accessible to the Chinese in the crude and sometimes hardly intelligible version of Lokaksema, the *Daoxing jing* 道行經. It seems that Zhi Qian's polished version of that scripture (the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經) was not yet known in the North. At Luoyang, the students of this scripture must already have heard about the existence of a "more complete" text of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, i.e. of one of the more "expanded" versions, notably the one in 25.000 *ślokas* (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p'p'*). It must be noted that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, which modern scholarship tends to regard as the earliest version upon which the later developed texts are based, was according to early Chinese Buddhist scholars nothing but an extract, an anonymous condensed version made from a more comprehensive original text.[182]

When, probably in 260,[183] Zhu Shixing undertook the arduous journey from Luoyang to the West, he did so with the concrete and well-defined objective which would also inspire most of the later Chinese Buddhist travellers: to secure certain canonical texts needed for the better understanding or practice of the religion at home. In most cases, and certainly in the most illustrious ones, the desire to visit and adore the holy places of Buddhism played a

secondary role; the word "pilgrim" with its strong connotation of worship, longing and devotion is hardly appropriate to denote these travelling monks who, according to the Chinese standard expression, primarily went "to obtain the doctrine", 求法.

Zhu Shixing did not need to travel very far—he succeeded in finding the Sanskrit text of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 25.000 verses[184] at Khotan 于蘭, the largest kingdom on the Southern branch of the silk route. It may well be that the fame of Khotan as a centre of Buddhism had already reached the Chinese capital, although we do not know of any Khotanese preacher or translator active in China before Zhu Shixing's departure.

The early history of Khotan, like that of most Central Asian kingdoms, is only known fragmentarily. The accounts in Chinese and Tibetan sources about the foundation of the state and the introduction of Buddhism (which event is placed in the first half of the first century BC) are largely legendary;[185] the first datable trace of Buddhism at Khotan is the famous kharoṣṭhī manuscript of a Prākrit version of the *Dharmapada*, the main part of which was acquired in 1892 at Khotan by Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard, and which seems to date from the second century AD.[186] Scanty, but reliable and accurately dated information is found in the sections on the Western Region in the Chinese histories. The hegemony of Khotan over the Southern Central Asian oasis-states seems to have begun in the second half of the first century AD, when a dynasty of military rulers broke the power of Yarkand (Suoche 莎車) and extended their authority over thirteen states along the Southern silk route, from Jingjue 精絕 (Niya) Westward to Kashgar (Shule 疏勒).[187] The importance of Khotan during the Chinese campaigns in the West is attested by the fact that it became the headquarters of the Chinese governor-general from 77 till 91,[188] and, in the second century, by the repeated efforts of the Chinese government to prevent a further expansion of Khotanese power in an Easterly direction.[189] Under the Wei (220–265) Khotan appears to have maintained its dominant position, being in control of the whole Western section of the Southern highway.[190]

The accounts of Zhu Shixing's journey (the earliest of which dates from the first years of the fourth century)[191] contain the first mention in Chinese sources of the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism at Khotan. The flourishing of the Mahāyāna at Khotan is abundantly attested by other somewhat later events. Mokṣala, who in 291 translated the 25.000 *p'p'* was a Khotanese; so was Gītamitra who a few years later (296) arrived at Chang'an with another Sanskrit copy of the same scripture. Around the beginning of the fifth century Zhi Faling 支法領 found there the text of the smaller recension of the *Avataṃsaka* (T 278),[192] and Faxian, who in 401 spent three months at Khotan, describes the large Buddhist community consisting of tens of thousands of priests, most of whom belonged to the Great Vehicle, a creed also sponsored by the ruling family.[193] It is therefore quite probable that at the time of Zhu Shixing's arrival in or shortly after 260 Khotan was already the stronghold of Mahāyāna in Central Asia, in contrast with the predominantly Hīnayānistic Northern centre of Kuchā.

According to his biography, the Chinese monk met opposition from the part of the Khotanese adherents of the Small Vehicle who wanted to prevent him from sending the text of the Mahāyāna scripture to China. They even tried

to persuade the king to forbid the sending of this pernicious "Brahmin book" (婆羅門書) to China. Zhu Shixing, fearing an embargo, then asked permission to subject the work to a fire-ordeal; this having been granted, the manuscript was thrown upon a blazing pyre and emerged intact from the ashes, to the dismay of the vanquished *śrāvakas*.

If this story would have any historical base, it would clearly indicate that around the middle of the third century Hinayāna Buddhism prevailed even at Khotan, and that the Mahāyāna still was the creed of a despised minority.[194] But the whole story is rather suspect. The immunity to fire of certain sacred scriptures (which, like the equally indestructible relics of the Buddha's body, partake of the qualities of the everlasting *dharma* contained in them) forms a well-known theme in Chinese Buddhist hagiography: another copy of the 25.000 *p'p'* is reported to have miraculously survived a conflagration in China in the early fourth century;[195] the same happens to a *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* somewhat later,[196] and to several sacred texts which remain intact during the great fire at Puban 蒲坂 (Shanxi) in 431.[197] Most of all, the story of the ordeal at Khotan is reminiscent of the supernatural contest between Buddhist and Daoist masters in the presence of emperor Ming in 69 AD, decribed in the well-known Buddhist forgery *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳 (above, note 23).

Nevertheless, the tradition may be early; it may have been transmitted by a certain monk Fayi 法益, one of Zhu Shixing's (Khotanese?) disciples who after the latter's death went to China and who there gave an eye-witness account of the equally highly miraculous phenomena which had accompanied the master's cremation.[198]

Zhu Shixing is said to have died at Khotan at the age of 79.

The Church at Cangyuan and the translation of the 25.000 *p'p'*.

We possess a considerable amount of accurate information concerning the further vicissitudes of Zhu Shixing's text in China. At Khotan Zhu Shixing had made a copy of a Sanskrit text consisting of ninety sections (章, *parivarta*) and more than 600.000 "words" 字 (here no doubt used in the sense of "syllables", i.e. some 20.000 *ślokas*);[199] according to Huijiao, the original copy, written on birch bark leaves (皮葉, *bhūrjapattra*) was at the beginning of the sixth century still preserved in a monastery at Yuzhang 豫章 (the modern Nanchang, Jiangxi).[200] In 282 Zhu Shixing sent his Khotanese disciple Puṇyadhana (?)[201] with the Sanskrit manuscript to China, according to one version together with nine other monks.[202] After having stayed three years at Luoyang and two years at Xuchang, Puṇyadhana finally arrived with the precious text at Cangyuan 倉垣 near Chenliu 陳留 (N.W. of Kaifeng, Henan) at the Shuinansi 水南寺. It was here that in 291 the Khotanese Mokṣala 無叉羅 (var. 無羅叉) and the sinicized Indian *upāsaka* Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 started to prepare the Chinese translation which, in accordance with the contents of the first *parivarta*, was given the title of *Fangguang jing* 放光經, "The scripture of the emission of rays" (by the Buddha as a prelude to his preaching the *p'p'*). The oral translation was written down by two Chinese laymen; "all worthies from Cangyuan", i.e. prominent devotees and donors, are said to have encouraged and supported the translation of the work which perhaps more than any other scripture would come to play a dominant role in the formation of Chinese Buddhist thought.

In about 376 Dao'an compared the text of the *Fangguang jing* with the then newly rediscovered version of Dharmarakṣa and made a synoptic edition of both texts, the preface of which has been preserved. Here Dao'an describes the great impression which the *Fangguang jing* made upon the Chinese literate public and furthermore alludes to an event which, if our interpretation of it is correct, is of particular importance:

> "When the *Fangguang* (*jing*) thereupon appeared, it widely circulated in the Chinese capital (Luoyang), and hosts of "retired gentlemen of tranquillized minds" (i.e cultured lay devotees) made copies of it. The *upadhyāya* Zhi (支和上) at Zhongshan 中山 sent people to Cangyuan to have it copied on pieces of silk. When (this copy) was brought back to Zhongshan, the king of Zhongshan and all monks welcomed the sūtra (at a place) forty *li* South of the city, with a display of pennants and streamers. Such was the way in which (this scripture) became current in the world".[203]

Buddhism seems to have taken root at Zhongshan (the modern Dingxian 定縣 in central Hebei) at least as early as the first half of the third century; several monks active in the period 250–350 had Zhongshan as their place of origin.[204] However, as regards the venerable Zhi, no Chinese or foreign master with this *ethnikon* or religious surname is known to have lived at Zhongshan.[205]

More important, however, is the problem of the identity of the king of Zhongshan whose act of veneration is mentioned by Dao'an. In view of the historical data it seems reasonable to suppose that this king was the Chinese imperial prince Sima Dan 司馬耽, before 277 AD king of Jinan 濟南, who at that date was given the status of king of Zhongshan.[206] We know that he actually lived at Zhongshan, for in the same year an imperial edict compelled the princes to leave the capital in order to reside permanently in their fiefs, much to their displeasure.[207] According to the *Jinshu* he died on October 9, 292 AD,[208] i.e. very shortly after the completion of the *Fangguang jing*. The translation of this scripture had lasted from June 28 till December 31, 291 AD;[209] the copying of the text at Cangyuan and its solemn reception at Zhongshan can easily have taken place in the nine months between the completion of the *Fangguang jing* and the death of the princely devotee. This event is one of great historical significance: it is the first symptom of Buddhist influence on the Chinese imperial family.

The role of the Buddhist centre at Cangyuan in the textual history of the *Fangguang jing* was not yet finished. After a few years the circulating copies had become full of errors, variant readings and lacunae as a result of frequent and careless copying. The desire to produce a complete and authorized version of this basic scripture prompted Zhu Shulan and one or more Chinese monks to undertake a second redaction of the text. This was done with the care and conscientiousness of traditional Chinese scholarship: the revision was based upon five different Chinese copies and the Sanskrit original; it was executed in another monastery at Cangyuan (the Shuibeisi 水北寺) and took five months (Dec. 10, 303–May 22, 304) to complete.[210] The *GSZ* adds an important detail: since Mokṣala's original translation was not divided into chapters (卷), and the sections (品, *parivarta*) bore no titles, the redactors divided the text into twenty *juan* and added section headings.[211] The present text of the *Fangguang jing* (T 221) also shows these features and is therefore very probably identical with the revised edition of 303/304 AD.

For more than a century this translation remained the most clear and comprehensive exposition of the Prajñāpāramitā doctrine which was available to the Chinese; both the *Fangguang jing* and Lokakṣema's *Daoxing jing* finally fell into disuse when in the first decade of the fifth century Kumārajīva's versions of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'* (T 227, 408 AD) and of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p'p'* (T 223, 403–404 AD) together with the enormous Mādhyamika commentary to the latter scripture (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, T 1509, 402–405 AD) at one stroke outmoded the work of the previous translators in this field. But in the meantime Chinese Buddhism had crystallized, and in intellectual Buddhist circles in the fourth century indigenous schools of speculative thought had arisen, all of which were primarily based upon different interpretations of the older versions of the *Prajnāpāramitā*, notably the *Fangguang jing* and *Daoxing jing*. Here we must note the remarkable fact that the highly polished and very "Chinese" version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'* made by Zhi Qian, the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經, does not appear to have played any role in fourth century Chinese Buddhism, although, as we have seen above, it is regularly quoted or referred to in the earliest Chinese commentaries of the first half of the third century.

Dharmarakṣa.

During the Western Jin, Luoyang, the ancient stronghold of Buddhism in Northern China, was overshadowed by Chang'an, where the Buddhist community shortly after the beginning of the dynasty entered on a period of unprecedented development. In the centre of all this activity stands the greatest Buddhist translator before Kumārajiva, the Indo-scythian Dharmarakṣa (Fahu 法護, active ca. 266–308).

Fahu had been born around 230 AD at Dunhuang, where his family had been living for generations. He joined the order at Dunhuang under an Indian master whose alleged name, Zhu Gaozuo 筆高座, sounds more like a honorific (the same appellation was later given to the Kuchean Śrīmitra in the early fourth century at Jiankang).[212] This is the first time that Buddhism is mentioned in connection with Dunhuang, although it logically follows from the geographical situation that it must have existed much earlier in that region.

According to the practice which seems to have become popular just around this time,[213] Dharmarakṣa adopted his master's *ethnikon* Zhu 竺 ("the Indian") as his religious surname, although in some documents he is still referred to as *Zhi* 支 ("the Yuezhi") Fahu.[214]

Dharmarakṣa's life forms another example of the thorough acculturation of non-Chinese individuals living in the border regions of the Chinese empire. Like Kang Senghui, Dharmarakṣa probably came from a wealthy merchant family which could afford to give its young members a Chinese literary education; beside his knowledge of Buddhist literature he was "well-read in the Six (Confucian) Classics, and generally familiar with the words of the Hundred Schools (of Chinese philosophy)".[215] Like Zhu Shixing, he afterwards set out to collect the texts of sacred scriptures in the countries of the West; in the course of his extensive travels through Central Asia (and perhaps also India) he is said to have acquired a reading knowledge of thirty-six languages. This is certainly exaggerated: the number thirty-six is obviously derived from the (non-specified) "thirty-six countries" which according to various Han

time sources together formed the Western Region at the time of emperor Wu (140-87 BC)[216] and therefore simply denotes "all languages of Central Asia".

When he returned to China with a great number of texts he travelled via Dunhuang to Chang'an, making his translations as he went. Once at Chang'an, the "Bodhisattva from Dunhuang" as he soon was called[217] entered a period of enormous activity. Dao'an mentions 154 works translated by Fahu, Sengyou 159 (the number 149 given in Dharmarakṣa's biography in *CSZJJ* seems to be a mistake for 159; for unknown reasons the *GSZ* attributes 165 translations to him).[218] Of this imposing oeuvre a little less than one half has been preserved (72 out of the 159 mentioned by Sengyou). As usual, later catalogues are more liberal in their attributions (210 works in *Lidai sanbao ji*, 175 in *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* etc.). Dao'an's list is no doubt reliable; no less than twenty-nine entries in his list contain dates of translation, which proves that at least in these cases his attribution was based on early dated colophons. He may also have had an older bibliography of Dharmarakṣa's works, either the one said to have been compiled by the translator himself,[219] or, more probably, the catalogue made by one of Dharmarakṣa's close collaborators, the Chinese laymen Nie Daozhen 聶道真 which was mainly devoted to the works of his master.[220]

If the dates furnished by Dao'an's list are representative of Dharmarakṣa's oeuvre as a whole, we may conclude that the periods of his greatest activity were 284–288 (57 *juan*, 30 of which in 286) and 291–297 (36 *juan*, 26 of which in 291). However, more important than these fragmentary indications are the many dated documents (colophons and introductions), mainly preserved in *CSZJJ*, which contain valuable information concerning the circumstances under which Dharmarakṣa made his translations.[221]

By his biographer Dharmarakṣa is given the honour of having contributed more than anyone else to the conversion of China to Buddhism.[222] This may be an overstatement, but it is undoubtedly true that it was he who made from the hitherto rather insignificant Buddhist community at Chang'an the major Buddhist centre in Northern China, thus laying the foundations of the work which, some seventy years after his death, would be resumed by Dao'an and completed by Kumārajīva and his school. At the same time, he appears to have greatly stimulated the activities of the Buddhist communities at Luoyang and Dunhuang. Finally, some of the most prominent figures of early fourth century Southern Buddhism were directly connected with Chang'an, and there is every reason to suppose that the typical *xuanxue* Buddhism which flourished at the Southern capital was, in fact, a direct continuation of ideas and practices which had developed in the circles of intellectual monks and gentry devotees at Chang'an and Luoyang, in and around the school of Dharmarakṣa.

He appears to have remained in touch with the Buddhist centres in the West, probably as a result of his former travels. In 284, when he was staying at Dunhuang, an *upāsaka* from Kashmir named (Hou) Zhengruo [候]征若 brought him a copy of Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi* which he translated in collaboration with his Indian guest;[223] in the same year a Kuchean envoy furnished him with a manuscript of the *Avaivartikacakrasūtra*.[224] In 286 he obtained at Chang'an the Sanskrit text of the 25.000 *p'p'* from the Khotanese monk

Gītamitra,[225] in 289 at Luoyang an incomplete copy of the *Paramārthasaṃvṛti-satyanirdeśa* 文殊師利淨律經 from a "*śramaṇa* from a Western country",[226] in 300 the text of the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* from a monk from Kashmir.[227]

In addition to this, Dharmarakṣa appears to have regularly travelled from one Buddhist centre to another. Around 265 he came from Dunhuang to Chang'an, which became his usual place of residence; in 284 we find him at Dunhuang where he with a staff of Chinese and non-Chinese collaborators translated two important works;[228] in 289 and 290 he was at Luoyang;[229] in 294 he made a translation at Jiuquan 酒泉 (central Gansu) which indicates that he was again on his way from or to Dunhuang.[230] The connection between Dharmarakṣa's school and Dunhuang, his native town, was especially close. Around 280 his Chinese disciple Facheng 法乘 had gone from Chang'an to Dunhuang where he founded a large monastery and energetically propagated the doctrine among the population of that region;[231] when Dharmarakṣa visited Dunhuang he no doubt stayed in this monastery. Like the mother Church at Chang'an it must have been a translation centre too: the fifty-nine anonymous translations mentioned by Dao'an as "Separate sūtras from the Liang 涼 (i.e. Gansu) territory" were very probably products of Facheng's school at Dunhuang.[232]

Our sources speak only about the translator Dharmarakṣa; incidentally recorded facts like those mentioned above reveal something of the other aspects of his life and work, the work of the itinerant preacher, organizer and supervisor of the Church.

According to his biography, the master fled with his disciples from Chang'an to the East in or shortly after 304, when the war between the Sima princes had reached its climax and Chang'an had become the temporary capital of the dictator Sima Yong and the powerless emperor Hui. He did not come farther than Minchi 澠池 (near Luoyang); there he fell ill and died at the age of 77. As has already been pointed out by Tang Yongtong (*History*, p. 161), Dharmarakṣa's death must have taken place after 308, the year in which he translated the *Lalitavistara*, probably still at Chang'an.[233] However, we cannot agree with Tang Yongtong's conclusion that Dharmarakṣa did not go to the East at all, but probably returned to his place of origin, Dunhuang. Tang bases this assumption upon two facts: (a) the East, which probably means Luoyang, was in these very years ravaged by war and therefore would not have been chosen as a place of refuge, (b) the survival of the text of the *Guangzan jing* in the Dunhuang region supposedly indicates that Dharmarakṣa at the end of his life retired to that place.

It is true that Luoyang in the last seven years before its complete destruction by the Xiongnu armies in 311 was repeatedly the scene of war and plundering. But somehow Buddhist activities went on: ca. 306 the Indian monk, physician and thaumaturge Jīvaka 耆域 came to Luoyang, and he is even reported to have expressed his surprise and dismay at the lavish adornment and splendour of the Buddhist edifices at the capital.[234] According to a rather late tradition, the Xingsheng monastery 興聖寺 at Luoyang was built around the same year.[235] Even as late as 310 the famous Fotudeng 佛圖澄, future court-chaplain of the Xiongnu rulers, arrived at Luoyang.[236] And, after all, nothing indicates that Luoyang was Dharmarakṣa's final destination when he went to the East.

As to the *Guangzan jing* (Dharmarakṣa's version of the 25.000 *p'p'*), the fact that this text till the second half of the fourth century remained hidden at Liangzhou (Gansu) does not prove anything; the monastery of Facheng at Dunhuang was, as we have seen, a branch of the Church at Chang'an, and it is only reasonable to suppose that copies of Dharmarakṣa's translations were kept there as well as at Chang'an. The *Guangzan* was made in 286 at Chang'an, and we have already noted that Dharmarakṣa himself very probably visited Dunhuang in 294. In the turbulent years of the Xiongnu conquest, when so many scriptures, Buddhist as well as secular, were lost (the sack of Luoyang in 311 passes for the third "burning of the books" in Chinese history) the *Guangzan* disappeared from China proper, but remained in circulation in the comparatively peaceful region of Dunhuang. But around 340 at least a part of the *Guangzan* could still be studied in the region of Shanxi and Northern Henan.[237]

According to Dharmarakṣa's biography, his school at Chang'an counted several thousands of disciples, some of whom had come from a great distance to study under him; they included both members of the gentry and of the common people (士庶). Although this looks like a series of commonplace laudatory formulas, it cannot be doubted that there were quite a number of *literati* associated with Dharmarakṣa's school; we find such persons in his immediate surroundings. Here again we are struck by the important role which the cultured laity played in the monastic life and especially in the work of translation. Contemporary colophons contain the names of twenty-five of Dharmarakṣa's disciples and collaborators at Chang'an, Luoyang, Dunhuang and Jiuquan; at least seven among them are laymen. His closest collaborator was a Chinese scholar, Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠, who figures in six colophons as the person who noted down (筆受) the oral translation. He also made a polished version of the *Chaori* (*ming*) *sanmei jing* 超日[明]三昧經 first translated by Dharmarakṣa,[238] and in spite of their non-clerical status he and his son Nie Daozhen 聶道真 have been accorded the honour of a biographical note in the *Gaoseng zhuan*.[239] Later catalogues credit Nie Daozhen with a great number of translations (*Kaiyuan SJL*: 24; *Lidai SBJ*: 54), but none of these are mentioned by Dao'an or Sengyou.[240]

Among Dharmarakṣa's non-Chinese collaborators we find Indians, one or two Kucheans, a Yuezhi, a Khotanese and perhaps also a Sogdian.[241] Some twenty names of donors and interested laymen are known; most interesting is a list of donors of non-Chinese origin on a colophon from Dunhuang (284 AD). Only one among these is clearly a Chinese, which proves to what extent Buddhism was still a religion of foreigners in this cosmopolitan frontier district at the Western border of the Chinese empire.[242] Another noteworthy fact is that we find two Chinese monks, Zhu Decheng 竺德成 and Zhu Wensheng 竺文盛 mentioned among the *donors* at Chang'an; their typically Chinese personal names make it highly improbable that we have to do with Indian (*Zhu*) laymen living in China.[243] They may have been members (or rather ex-members) of rich families who materially contributed to the work of translation. The private possession of money by monks seems to have been nothing unusual: Dharmarakṣa himself is said once to have lent a sum of 200.000 cash to the head of an aristocratic family (甲族) at Chang'an, who wanted to test the master's largesse, and who afterwards was so much impressed

by the easy way in which Dharmarakṣa parted with his money that he was converted to Buddhism together with a hundred members of his household.[244] The story sounds somewhat apocryphal, but the very existence of this tradition proves that the handling of large sums of money by monks was a not uncommon practice.

Dharmarakṣa's translations and the classics of the Mahāyāna in China.

The products of Dharmarakṣa's school form an important stage in the development of the technique of translation. His versions are more literal than those of any of this predecessors; the Chinese Buddhist terminology employed in them has become more comprehensive and specialized. On the other hand, the attempt at literalness makes his translations at times rather obscure and difficult to read. In general, they still lack the natural fluency characteristic of the works of Kumārajīva, who in this respect has never been equalled. It must, however, be remarked that the stylistic and literary qualities of Buddhist translations must largely be ascribed to the Chinese redactors of the texts. This was certainly the case with Kumārajīva; the awkward style of Dharmarakṣa's versions may have been caused by the very fact that he was bilingual and therefore less dependent on his Chinese collaborators.

One of the most important among the host of scriptures translated by Dharmarakṣa was the first complete version of the "Scripture of the Lotus of the True Doctrine", *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, 正法華經 (T 263). The Lotus sūtra, with its doctrine of the one Buddha-vehicle which to all believers opens the way to Buddhahood, with its stress upon the eternity and omniscience of the Buddha, and with its extraordinary wealth of images and parables, soon became one of the most venerated and fundamental scriptures in Chinese Buddhism. As a kind of esoteric revelation it held a special position among the Mahāyāna scriptures,[245] a view which found its final expression in the Tiantai school in the second half of the sixth century, where the doctrine of the Lotus sūtra came to be regarded as the highest fulfilment of the Buddha's teaching, the fifth and complete exposition of the Truth.

We know some interesting details about the circumstances under which Dharmarakṣa made the first complete Chinese version[246] of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and about the first reactions of the Chinese public.[247] The translation was made at Chang'an in the short time of three weeks (September 15–October 6, 286); Dharmarakṣa's command of both languages also appears from the fact that he "recited (the translation) whilst holding in his hands the Indian original" 手執胡本口宣 (he is the first translator about whom this is reported). He was assisted by three Chinese assistants (筆受) among whom we find, as usual, Nie Chengyuan. The original Sanskrit copy was probably kept at Chang'an; it seems still to have existed at the beginning of the seventh century.[248] The translation was revised by two non-Chinese experts, the Indian monk Zhu Li 竺力 and the Kuchean *upāsaka* Bo Yuanxin 帛元信; a second revision took place in March 288. In 290 the sūtra already circulated at Luoyang where it at once caused great interest. On November 18, a group of Chinese laymen went with the newly copied manuscript to Dharmarakṣa (who at least since the spring of 289 resided at Baimasi at Luoyang)[249] and discussed with him the essential purport of the scripture. Only a few days afterwards, at the fortnightly fast-day assembly of November 3, a special meeting was

held at which the sūtra was explained and recited during a whole day and whole night; at that occasion the text was revised for the third time.[250]

Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus sūtra completed the series of the five Mahāyāna scriptures which more than any other texts were destined to exert a profound influence upon the development of early Chinese Buddhist thought: *Prajñāpārumitā, Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and *Sukhāvatīvyūha*. The fact that Dharmarakṣa made new versions of all these works—four of which had already been translated previously—indicates how much he adapted himself to the interests and demands of the Chinese public. Thus, in addition to his Lotus sūtra, he made a complete version as well as a summary (刪) of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, and retranslated the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*, the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the 25.000 *p'p'*.

The latter translation, entitled *Guangzan jing* 光讚經, was based upon a manuscript brought from Khotan by a certain Gītamitra 祇多羅 (elsewhere written 祇多密);[251] the text was translated by Dharmarakṣa and Gītamitra in 286. As we have already noted above, the *Guangzan jing* (T 222) was lost during the wars which ravaged the central provinces at the beginning of the fourth century; in Liangzhou—probably at the Dunhuang branch of Dharmarakṣa's school—it remained in circulation, and it was from this region that in 376 Dao'an received a copy of this work.[262] Like most of Dharmarakṣa's versions it was (according to third century Chinese standards) a very literal but far from lucid translation, and Dao'an needed the help of Mokṣala's *Fangguang jing* to make it more understandable.[253]

Other translators of the Western Jin.

Besides Mokṣala, Zhu Shulan and Dharmarakṣa there were several other translators active in the North. Not much is known about them, and in the earliest sources they are hardly mentioned. Thus Dao'an only speaks about four works translated in the period 290–306 by Faju 法炬, a monk of unknown origin, and about two others translated by Faju together with the *śramaṇa* Fali 法立.[254] Sengyou states that Fali made a great number of translations which were lost during the troubles of the *yongjia* era (307–313) before they had been copied and put into circulation, a remark which is repeated by Huijiao in his *Gaoseng zhuan*.[255] Still later bibliographies have made Faju rather than Fali the target of their wild attributions: no less than 132 works figure under his name in the late sixth century *Lidai SBJ*, which number is reduced to 40 in the somewhat more critical *Kaiyuan SJL*.[256] It may of course have happened that some works were rediscovered at a rather late date, but Sengyou's silence about Faju remains puzzling. Dao'an's catalogue, our invaluable guide for the earliest period, gives out around 300 AD; although Dao'an compiled it at Xiangyang in 374 and probably added new entries till his death in 385, he did not include any works translated after the end of the Western Jin. The fact that so many texts had been lost or had become inaccessible in the first decades of the fourth century may have been the primary reason why he never brought his catalogue more up-to-date.

Among the other minor translators of the late third century we shall only mention the Parthian An Faqin 安法欽 (equally ignored by Dao'an and Sengyou) who according to *Lidai SBJ* and later sources in the years 281–306 translated five works, i.a. the *Aśokarājāvadāna* (*Ayu wang zhuan* 阿育王傳,

T 2042), the legendarized history of emperor Aśoka, which, as we shall see below, was destined to play a very peculiar role in early Chinese Buddhism.

Finally we may mention some symptoms of Buddhist activity in the extreme South. Shortly before the beginning of the Western Jin, in 256 AD, a certain Indo-scythian Jiangliangjie 支疆梁接 is said to have translated the *Fahua sanmei jing* 法華三昧經 at Jiaozhou. He and his Chinese assistant Daoxin 道馨 occur only in late sources; his translation in six *juan* can hardly have been identical with the anonymous version of that title in one *juan* mentioned by Sengyou.[267] Jiangliangjie is perhaps the same person as the Jianglianglouzhi 疆梁婁至 who in 281 (var. 266) made a translation of the *Shi'eryou jing* 十二遊經 at Guangzhou (Guangzhou), but this is far from certain.[258]

The formation of gentry Buddhism.

In the late third and early fourth century we find the first unmistakable signs of the formation of an intellectual clerical élite consisting of Chinese or naturalized foreign monks, creators and propagators of a completely sinicized Buddhist doctrine which from that time onward starts to penetrate into the Chinese upper classes. Although the information available for the period prior to ca. 290 AD is so scarce that it would be unwise to make apodictic statements in this matter, yet there are several facts which point to the years 290-320 as the period in which this supremely important development took place.

In the earliest Buddhist biographical sources (*CSZJJ*, *GSZ*) the number of reported cases of contact between the clergy and the Chinese cultured upper class before 290 AD is negligeable, whereas in the biographies of late third and fourth century monks such facts are mentioned in ever-increasing numbers. It might be argued that this is still due to the scarcity of biographical data for the first period of Chinese Buddhism. However, secular literature presents the same picture. It is true that of early medieval Chinese literature only a small part has survived, but this part is still of considerable size and may be deemed representative of the whole. As far as the period after 300 is concerned, the *Jinshu* (and the still extant fragments of the earlier histories on which this seventh century compilation is based) contain a fair amount of information on gentry and court Buddhism, whereas Buddhism is not even alluded to in the chapters dealing with the first half of the dynasty. In the same way, Buddhism is scarcely mentioned in the *Sanguo zhi*, in Pei Songzhi's commentary to it or in the considerable portion of the *Shishuo xinyu* which is devoted to the words and activities of third century aristocrats. The same holds good for third century philosophical, speculative and artistic literature, where we do not find any clearly recognizable traces of Buddhist influence. That the authors do not mention Buddhism or any of its aspects, although they must have been aware of its existence by that time, proves that Buddhism, though rapidly spreading in another segment or another level of society, had not yet penetrated into the gentlemen's life: it was still something lying outside the sphere of their activities and interests.

Another *argumentum ex silentio*, which is even more significant, is furnished by our bibliographical sources. One of the most characteristic products of early gentry Buddhism is the extensive apologetic literature (mainly consisting

of short polemic treatises and letters) which developed as a result of the discussions and more or less hostile contacts between Chinese cultured monks, pro- or anti-Buddhist *literati* and government authorities. A number of still extant works of this type has been enumerated above (Ch. I); moreover, we are still enabled to obtain an impression of the size and the developments of this form of literature from the table of contents of the Falun 法論 by Lu Cheng 陸澄 (compiled shortly after 465 AD; table of contents preserved in *CSZJJ* XII 82.3 sqq.). Now it appears that this huge collection of purely *Chinese* Buddhist literature, which comprised no less than 103 *juan*, did not contain a single document earlier than the beginning of the fourth century.[259] This, I think, definitely proves that the first beginning of what we have called gentry Buddhism took place at the very end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, i.e. that it was a product of the turbulent decades of the wars between the Sima princes and the conquest of Northern China by the Xiongnu. It seems that before this date Chinese Buddhism, in spite of the apparent enthusiasm of its adherents and the impressive amount of translated scriptures, still was an enlarged version of the creed practiced at Luoyang in Later Han times; a "heterodox" but tolerated cult adhered to by more or less sinicized foreigners, by a part of the illiterate population and by a comparatively small number of literate and semi-literate individuals about whose social background nothing is known, but who certainly did not belong to the higher and highest magistracy.

Finally we may adduce an interesting passage from Huan Xuan's "Answer to Wang Mi" (402 AD) in which the dictator clearly states that the practice of Buddhism in the highest circles was at that time still a comparatively recent phenomenon:

> "Formerly, there were among the people of Jin hardly any Buddhists. The monks were mostly barbarians, and, moreover, the (Chinese) rulers did not have contacts with them. It was only therefore that (the government) could tolerate their local customs, and did not restrain them (in the practice of their creed). But nowadays the rulers and highest (dignitaries) venerate the Buddha and personally take part in religious affairs: the situation has become different from former times—".[260]

That Huan Xuan's statement that Buddhism had only recently become the religion of the upper ten was not a result of his anti-clerical feelings is proved by the fact that the Buddhist scholar Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 (died ca. 383) in a letter to Dao'an (dated 365) voices the same opinion:

> "More than four centuries have passed since the Great Doctrine spread to the East. Although there sometimes were rulers in the border regions[261] or private individuals (居士) who became devotees, yet (in general, only) the ancient teachings of China were practised by former generations—".[262]

One could easily suggest several key dates in the periodization of early Chinese Buddhism: the introduction of Mahāyāna scriptures at the end of the second century; the activities of Dao'an at Chang'an (379–385), or the arrival of Kumārajīva at Chang'an and the subsequent introduction of Mādhyamika scholastic literature (402). However, such schemes would result from a purely philological approach which treats the history of a religion as a history of texts. If we attempt to describe the development of early Chinese Buddhism as one aspect of the social and cultural history of medieval China,

we cannot but conclude that the years around 300 AD constitute the turning point *par excellence*. The penetration of the doctrine into the highest gentry circles virtually determined the course which Chinese Buddhism was to follow in the next decades: it paved the way to the victory of Buddhism in its conquest of China.

In the last decades of the third century several factors must have stimulated this development. In the realm of thought, Dark Learning reigned supreme; with Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang, who were active during this period, it had entered on its last creative phase. In gentry circles there was a most vivid interest in philosophical and metaphysical problems and discussions. Just as second century Daoists dicovered in the Buddhist practices of trance and meditation a new and more effective road to immortality, so some late third century *literati* found in the foreign doctrine of the Void a new yet strangely familiar way of thought. Needless to say that their interpretation of the doctrine was coloured and distorted by their own cultural background, by the one-sided selection of topics, by the very language in which it was presented to them. Mahāyāna concepts like Gnosis (*prajñā*, 智), the Void (*śūnyatā*, 空, 明), Stillness (*śānti*, 寂) and Expediency (*upāya*, 方便) naturally and imperceptibly merged into their *xuanxue* counterparts of Saintliness (聖), Emptiness (虛) and Non-being (無), Tranquility (靜) and Non-activity (無為), Spontaneity (自然) and Stimulus-and-response (感應). To the cultured classes the Mahāyāna—and most of all the Prajñāpāramitā doctrine—must have appealed just because of this seeming familiarity: because it handled what seemed to be the same fundamental concepts, at the same time, however, placing these ideas in a new perspective, giving them another and deeper significance, and surrounding them with the halo of a supramundane revelation. Thus Buddhism appeared to agree with Chinese thought in stressing the inexorable Way of Nature which is both the source and the motive power behind all existence and which mechanically gives every being its natural allotment. But in Buddhism this concept—the universal law or rather process of karmic retribution—was given a different meaning: that of a *moral* principle working through the universe, mechanical and inexorable too, but resulting from and consequently dependent on man's individual course of thought and action. In the same way Buddhism not only changed the morally indifferent Way of Nature into an instrument of supra-mundane impersonal Justice, but also brought this concept to its logical conclusion by introducing the dogma of rebirth, or, as the Chinese generally interpreted it, the "immortality of the soul". "Emptiness and Saintly wisdom", "the retribution of sins" and "the immortality of the soul"—these were the most basic and most controversial principles of fourth and early fifth century Buddhism, and we may assume that these were also the elements which first attracted the attention of the cultured Chinese public.

There was, of course, the devotional aspect. Not much is known about this side of early Chinese Buddhism. Simple faith and devotion may have played a great role in the popular cult about which hardly any information is available. Among the sophisticated Buddhist gentlemen of the fourth century, both monks and laymen, we very seldom hear emotional outbursts about the Buddha's endless love and compassion. Their Buddhism has a distinctly rational and intellectual flavour; its ideal is not the quiet surrender to the power of a superhuman saviour, but in the first place the realization of Zhuangzi's "equality

of all things", the pursuit of the wisdom of the sage who "reflects" 照 all phenomena without ever leaving his state of trance-like non-activity, a wisdom which in these circles is vaguely equated with the hazy concepts of *nirvāṇa, prajñā, samatā, tathatā* and *bodhi* all merged into one. In another chapter we shall have ample opportunity to adduce characteristic examples of this hybrid Buddhism which came into being as soon as the Chinese intelligentsia, *Daode jing* in hand, set out to find its own way in the jungle of Buddhist metaphysics.

Such may have been the main ideological considerations which around the end of the third century suddenly turned the attention of the cultured gentry towards the foreign doctrine and which in some cases may have induced them to don the monk's cloak and to "go forth into the houseless state".

But of course, ideological factors were not the only ones. The times were out of joint, and, as usual in a period of war and political turmoil, the official career was beset with hardships and danger. The monastery offered a hiding-place not only to tax-evaders and homeless vagrants, but also to "retired gentlemen", *literati* who tried to keep clear of the official career. To the traditional ideal motives for such a course of action (to hide one's talents, the preservation of moral integrity, the arcadic life in unison with Nature) the Buddhist community added a new type of ideological justification: the noble life of the *śramaṇa* who, like a recluse, keeps far from the bustle of the world to work for the emancipation of all beings. Hence we often find the monastic life identified with the ideal of the "dwelling in retirement". In the same way, the many cases known from secular history in which the government "summons hidden talents" to enter the state service are matched by the frequent attempts of rulers or magistrates to entreat or even to force prominent monks—clerical *literati*—to leave the order and to become officials.

Thirdly, as we have already pointed out, all higher positions in the hierarchy being monopolized by the aristocratic clans, the official career did not offer much prospect to members of poor and relatively insignificant gentry families, to whom the doors of the upper ten would always remain closed. Many of these people may have turned to the monastery, which soon became a centre of learning and culture, there to develop and to apply their literary, philosophical or artistic talents.

Finally, after the exodus to the South in the first years of the fourth century, the status of the Buddhist church in that region may likewise have played an important role. If the traditional accounts of the activities of Zhi Qian and Kang Senghui contain at least a nucleus of truth, we must assume that in the region of Jianye a close relation had existed between Buddhism and the court of Wu. In 311, when Luoyang was conquered by the Huns, only thirty-one years had passed since Kang Senghui's death and the fall of Wu, and it may well be that both courtiers and court-Buddhism still lingered at the ancient capital, since 307 the residence of the Sima prince who in 317 was to become the first emperor of the Eastern Jin. The courtiers and magistrates at Jiankang consisted only partly of refugees from the North, and the popularity of Buddhism among the resident Southern nobility may also have stimulated the spread of Buddhism soon after the establishment of the Eastern Jin.

Once the first contacts between the clergy and the gentry have been made,

the influence of Buddhism suddenly becomes manifested in many fields. Monks come to take part in *qingtan* discussions and to visit the imperial court and the estates of aristocratic families as preachers, chaplains, advisors and friends. Priests expound the meaning of Confucian Rites, write commentaries on *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, answer questions about literary composition, politics and antiquities, and maintain a regular correspondence with influential laymen in which they express their opinion on doctrinal and other subjects. We find them compiling important biographical, bibliographical and geographical works in which they display the usual encyclopedic knowledge of Chinese literature and history. As "gentlemen of leisure" they cultivate the arts which form an integral part of the scholar's education: they compose five-syllable poems (*shi* 詩), four-syllable eulogies (*zan* 讚), elaborate introductions (*xu* 序), inscriptions (*ming* 銘), treatises (*lun* 論) and prose-poems (*fu* 賦) in the extremely ornate and formalized style belonging to this genre, whereas several of them are known as expert calligraphers.

At the same time, the cultured public becomes widely interested in the new doctrine. They become patrons of the Church, found monasteries and temples, supply the *saṅgha* with money, food, building materials, statues and various objects for the cult; sometimes they pay the expenses of the translation of sacred texts. Only a few cases are known in which members of the highest aristocracy become monks. Most of them are either interested outsiders or formal Buddhist laymen who, whilst "staying in the family" (*zaijia* 在家), i.e. in active association with all forms of social life, have been willing to accept the five rules for the laity (not killing, not taking whatever is not given, no unchastity, no falsehood, no intoxicants) and the three additional rules to be observed during the period of fasting every fortnight. A visit to a monastery in order to pray, to burn incense, to listen to a sermon or to converse with learned monks becomes a regular practice; on the other hand, famous preachers are not seldom invited to deliver a sermon or to take part in a debate outside the monastery, quite often at the imperial court. Devoted laymen stay during some time, even for some years, in a monastery where they take part in the cult and assist in the translation of scriptures. Sometimes rulers and magistrates employ monks as advisors in secular matters or even request them to give up their clerical status and to become officials. During the fourth century Buddhist themes begin to play a role in contemporary art and literature; gentlemen-painters not only execute murals in temples and monasteries, but also render Buddhist scenes in portable hand-scrolls to be kept in the scholar's studio. The practice of chanting Buddhist sūtras (*fanbai* 梵唄) is drawn within the sphere of Chinese musical art.

All this takes place in little more than a century, from the first recorded traces of gentry Buddhism in the last decades of the Western Jin to the beginning of the fifth century. The course of this process and its most characteristic aspects will be treated in the remaining chapters of this study. Our historical survey of the preceding period will be rounded off by presenting the little we know about those late third century Buddhist monks and *literati* who by their activities and social contacts appear to have been among the pioneers of gentry Buddhism.

Bo Yuan and Bo Fazuo.

No doubt the most important among these was Bo Yuan 帛遠, better known by his *zi* Fazu 法祖.[263] He came from a cultured *milieu*: his father was a Confucian scholar named Wan Weida 萬威達, from Northern Henan; a "retired gentleman" who had declined all offers of official posts which the provincial government had made to him. Bo Yuan's younger brother, who later became the monk Bo Fazuo 帛法祚, in this respect continued the family tradition; he refused to accept an appointment as a "Scholar of wide learning" (博士) at the academy at the capital. Both brothers were much attracted by Buddhism, and after much deliberation Wan Weida allowed them to join the order.

At Chang'an, where Dharmarakṣa's school at that time was most flourishing, Bo Yuan built a *vihāra* (精舍), where, according to his biography, "the monks and laymen who came as disciples to obtain his instructions nearly numbered a thousand".[264] It is not known who was Bo Yuan's master; to judge from his religious surname it must have been either a Kuchean or a Chinese *ācārya* who had adopted this name. It would be tempting to bring the personal religious names of the two brothers, Fazu 法祖 and Fazuo 法祚, in connection with that of a certain Bo Faju 帛法巨 who was one of Dharmarakṣa's collaborators.[265] Religious "styles" (*zi*) are seldom found, but there is at least one other case in which a connection seems to exist between the personal appellation of a master and that of a disciple: Zhi Qian (above, p. 48), *zi* Gongming 恭明, is said to have been a disciple of Zhi Liang, *zi* Jiming 紀明.[266] The fact that Bo Yuan made several translations and consequently appears to have known some Sanskrit also points to a relation between his school and that of Dharmarakṣa; his period of activity (reign of emperor Hui, 290–306) coincides with the latter half of that of Dharmarakṣa, when this master *inter alia* translated the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* to which Bo Yuan is said to have written a commentary.[267]

Bo Yuan is the first Chinese master known to have entertained personal relations with the highest gentry, notably with a powerful member of the imperial house. In 304 the notorious king of Hejian 河間王 and prime minister Sima Yong 司馬顒 (?–306) abducted the powerless emperor Hui from the capital and entrenched himself at Chang'an together with the members of the highest aristocracy. Sima Yong was a friend and admirer of Bo Yuan with whom he used

> "to discuss the Way and its Virtue (談講道德) whenever there was a quiet morning or a tranquil night".[268]

The other worthies took also part in these *qingtan* sessions:

> "At that time, the Western court (at Chang'an) had just been established, and there were many (magistrates) of eminent ability.[269] Gentlemen of eloquence (能言之士) all acknowledged the superiority of his far-reaching intelligence".[270]

Shortly afterwards Bo Yuan left Chang'an, seeing that the political situation was becoming more and more dangerous. Here again his connection with the highest circles becomes apparent: he went to the West in the company of Zhang Fu 張輔 who in 304 had been appointed governor of Qinzhou (Eastern Gansu). This relation led to his death which was as tragical as it was characteristic: the governor, struck by the abilities of this gentleman-monk,

ordered him to return to the secular life and to enter his service. Bo Yuan refused and was whipped to death.[271]

Other elements from Bo Yuan's biography seem apocryphal, e.g. the prediction of his violent death, and the attack on Zhang Fu's residence at Tianshui 天水 undertaken by Tibetan tribes to avenge Bo Yuan's execution, after which they take hold of his remains to bury them in *stūpas*, as reported in *CSZJJ* and *GSZ*.

Another tradition, probably based on historical fact, speaks about his discussions with the Daoist master Wang Fu 王浮 concerning the priority or supremacy of Buddhism over Daoism. Wang Fu, repeatedly vanquished by his adversary, is said on that occasion to have composed the famous "Scripture of Laozi converting the Barbarians", *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經, for which see ch. VI.

Less is known about the life and activities of Bo Yuan's younger brother, Fazuo. He seems to have followed his brother to the West and to have been in relation with Zhang Guang 張光, governor of Liangzhou 梁州 (Northern Sichuan). When the latter heard about Bo Yuan's refusal to leave the order and about his execution, he tried to do the same with Bo Fazuo, with the same result: in or shortly after 306 Fazuo was killed.[272] He was the author of a commentary on the *Fangquang jing* and of an essay entitled "An Elucidation of the Basic Principle", *Xianzong lun* 顯宗論 which is still mentioned in the *Zhongjing mulu* of 594 AD;[273] it is the first Chinese Buddhist treatise mentioned in our sources.

Liu Yuanzhen and Zhu Daoqian.

We have already mentioned the important role played by the cultured laity in early Chinese Buddhism. It seems that around the end of the third century a Chinese scholar Liu Yuanzhen 劉元真 was active at Luoyang as a Buddhist teacher. He was the master of a young nobleman, a younger brother of the minister and rebel Wang Dun 王敦 (266–324), who in the early part of the Western Jin would become one of the most famous figures of Southern gentry Buddhism: Zhu Daoqian 竺道潛 (*zi* Fashen 法深; 286–374). To judge from the type of Buddhism preached and practised by his illustrious pupil, he must have been a kind of society teacher expounding a mixture of *xuanxue* and Buddhism. This is confirmed by an "Eulogy on Liu Yuanzhen"[274] written by the well-known Buddhist scholar Sun Chuo 孫綽 (ca. 300–380) in which he is praised for his mystic insight, the refinement of his language and the wisdom of his teachings. Like most poems of this genre, it does not yield any concrete information concerning the person in question. Liu Yuanzhen must have been quite famous in Buddhist circles in the early fourth century: in a letter written by Zhi Dun (314–366) to a (further quite unknown) "Monk from Gaoli (高驪道人)", Zhu Daoqian is recommended as being "a disciple of Master Liu from Zhongzhou 中州".[275] And in the famous decree of 446 AD in which emperor Taiwu of the Toba Wei dynasty ordered the execution of all monks and the destruction of all Buddhist buildings and objects, Buddhism is described as a monstrous forgery, which had been concocted from *Laozi, Zhuangzi* and some "empty talk of Western barbarians" by no one else but Liu Yuanzhen and a certain Lü Boqiang 吕伯彊.[276] I have been unable to find more about this teacher; it may be that there was

some family relation between him and the Liu Yuanmou 劉元謀 who is mentioned as a donor at Luoyang in a colophon of the year 289,[277] but both the surname *Liu* and personal names beginning with *Yuan* are far too frequent to make this more than a guess. In any case, he was not the only Chinese lay scholar who at that time devoted himself to Buddhist studies: in the period 290–306 we find the layman Wei Shidu 衛士度, a member of a family of impoverished *literati* from Jijun 汲郡 (S. W. Shanxi) who composed an extract of Lokakṣema's version of the *Aṣṭasahāsrikā p'p'*.[278]

Zhu Shulan, Zhi Xiaolong and Kang Sengyuan.

Another famous Buddhist *upāsaka*, of Indian extraction but born in China and completely sinicized, was Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭, whose role in the translation of the *Fangquang jing* at Cangyuan we have already mentioned. Zhu Shulan was born at Luoyang from an Indian family; the detailed information which the *CSZJJ* furnishes about the history of his family seems to come from a late source and is probably apocryphal.[279] Zhu Shulan knew Chinese as well as Sanskrit, and was widely read in Chinese literature and history. In spite of his Buddhist education and the inspiring example of his two maternal uncles who both had become monks, he led a life of drunkenness and debauchery. He regularly drank four or five gallons of wine, sleeping off its effects at the roadside. In his drunkenness he once broke into the *yamen* of the prefect of Luoyang, thereby making such a noise that he was discovered and thrown into jail. In this rather unofficial way he made contact with Yue Guang 樂廣 (?–304), one of the famous *qingtan* adepts and drinkers of the period, who at that time was prefect of the capital district,[280] and who was much impressed by the quick-wittedness and rhetorical skill of his excentric prisoner.[281]

Zhu Shulan made a translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and probably also a new version of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*.[282] Zhu Shulan's drunkenness and offensive behaviour, though condemned by the Buddhist biographers who have hastened to insert a highly improbable story about his later return to a respectable way of life, reflects another important aspect of early medieval culture: spontaneity, anti-ritualism, eccentricity, freedom from and disregard of the generally accepted codes of conduct, an ideal which at that period is expressed by the word *da* 達. Here we see how a naturalized Indian Buddhist by leading or cultivating this unconventional way of life conforms to the ideal of untrammeled freedom which was so much the fashion in certain gentry circles in the third century AD—the classical example is of course the club of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove—and how by doing this he gains the esteem of the ruling class.

Another example is furnished by the Chinese monk Zhi Xiaolong 支孝龍 from Huaiyang 淮陽 (E. Henan), who specialized in the study of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. In his biography he is characterized by the standard expressions which serve to describe the talents of the *qingtan* adept:

> "When (still) in his youth, he was highly esteemed for his refined deportment; in additon to this, his countenance had a noble and lofty expression, and in discussion his exalted words were adapted to the demands of the moment".[283]

Zhi Xiaolong entertained close relations with two of the most famous members of the intellectual elite at the capital. One of them was Ruan Zhan

阮瞻 from Chenliu (?–ca. 313), a great-nephew of the famous Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263); like most members of this family he was a great eccentric, famous for his *bons mots* and his skill on the lute.[284] The other was Yu Ai 庾敳 from Yingchuan (262–311), who belonged to one of the most prominent families of the period. He was a friend of Guo Xiang (above, p. 46), and, like him, a great authority on *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*.[285]

Like other groups of famous gentlemen in earlier and later times, Zhi Xiaolong and his friends were popularly called "the Eight *da*" 八達. The implication of this name may be exemplified by what is said about one of the gatherings of another group of illustrious persons at the beginning of the fourth century who had also been given this name:

> "Humu Fuzhi 胡母輔之, Xie Kun 謝鯤 (280–322), Ruan Fang 阮放 (?–330), Bi Zhuo 畢卓, Yang Man 羊曼, Huan Yi 桓夷 (275–327) and Ruan Fu 阮孚 were sitting together naked and with dishevelled hair in a closed room; they had already been drinking for several days. (Guang) Yi 光逸 (Humu Fuzhi's protegee whom they had not seen for years, arrived and) was about to push the door open and to enter, but the guardian did not allow him (to come in). He thereupon stripped himself outside the door, put off his hat, (crept) into the dog-hole and looked at them, shouting loudly. (Humu) Fuzhi was startled and said: 'Other people definitely cannot do so. That must be our Mengzi (i.e. Guang Yi)'. He immediately called him in, and together with him they (went on) drinking day and night, without stopping. Their contemporaries called them 'the Eight *da*'".[286]

We do not know whether gentlemen-monks like Zhi Xiaolong ever took part in sessions of this kind—we can hardly suppose so. On the other hand, we must be careful not *a priori* to regard these practices (examples of which could easily be multiplied) as outbursts of perversity, organized by members of a degenerate aristocracy. For such reasons it was never condemned by the Chinese, not even by the Buddhist clergy. The cult of the bizarre and the emphatic disregard of morals and etiquette, where all means, including wine, drugs and sex were used to provoke an ecstatic feeling of freedom, fulfilled a very real function in medieval gentry life with its extreme artificiality, its rigid class distinctions and its complicated code of social behaviour. If viewed from this angle, the fact that Buddhist monks occasionally associated with these elements from the gentry as soon as Buddhism had started to penetrate into these circles, without ever raising their voice against this Sodom and Gomorra, becomes less remarkable than it seems at first sight. The cult of the bizarre with its wholly Daoist background eventually penetrated into the Chinese clergy itself, where the gentry ideal of eccentricity and individual freedom merged into that of the roaming priest and thaumaturge who stands outside and above the rules and standards of the world. The result is the "mad monk", a figure who frequently appears in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

Finally we must mention another sinicized foreigner, the monk Kang Sengyuan 康僧淵, whose name indicates a Sogdian origin. Like Zhu Shulan and Zhi Xiaolong he had specialized in the study of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Fang kuang jing* and *Daoxing jing*). About his activities in the North nothing more is known; at some date after 326 he went to the Southern capital (Jiankang) where he became one of the most influential personalities of gentry Buddhism.

So far our historical survey, which contains the main facts known about the earliest history of the Buddhist Church in China apart from translation activities. In the last pages we have treated the first traces of a new and highly important development. In the following chapters we shall try to follow this development in various directions and in various regions of the empire, until its completion in the early years of the fifth century.

Chapter three

BUDDHISM AT JIANKANG AND IN THE SOUTH-EAST, CA. 320–420.

The "troubles of the yongjia *era" and the exodus to the South*, 304–317.

The internecine war between the Sima princes, the resulting political vacuum, the general chaos and misery in the northern and central provinces and the signs of volcanic activity in the deeper layers of society seemed to announce the final downfall of the Jin dynasty. However, at the beginning of the fourth century this "normal" course of events was interrupted by the intervention of a new power: that of the immigrated foreign tribes who by that time were living in the northern and north-western provinces of China proper, and who there had come to form a considerable part of the population as a result of more than two centuries of infiltration. This infiltration, which had been permitted and sometimes even encouraged by the successive dynastic rulers, had been most intensive in present-day Shanxi and the region of Chang'an; in a document of 299 AD the number of foreigners settled in the latter area is estimated at half a million, i.e. about one half of the total population.[1]

Among the many different ethnic groups which in this way had established themselves on Chinese territory, the Xiongnu were the most important and dangerous. From the Ordos region the Xiongnu had penetrated as far as Southern Shanxi, whereas the Jie 羯, originally a Central Asian branch of the Xiongnu confederation, were concentrated in south-eastern Shanxi. Two branches of the proto-Mongolian Xianbei 鮮卑 had entered via the North-east (the region of Liaoning) and the North-west (Gansu); the proto-Tibetan Di 氐 and Qiang 羌, tribes from the Lop nor region and western Gansu, had infiltrated from the West and were living in great numbers in eastern Gansu, Shensi and Sichuan.

Little is known about the way in which these colonies of immigrants lived among the Chinese population and about the extent to which they had adapted themselves to their new surroundings; we can hardly assume that they continued their original way of life as herdsmen and stock-breeders in a predominantly agrarian country, and many of these frontier-people may already have undergone a certain degree of sinization even before they moved into China. Once in China, they had become oppressed minorities. Some texts allow us a glimpse of their miserable existence as pauperized foreigners, despised by the Chinese public and ruthlessly exploited by the local magistrates who used them as soldiers or conscript labourers and who even enriched themselves by selling them as slaves. It is of fundamental importance that even under these circumstances many foreign groups in China had preserved their original tribal organisation. Both the Xiongnu and the Jie, who were the first eventually to found independent states in northern China, had maintained their aboriginal



Map IV. Buddhism from the middle of the first to the end of the fourth century

institutions: *CS* 97 enumerates no less than nineteen "hordes" 部 of immigrated Xiongnu "who all have their own settlements and do not mix with each other", each horde being under the command of an aristocratic family whose members hereditarily filled all leading positions.[2]

It is evident that because of this they could easily become an extremely dangerous element within the state, as soon as a competent leader would be able to unite the different groups (not necessarily belonging to the same foreign people) under his command and, by combining the old tribal institutions with elements of Chinese organisation, to change the existing foreign enclaves into formidable centres of military power. This is what actually happened in the last decades of the third century, when a completely sinicized Xiongnu nobleman, Liu Yuan 劉淵, had become the leader of the five Xiongnu hordes of Shanxi, in which position he was officially recognized by the central government. Before that time, Liu Yuan had served as a page (c.q. as a hostage) at the court at Luoyang where he had some influential friends, one of whom, a certain Wang Mi 王彌, was later to play an important role as one of Liu Yuan's generals in the conquest of the North. The reorganisation of the Xiongnu state was carried out with the help of Chinese specialists, gentry renegades who in this time of chaos and danger went over to Liu Yuan in great numbers.

Nationalism was strong among the Huns; there were various patriotic movements among them, directed towards the restoration of the empire of Maodun 冒頓, the famous chieftain of the second century BC whose descendant Liu Yuan claimed to be.[3] But the political disintegration of the Chinese empire in the late third century opened wider perspectives: Liu Yuan propagated the ideal of the restoration of the Han dynasty, a policy which he justified by pointing to the bonds of marriage which once had affiliated the ruling family of the Huns to the Han imperial house.

Another point of importance is that the Xiongnu troops in China had become thoroughly familiar with Chinese military methods and strategy during the civil wars between the Sima warlords, who had not hesitated to rely upon Liu Yuan's assistance in their work of mutual extermination, and who, moreover, had often reinforced their own armies with foreign mercenaries and slaves. Campaigns like that of 304 AD, when Liu Yuan with his Xiongnu troops defeated an army of Sima Teng 司馬滕 (which itself mainly consisted of Xianbei and Wuhuan soldiers), must not only have enhanced the fighting power of the Xiongnu, but also have opened their eyes to the extreme weakness and instability of the Chinese government.

However, most important of all is the fact that the Huns in their final war of conquest largely relied upon Chinese internal revolutionary movements, the peasant revolts which in this period arose in rapid succession in different parts of the empire. Due to a lack of competent leadership and organisation, these were mostly bound to remain ephemeral convulsive movements in spite of their vehemence and enormous geographical spread. Unlike the campaigns of the Huns who operated from firmly consolidated military bases after many years of preparation, they were spontaneous uprisings of the rural population, led by desperadoes, "magicians" or adventurous local magistrates who tried to channel the released energy and to use it to their own ends. Like Liu Yuan himself, some of these demagogues professed to "restore the Han dynasty".[4] It is evident that the Xiongnu and their confederates used and stimulated

such movements in the course of their great offensive which started in 304. It is certainly no coincidence that in 306 Liu Yuan's old friend and partisan Wang Mi gave the sign for a large-scale revolution which broke out in Shandong and rapidly spread over Hebei and Henan; Wang Mi openly united his forces with those of Liu Yuan in 307, but we may assume that he was backed by him before that date. In the same year (307) a mixed Chinese-"Barbarian" revolt, led by the Jie chieftain Shi Le 石勒 and the Chinese Ji Sang 汲桑 broke out in Shandong and Henan; both leaders soon joined Liu Yuan.

We shall not treat in any detail the kaleidoscopic events of the next years, the conquest of most of Northern China and the final downfall of the Western Jin, events which the Chinese historians usually refer to as "the troubles of the *yongjia* era" 永嘉之亂 (307–312). In 310 Liu Yuan died and his brother Liu Cong 劉聰 (310–318), the Attila of Chinese history, continued the war of conquest. In 311 the Xiongnu took Luoyang and massacred the population; famine ravaged the central provinces. Chang'an was twice taken and devastated (311 and 316), the last emperor of the Western Jin captured and killed shortly afterwards.

The fall of Luoyang (311) definitively broke the resistance of the Jin: shortly before the four Xiongnu armies closed the siege around the city, "eighty to ninety percent" of the metropolitan gentry—magistrates and courtiers—fled away, most of them to the South. The fall of Chang'an in the same year sealed the fate of the dynasty. The region of Chang'an was completely deserted; within the city no more than a few hundred families tried to make living. The news of the fall of the imperial city and of the Chinese empire spread over the whole continent and had repercussions in the trade centres of Central Asia. The fear and agitation of the moment are reflected by the words which the Sogdian merchant Nanai Vandak in June/July 313 writes to his employer at Samarkand:

> "... And, Sir, the last Emperor—so they say—fled from Saraγ (Luoyang) because of the famine. And his fortified residence burned down and the town was (destroyed). So Saraγ is no more, (ə)Ngap(a) (Ye) is no more! ... (They) pillaged the (land) up to N'yn'ymh and up to (ə)Ngap(a), these Huns who yesterday had been the Emperor's property! ... And, Sir, if I wrote (and told) you all the details of how China fared, it would be (a story of) debts and woe; you will have no wealth from it ...".[5]

In 319 Liu Yao 劉曜, Liu Cong's successor, moved his capital to Chang'an, thus triumphantly completing the work of Liu Yuan by establishing the central government at the ancient capital of the Han emperors. Still, he changed the name of the dynasty from Han to Zhao 趙. However "auspicious" this symbolic act may have seemed to be, the westward shift of the capital gave Shi Le the opportunity to strengthen his position in the East and indirectly led to the fall of the Xiongnu empire ten years later.

Zhao, like the other "Barbarian" empires which succeeded it in Northern China, suffered from inner tensions and conflicts which could easily disrupt the structure of the state: the necessity of adapting the Xiongnu aristocratic form of government—essentially a family affair of the leading clan—to the task of ruling the empire with its bureaucratic organisation, the constant rivalry between the Xiongnu leaders and those of the other foreign groups under their rule, and the delicate position of the rulers towards the Chinese

gentry which they had to use at all levels in the administration of the government, at the same time trying to curb its power and influence. As a result, the first foreign empires in Northern China were short-lived, very unstable and almost exclusively relying upon military despotism and terrorisation as the only means to maintain their power during the few decades of their existence.

Already in 319 the Jie general Shi Le established a rival kingdom in the North-west with Xiangguo 襄國 (near the modern Xingtai 邢臺 in Southern Hebei) as its capital; after ten years of war against Liu Yao he destroyed the "Former Zhao" in 329 and assumed the imperial title. This dynasty, the "Later Zhao" (329–350), ruled by the Shi family, is known in the Chinese annals as a period of sheer terror, especially under Shi Le's successor Shi Hu 石虎 (333–349). It came to a dramatical end in 350, when Chinese rebels headed by a Chinese adopted grandson of Shi Hu in an unprecedented explosion of racial hatred massacred not only the Shi family but also all the Jie people who fell into their hands.

The establishment of the "Eastern" Jin and the great families.

At the time of the conquest of the North, the region of the lower Yangzi—the ancient territory of Wu—became a place of refuge for the emigrating gentry, just like a century before, during the troubles at the end of the Later Han (cf. p. 36 above). At Jianye, the ancient capital of Sun Quan (near the modern Nanjing), the king of Langye Sima Rui 司馬睿 had resided since 307 as "General-Pacifier of the East" and military governor of Yangzhou and Jiangnan. The great exodus from the North began around 310, and especially the fall of Luoyang in 311 drove enormous numbers of displaced persons to the South. Here they came to form the nucleus of the new government apparatus which was built up at Jianye under relatively peaceful conditions, as the Hun rulers in the North were still engaged in various campaigns and in the consolidation of their new territory, and the mighty barrier of the Yangzi compensated for the military weakness of the South.

The central figure at the new capital (now re-named Jiankang 建康), the undisputed leader of the exiled gentry and the actual organiser of the government was Wang Dao 王導 (276–339),[6] a member of the Wang clan from Langye. He soon exercised dictatorial power. It was he who in the years 310–317 laid the foundations of the new regime by attracting the best elements among the fugitives from the North and by gaining the support of the leaders among the local southern gentry, members of distinguished southern families whose fathers had been high magistrates under the Wu, and who were at first far from friendly disposed towards the newcomers who threatened to push them out of their privileged position.[7]

In 318 Sima Rui assumed the title of emperor (emperor Yuan, 318–322). The restoration of the Jin in the South marks *de facto* (though not "officially") the beginning of the period of the division between North and South. In great haste the building up of the bureaucratic apparatus was completed: no less than 200.000 officials are said to have been appointed in year 318.[8]

During the whole period of the "Eastern" Jin (317–420) the Great Families reigned supreme. The power of the Sima, who with their incessant warfare had still dominated the last decades of the third century, had completely dwindled away, and the government had become in fact a kind of oligarchy

exercised by the leading members of a few great families who pushed, fought and replaced each other in a never-ending struggle for power. The emperor exerted a purely nominal authority; only six out of the fifteen emperors of the Eastern Jin reigned longer than six years, and many of them were only children when they were placed upon the throne by the leading faction of the moment. Outside the capital, in the outlying provinces, the Sima had even less influence. Here the close relatives of the emperor, enfeoffed as "kings" 王, were usually dominated by the local warlords who in their quality of "military governor" (one of the most important and most coveted positions) were in control of large parts of the empire. Only one of these kings (Sima Daozi, cf. below) has come to play an important role in the political history of the Eastern Jin.

Hence the history of the fourth and early fifth century may be divided in a number of well-defined periods, each characterised by the supremacy of a certain clan.

	LEADING FAMILIES	EMPERORS
I.	ca. 310–325 Supremacy of the Wang 王	Yuan 307(317)–323
	(Wang Dao, Wang Dun)	Ming 323–326
	ca. 325–345 Supremacy of the Yu 庾	Cheng 326–343
	(Yu Liang, Yu Bing, Yu Yi)	Kang 343–345
	345/346 He Chong breaks the power of the Yu and promotes the Huan 桓 and Chu 褚	Mu 345–366
II.	346–373 Supremacy of the Huan 桓	Sima Yi 366–371 (deposed)
	(Huan Wen)	Jianwen 371–373
	373–385 Supremacy of the Xie 謝	Xiaowu 373–397
	(Xie An)	
	385–403 The faction Sima Daozi versus the junta led by Huan Xuan 桓玄	An 397–403
III.	(Intermezzo: 403/404 usurpation and abortive foundation of own dynasty by Huan Xuan; Liu Yu drives out the Huan and restores the Jin)	
	404–420 Supremacy of the Liu 劉	An (cont.) 404–419
	(Liu Yu)	Gong 419–420
	(In 420 Liu Yu deposes emperor Gong and founds the (Liu) Song dynasty, 420–479).	

This scheme does not only hold good for the political history of the period. As we shall see, the early history of gentry Buddhism, especially that of the capital and the region to the East of it, is closely connected with the ups and downs of the leading families. We shall therefore describe the Buddhism of the South-East in accordance with this chronological table. However, before doing so, it will be necessary to give a brief survey of those aspects of fourth century gentry culture which are most intimately connected with the development of gentry Buddhism.

Mingjiao 名教 *and* Xuanxue 玄學.

Two trends of thought play a dominating role in the intellectual life of the cultured classes in medieval China.

One of these is closely related to the practical problems of government, and stresses the primary importance of social duties, ritual, law and characterology

(the latter as a means to define the capacities of individuals so as to realize an effective distribution of functions to be "allotted" 分 to them, and thus to harmonize "name", *ming* 名, and "reality", *shi* 實). This mixture of Confucian and Legalist notions and precepts is therefore generally called *mingjiao*, "the doctrine of Names". It represents the more conservative and realistic tendency in medieval Chinese philosophy.

The other trend of thought is characterized by a profound interest in ontological problems: the quest for a permanent substrate underlying the world of change, starting from the assertion that all temporally or spatially limited phenomena, anything "nameable", all movement, change and diversity, in short, all "being", is produced, manifested and sustained by a basic principle which is unlimited, unnameable, unmoving, unchanging and undiversified, and which therefore can be qualified as "non-being". The basic problem is the relation between this "fundamental non-being" (*benwu* 本無) and "final being" (*moyou* 末有), a relation which is described as that of "substance" (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用). This implies that "being" and "non-being", though different, do not form a pair of mutually exclusive opposites. In the words of the *Daode jing*, which is one of the basic scriptures of this school, "they emerge together, but have different names" (*TTC* 1), and this unity is "the Mystery of Mysteries, the gate of all wonders" 玄之又玄衆妙之門 (*ib*.). Hence these speculations are usually called *Xuanxue* 玄學, "the Study of the Mystery" or "Dark Learning". It represents the more abstract, unwordly and idealistic tendency in medieval Chinese thought.

Mingjiao and *xuanxue* cannot simply be regarded as two rival schools of thought. In many cases the two trends appear to have been adhered to simultaneously, one serving as a kind of metaphysical complement to the other. Sometimes we find the ontological doctrine of *xuanxue* interpreted as the basic truth, the "substance", with the wordly teachings of *mingjiao* as its temporal manifestation, its "function"[9]—a concept of two levels of truth which foreshadows the Mahāyāna notion of *saṃvṛti* and *paramārthasatya*. Finally, in the most comprehensive and clear expression of early medieval philosophy, Xiang Xiu's (or Guo Xiang's) commentary to *Zhuangzi, mingjiao* and *xuanxue* are completely harmonized and amalgamated.

Especially since *xuanxue* is still sometimes regarded as a kind of revived Daoism, it is useful to remember that Dark Learning was both created by and intended for *literati*, i.e. politicians and state officials, and definitely not by Daoist masters, hermits or cave-dwelling mystics.[10] The theories of thinkers like Xi Kang 嵇康 (223–262), who with their quest for immortality and their extreme anti-ritualism are much nearer to the spirit of Daoism, hardly fall within the sphere of Dark Learning, whereas the Daoist philosopher *par excellence* of this period, Ge Hong 葛洪 (ca. 250–330), is clearly opposed to *xuanxue* and *qingtan*.[11]

The zhengshi *era* (240–249).

The first phase in the development of Dark Learning is connected with the names of a number of *literati* who were active in the second quarter of the third century: Zhong Hui 鍾會 (225–264), He Yan 何晏 (?–249) and Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249).[12] The starting-point of their speculations was that of Chinese philosophy in general: the concept of the Sage Ruler who by means of his

wisdom and supernatural insight and by conforming to certain cosmic principles is able to make the affairs of the whole world run smoothly and automatically, without any intervention or conscious exertion on his part. Their particular representation of the Sage Ruler was that of the *Yijing*, the ancient divinatory handbook with its 64 hexagrams symbolizing various situations, its cryptic explanations of these symbols and their individual lines, and its appendices; the study of the *Yijing* was much en vogue in the first half of the third century.

In the earlier Han Confucianism, at the time of the vast scholastic systematisations, the exegesis of the *Yijing* with its concept of the Sage Ruler as the one who "anticipates Heaven (i.e. the course of destiny) and Heaven does not deviate from (what he has foreseen)" and who "respectfully conforms to the timing of Heaven"[13] had been dominated by cosmological speculations; both the course of Nature and the position of the Sage Ruler had been described and explained in terms of *yinyang* and the interaction of the Five Elements. When in the third century Han scholasticism was gradually supplanted by a new type of exegesis striving to grasp the basic meaning or principle (*li* 理) of the canonical scriptures, these passages acquired a new significance. Since the Sage Ruler was represented as guiding the world by means of his insight into the nature of all developments ("transformations"), an attempt was made to define this fundamental principle (which enables the Sage to anticipate the course of events) as the immutable unity which underlies all change and differentiation, or as the condition of rest which is the source of all movement. Thus in Dark Learning the new approach to the theme of the Sage Ruler as contained in the *Yijing* naturally led to the study of ontological problems; the connection between ontology and political philosophy was never completely lost.

The notion of such a permanent substrate was found in the *Yijing* itself, *viz.* in the passage from the *Xici* appendix which says:

> "In the Changes there is the Great Ultimate (*taiji* 太極) which produces the Two Modes (*yin* and *yang*)".[14]

Whereas in Han times this *taiji* was interpreted as the amorphous "primeval ether" (*yuanqi* 元氣) which existed before the formation of all things, thus assuming a temporal relation between the original unity in chaos and a later differentiation, the new interpretation changes this temporal relation into a logical one. Now the Great Ultimate is the immutable substance manifested in the world of change, just as the unity (the number one) is permanently present in all different numbers.[15]

The revival of various ancient schools of philosophy in the first half of the third century was accompanied by a general tendency towards hybridization and combination of elements from different schools. A fusion of Confucian state doctrine and revived Legalism resulted in *mingjiao*, and the *Yijing* exegetes of this period found a corroboration of their views in the writings of the ancient Daoist philosophers, notably Laozi and Zhuangzi. The decisive step was taken when the concepts of "substance" versus "function" (unity vs. diversity, rest vs. motion) were identified with another pair of concepts which originated from quite another sphere of thought, viz. the ancient Daoist ideas of "non-being" (*wu* 無) and "being" (*you* 有). This fusion *of Yijing*

speculations and some (drastically reinterpreted) elements from Daoist philosophy is characteristic of Dark Learning; *you* and *wu* became the most basic terms in these theories. In fact, the main interest of the adepts of Dark Learning is often described in contemporary literature as "to talk about being and non-being", "to speak about emptiness and non-being" and other slightly pejorative expressions of this kind. *You* and *wu* are regarded by the historian as the very essence of the thought of He Yan and Wang Bi:

> "They established the theory that Heaven and Earth and the myriad entities have "non-being" as their root; as to this "non-being", it is (in their view) that which "opens up all beings and completes the task",[16] and which is present everywhere: *yin* and *yang* rely on it to transform and produce (everything), and the myriad entities rely on it to realize their forms…",[17]

and the fourth century *Yijing* commentator Han Bo 韓伯 says in his gloss to "(The alternation of) one *yin* and one *yang* is called the Way":

> "What is the Way? It is a term for "non-being", which is all-pervading and from which all originates. It is still and unsubstantial, and cannot be expressed by any symbol. Whenever the function (*yong* 用) of "being" is accomplished to the utmost, then the achievement of "non-being" is manifested".[18]

Time and again the fact is stressed that no words, names or symbols are able to express "the silent and supreme non-being" which constitutes "the mind of Heaven and Earth",[19] for all terms necessarily define, they "fix" 定 or "associate" ("tie", 繫) the speaker's mind to particular objects, whereas the "Mystery" 玄, though provisorily denoted by words like "the Way", "non-being" or "great", is all-embracing and therefore undefinable. E.g. Wang Bi *ad Daode jing* 1:

> (text: "This unity is called the Mystery, the Mystery of Mysteries"): …"But the Mystery is "darkened" 冥;[20] it is silent non-existence from which both "beginning" and "mother" (the two aspects of the Way) have emerged. Since we cannot give it any (specific) name, therefore it is unutterable. "This unity is called the Mystery" (the text says), but that we when speaking about it give it the name of "Mystery" is only because we have to choose an appellation of that kind, although (actually) this cannot be done. When giving it such an appellation, we must not fix it on the single (idea of) "mystery", for then this would be a name (among others); this would be far beside the truth. That is why (the text) says "the Mystery of Mysteries".

Wang Bi *ad TTC* 14:

> "We might be inclined to say that it is non-being, and yet all entities are completed by it; (on the other hand) we might be inclined to say that it is being, and yet one cannot perceive its form" (cf. his nearly identical gloss to *TTC* 6).

Wang Bi *ad TTC* 25:

> (text: "I do not know its proper name, but I call it by the appellation 字 "Way"; if compelled to make a name for it, I should say 'Great'"): "This is because we (have to) select the most comprehensive ("great") of all appellations that can be pronounced.… But if this (term) "Great" becomes associated with (a notion of a definite object), then there will inevitably be distinction, and if there is distinction, then it fails to express the ultimate (truth). Hence (Laozi) says: "if *compelled* to make a name for it…"."

This stress on the inadequacy of all verbal expression is characteristic of *xuanxue*; the relation between words and reality (important both in *ming-*

jiao and in *xuanxue*) gave rise to various theories and disputes, centering around the basic problem whether words can completely express ideas 意 or "principles" 理, or not. Both parties could rely on excellent scriptural evidence. Those who, like Wang Bi, held that "words do not completely express the ideas (of the Sage)" 言不盡意 could refer to the famous passage from the *Yijing*:

> "Writing does not completely express speech, nor does speech completely express ideas",[21]

whereas the opposite view could be defended by means of another passage from the same *Yijing* appendix:

> "The Saint established the symbols (of the *Yijing*) in order thereby completely to express the ideas, and appended the explanations (繫辭) to these in order thereby completely to express (their meaning) in words".[22]

The standpoint that words are an incomplete expression of an inner reality, an outer manifestation of a hidden source, had far-reaching consequences. The person of Confucius himself and his teachings were interpreted in this way, Confucius being the Sage who inwardly realized ("embodied" 體) the ultimate reality of non-being[23] and who outwardly expounded an expedient teaching, a mere set of *ad hoc* rules intended as an answer to the practical needs of the times. This standpoint seemed to find support not only in the *Yijing* and in the Daoist philosophers, but also in certain puzzling *Lunyu* passages.[24] This concept of "hidden saintliness" and the expedient character of the canonical teachings came to play an extremely important role in the development of gentry Buddhism, where it became amalgamated with the Mahāyāna concept of *upāya*.

The Zhuangzi *commentary of Xiang Xiu/Guo Xiang.*

The next step in the development of Dark Learning is an attempt at reconciliation of the two trends mentioned above: of the gnostic speculations propagated by Wang Bi and other "partisans of non-being" 貴無, and the theories of the more realistic adherents of the Doctrine of Names, "those who exalt being" 崇有.[25] The world-view contained in the famous *Zhuangzi* commentary by Xiang Xiu 向秀 (ca. 221–ca. 300), completed and edited by Guo Xiang 郭象 (died 312)[26] is essentially a combination or a compromise between these two diverging standpoints. Such a procedure necessarily meant a radical reinterpretation of the ancient Daoist scripture, and the new exegesis of *Zhuangzi* was no doubt a reaction to the theories of anti-Confucian, anti-ritualist *literati* like Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263) and Xi Kang 嵇康 (223–262) to whom Zhuangzi had always been the great prophet of their ideals of untrammeled freedom, anarchy and ecstasy.[27] The Xiang-Guo commentary forms the classical expression of Dark Learning in its last creative phase just before the impact of Mahāyāna Buddhism upon Chinese thought.

The starting-point of Xiang-Guo is purely *mingjiao*: it is the basic concept of *fen* 分, "share, allotment".[28] Every being has its own inborn "share" of capacities, skills, inclinations, preferences, ideas and desires which predestines him for a certain well-defined position in life, a certain environment, a certain task. No being is identical with any other, hence all *fen* are different. The ideal way of life is that every being lives in perfect harmony

with his own natural "share" and within the limits which nature has imposed on him. This is Xiang-Guo's interpretation of the Daoist ideal on "non-activity" 無為: here *wuwei* simply means to live in strict accordance with one's *individual* nature, smoothly and "automatically", without striving to break through the barriers of one's proper "allotment".

The Sage (who, as always, is represented as the ideal ruler) is the one who by means of his supernatural wisdom is able to act in accordance with the *fen* of *all* beings, which implies that he himself stands above all their differences.[29] He is universal and all-embracing like nature itself (天.自然.道)—nature which is the source and totality of all "allotments" alike. Hence the Sage (ruler) stands above all judgments, opinions, emotions and moral standards, for all these are limited notions, only valid for certain individuals in certain situations. Notions like "good", "true", "beautiful" and "this" denote for each individual that which agrees with or belongs to his own particular "share"; for the Sage all these distinctions have been obliterated, and his mind is a perfect blank.

> (*text*: "Only by (holding to) the axis one may grasp the centre of the circle, in order to respond to the endless (changes)".)
>
> *comm.*: "(The notions of) right and wrong are moving around, following each other in an endless succession; that is why they are called 'the circle'. The 'centre of the circle' is emptiness. He who regards right and wrong as a circle and graps the centre of it will be devoid of (the notions of) right and wrong. By being devoid of (the notions of) right and wrong, he can respond to right and wrong, and since right and wrong are endless, therefore his responses will also be endless".[30]
>
> (*text*: "Similarity and dissimilarity are (ideas) similar to each other, hence (my words) are not different from theirs").
>
> *comm.*: "(The Sage) after having abandoned right and wrong again abandons his (intention of) abandoning. Abandoning and abandoning again, he reaches the point where there is nothing to be abandoned (any more).[31] Then, without abandoning, there is nothing which is not abandoned, and right and wrong have automatically ceased to be".[32]

This impassive, transcendent unity with "Heaven" or with "Nature" is denoted by the term *ming* 冥, "obscured, effaced". Since the Sage (ruler) is free from all discursive reasoning, his activities are not conscious attempts to improve the world, but reflexes 應, automatical responses to the stimuli 感 which reach him.

> "Therefore, being without conscious thought he mysteriously responds, and follows only the stimuli (which reach him). Floating is he, like an unmoored boat which goes East or West without any personal (effort)".[33]

Hence he remains unaffected by his own apparent activities, which are called his "traces", *ji* 迹, the ever-changing outward manifestations of his inner nature which is "that by which the traces (are made)", *suoyi ji* 所以迹.[34] This fundamental distinction is elaborated in numerous passages of the *Zhuangzi* commentary.

What, however, is this "Heaven" or "Nature" which underlies all diversity and which is realized by the Sage in his inner nature? The concept of *wu* 無, "le Néant" as a permanent substrate—the basic assumption of Wang Bi—is most emphatically rejected. There is no substrate at all; there is nothing which underlies diversity but the principle of diversity itself, and in this all

things are one. This is the great paradox on which Xiang-Guo's ontology is built, and which makes them certainly belong to the school of the "exaltation of Being". "Being" (as a totality) can simply not have been "produced" at all, for "non-being" is by definition unable to produce anything, and any other way of production supposes the previous existence of "being".[35] Hence the conclusion: all "being" is generated "automatically", everything is self-produced, all beings are spontaneously what they are. The process of transformation is "lonely" 獨化, i.e. without any substrate or creative power;[36] there is "no thing which can cause the things to be things, nor can the things cause themselves to be things".[37] "Heaven" or "Heaven and Earth" have no permanent substance: "Heaven-and-Earth is the general name for the myriad entities, which form the substance 體 of Heaven-and-Earth".[38] Each individual thing is the way it is, each thing is "so" 然, and this is the essence of the Way.[39] Therefore the Sage is not one with any "fundamental non-being", but he is mystically "effaced together with the things" 與物冥.[40]

In the field of political and social thought Xiang-Guo's conclusions are in accordance with their ontological theories. They reject quietism, abandonment and mystic reveries in the realm of "non-being". Mundane affairs (the official career) are and must be the only field of human activity, and in this field the ideal of spontaneous "non-activity" can be realized, provided all individuals are enabled to live and to act in strict accordance with their natural capacities and limitations.[41]

There is no doubt a strong deterministic or fatalistic tendency in the concept of *fen* 分. Xiang-Guo fails to give any motivation why the different "allotments" are as they are, why some individuals are "spontaneously" born as kings and others as beggars, some as sages and others as fools. Their determinism clearly reflects the medieval gentry ideal of a society with rigid class distinctions:

> "Each has his basic allotment 本分 which he has obtained as his inborn nature; nobody can escape from it, and nobody can add to it".[42]

> "He who is esteemed by (the people of) his time is the lord; he whose talents are not in accordance with (the demands of) the times is the subject. (Their positions are) like those of Heaven which is naturally high and Earth which is naturally low, like the hands which are naturally above and the feet which are naturally below. How could they ever change places?"[43]

> "The universe is very large; things are very numerous. But whatever we meet with is comprised therein.... What we do not meet, we cannot meet. What we meet we cannot but meet. What we do not, we cannot do. What we do, we cannot but do...".[44]

It is exactly here that Buddhism came to fill one of the most serious lacunae with its theory of universal retribution (*karman* and rebirth) which supplied an ideological justification for this seemingly haphazard distribution of "natural shares". For the early Chinese Buddhists the cosmic justice of *karman* remained a "natural" or "spontaneous retribution" 自然之服, a term which we find already used—in a somewhat different sense—in the *Zhuangzi* commentary.[45]

Qingtan.

The term "Pure Conversation", *qingtan* 清談,[46] denotes a special type of rhetorical discussion about philosophical and other subjects which was much en vogue among the cultured upper classes since the third century AD. It had originated in the same period and the same intellectual sphere which had produced *mingjiao* with its emphasis on characterology and its orientation towards the individual. At that time, the more or less formalized discussion of the character and the abilities of individuals had a very concrete and practical function in the political life. Since the early third century the practice of "characterizing" (*mu* 目) persons, i.e. describing their special talents and shortcomings in a short formula belonged to the task of the *zhongzheng* 中正, the magistrates for the selection of officials (cf. above, p. 44). The latter based this verdict either on personal observation or on the public opinion about the persons in question. On the other hand, by means of their characterizations or by publicly discussing the qualities of individuals (single persons, members of a certain family, persons from a certain region etc.), prominent magistrates could influence public opinion, advertise their partisans, expose the faults of their opponents and even propagate their own virtues. In the fourth century we still find various examples of "characterization" being used for political purposes.

However, in accordance with the general line of development of medieval Chinese thought, the themes of such rhetorical discussions soon became less concrete and practical, and more theoretical, philosophical and aesthetic; Dark Learning came to exert a dominating influence. At the beginning of the fourth century *qingtan* meetings had already become a refined and very exclusive pass-time of the highest gentry, a kind of *salons* where the upper ten held their more or less philosophical debates and rhetorical contests and displayed their ability in coining *bons mots* and in expressing some theme in elegant, abstruse and laconic words. Not much has been left of the proceedings of such meetings: our main source, the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 with its invaluable commentary,[47] contains only the most essential points (some *bons mots*, brilliant remarks and smart repartees, famous "characterizations", conclusions) or describes in few words the general course of a session and the circumstances under which it took place.

There is, however, a literary *genre* which became very popular during this very period and which in its form very probably reflects the way in which such debates were held: the many little treatises in dialogue form on theoretical, often philosophical subjects. It is significant that from the fourth century onward practically all Buddhist apologetic and propagandistic treatises have the form of a dialogue between the author (the "host" 主) and an imaginary opponent (the "guest" 賓), in which both parties alternately formulate their views and objections, the "opponent" finally declaring himself vanquished and convinced. We shall see how Buddhist priests came to play an important role in *qingtan* meetings, and how Buddhist ideas and theories soon came to be fashionable topics of discussion, and it is very probable that these treatises with their highly sophisticated dialogue and their constant use of elegant phraseology, *bons mots* and other rhetoric devices form a literary expression of such debates as there were actually held in the gatherings of the cultured monks and the "eloquent worthies" of the time.

As we have said above, the "characterization" of persons remains one of the central themes of *qingtan*, even in the fourth century and thereafter, when the debaters were much occupied by more philosophical or aesthetic subjects. However, these later "characterizations" are also extremely stylized and polished; they appear to have been drawn from the political into the artistic-literary sphere. The practice of *mu* had developed from a professional routine into a rhetorical art, and it seems to have been mainly the desire to display ability in formulating them and insight in human nature that caused this practice to remain one of the basic elements of *qingtan*.[48] Some examples:

"His Excellency Wang (Dao, 276–339) characterized the Grand Commandant (Wang Yan) as 'a pure mountain of piled-up rocks, a steep wall eight thousand feet high' ".[49]

"The Gentleman of the Palace Yu (Ai, 262–311) was characterized by a contemporary as 'excelling in arrogance, well-versed in self-concealment' ".[50]

"The Prime Minister Wang (Tao) said: 'The perfect purity of Diao Xie! The rugged loftiness of Dai Yan! Bian Hu, like a soaring mountain-peak!' "[51]

"The General Commander-of-the-West Xie (Shang, 308–357) said of Wang Xiu: 'His writings are full of surprises; he cannot help being original'".[52]

"Liu Tan (mid. fourth cent.) said of Jiang Guan: 'Unable to speak, but able not to speak' ".[53]

"Huan Xuan (369–404) asked the Grand Ceremonialist Liu (Jin): 'How am I in comparison with the Great Preceptor Xie (An)?' Lui answered: 'Your Excellency is high, the Great Preceptor deep'. 'And how (am I) if compared to Your Honour's uncle Wang Xianzhi?' He answered: 'Haws and pears, oranges and lemons all have their own good taste!' "[54]

Around this central topic other themes are grouped: the cult of the *bon mot* in general, the smart repartee, the ability to sketch a situation in a few well-chosen words:

"When the General Chastiser-of-the-West Huan (Wen, 312–373) had repaired the city-walls of Jiangling and (had restored them) to great beauty, he gathered his guests and officials to look at them from the ford in the river, saying: 'Whosoever is able to characterize these walls will be rewarded'. (The famous painter) Gu Kaizhi who was present as a guest characterized them, saying: 'I gaze from afar to walls upon walls—vermillion towers like the clouds at dawn'. Huan rewarded him with two slave girls".[55]

"When Gu Kaizhi returned from Kuaiji, people asked him about the beauty of mountains and rivers. Gu said: 'A thousand peaks rivalling in height, ten thousand rivulets competing in flowing forth. Herbs and trees grow over them, hiding them from view like clouds that rise and obscure the rosy sky at dawn' ".[56]

"In a poem by Guo Pu (276–324) it is said: 'In the wood, no tree is still / no river halts its flow'.[57] Ruan Fou said: 'The immense loneliness and desolation (suggested by these lines) are really beyond words. Whenever I read these verses, my spirit and body transcend themselves' ".[58]

"Wang Huizhi (died 388) went to His Excellency Xie (An), who asked him: 'What would you say about seven-syllable poems?' Wang immediately answered (in two seven-syllable lines), saying: 'Now rushing forward like a noble steed / then softly drifting like a swimming duck'."[59]

But conversation usually took a more philosophical turn, being devoted to such favourite topics as the qualities of human nature, the relation between

"nature" and "capacities", problems of ritual and decorum, the explanation and hidden purport of the symbols of the *Yijing*, the relation between words and ideas, the presence or absence of emotions in the Sage and other subjects, most of which clearly belong to the field of Dark Learning. The *Shishuo xinyu* contains several lively accounts of such debates which were variously known as "dark conversation" 玄談, "to analyze principles" 析理, "to discuss principles" 談理 or "to talk about emptiness and non-being" 談虛無. The origin of this kind of conversation was traditionally associated with the *zhengshi* era 正始, the time when the first great representatives of Dark Learning (notably Wang Bi and He Yan) were active (240–249 AD).

> "When the General of the Interior Yin (Hao, died 356) came to the capital as a senior secretary of His Excellency Yu (Liang), the Prime Minister Wang (Dao) held a meeting for him. His Excellency Huan (Wen), the Senior Secretary Wang (Meng), Wang Shu and the General Commander-of-the-West Xie (Shang) were all present. The Prime Minister himself stood up, loosened the curtains, and with his fly-whisk[60] at his belt he said to Yin: 'To-day I will personally converse with you to analyze principles'. Thereupon they engaged in 'pure conversation' and did so until the third watch (of the night). The argument went to and for between the Prime Minister and Yin, and the other gentlemen could hardly participate in it. When both parties were satisfied, the Prime Minister sighed, saying: 'In former discussions we never knew how to trace principles to their source (as we have done now); as to (our ability in handling) words and illustrations we did not yield to each other. The sounds of the *zhengshi* era must have been like this and nothing else'".[61]
>
> "The General of the Interior Yin (Hao), Sun Sheng, Wang Xie (and other) distinguished speakers gathered in the mansion of the Prince of Kuaiji. Yin held a discussion with Sun about 'whether the symbols of the *Yijing* transcend visible shapes'. Sun's words were methodical, his ideas sublime. (Yet,) all who were present disagreed with the principles of Sun's (discourse), but nobody was able to defeat him. The Prince sighed and said indignantly: 'Let us have Liu Tan come here, for he will surely be able to put that fellow in his place!' In the prospect of Liu's coming, Sun found that (his argumentation) became already less (convincing). When Liu Tan had arrived, he let Sun himself state the basic principle (of his discourse). Sun repeated his (former) words in outline, but felt that they had sounded much better before. Then Liu spoke about two hundred words, a terse and stringent refutation, after which Sun's argument was (definitively) broken. The whole audience at once applauded and laughed, and praised him for a long time".[62]

As we shall see below, the practice of *qingtan* was one of the most important factors in the spread of Buddhism in the circles of the highest gentry.

II. The First Phase (ca. 310–346).

The supremacy of the Wang and Yu clans and of He Chong. The main political facts.

During the reign of the emperors Yuan (317–323) and Ming (323–326) the dominating position of the Wang family from Langye remained unshaken. The faction was led by Wang Dao (above, p. 85) and by his cousin Wang Dun 王敦 (266–324), a hard and despotic figure who together with Wang Dao had assisted emperor Yuan in establishing the new government in the South and in winning the support of the local gentry. Under this emperor the power

of the Wang was at its zenith, Wang Dao regulating all civil affairs as a Prime Minister, and Wang Dun being in supreme command of the army as a Generalissimo. The state of affairs is aptly illustrated by the contemporary dictum "The Wang and the (Si-)ma share the world" 王與馬共天下.[63] Emperor Yuan made some feeble attempts to curb the influence of the Wang by relying on some of their enemies among the gentry leaders, notably Diao Xie 刁協 and Liu Wei 劉隈. In 322, when Wang Dun's power reached its climax, they were sent with an army to punish him as a "rebel". Wang Dun routed the imperial armies (323) and established himself at the strategical Wuchang 武昌 (Echeng 鄂城, Hubei) from where he dominated the capital as a dictator. He personally appointed the highest magistrates and confiscated the tribute sent to the court from the provinces. A second expedition in 324 led to a war, which, however, was suddenly ended by Wang Dun's death in the same year.

All this seriously undermined the position of Wang Dao whose role in this affair was open to suspicion—it is indeed unthinkable that Wang Dun could ever have realized his plans without the backing of his powerful cousin. Wang Dao remained the grand old man at the court, but after 324 he was more and more overshadowed by Yu Liang 庾亮 (289–340), the leader of the Yu family and their partisans. He was a brother-in-law of emperor Ming (323–326), and this relation greatly contributed to strengthen his position. In 326, when emperor Ming had died, Yu Liang's sister in her quality of empress-dowager became a regent for the four years old emperor Cheng. She presided the government together with Wang Dao, Yu Liang and Wang's partisan Bian Hu 卞壼, but "the great and important matters were all decided by Yu Liang".[64] An attempt to break the power of the Yu was made in 327 by the gentry leader Su Jun 蘇峻, but it failed (328). The rivalry between the Wang and the Yu factions grew more and more intense; shortly before Wang's death (339) Yu Liang even tried to persuade the other gentry leaders to undertake a punitive military action against him, but the heads of the other factions, who for obvious reasons preferred a divided and unstable rule to a one-man dictatorship, refused.[65] The highest power remained in the hands of the Yu until shortly before the middle of the fourth century. Besides Yu Liang (who died in 340, one year after his great rival), the most important representatives were Yu Bing 庾氷 (296–344) and Yu Yi 庾翼 (died 345). The latter succeeded Yu Liang in 340 in his most important functions: military governor of six provinces, General Pacifier-of-the-West and governor of Jingzhou; like Wang Dun had done before, he dominated the capital from his military headquarters at Wuchang. Yu Bing succeeded him in 343; in the same year the Yu placed their puppet, emperor Kang, on the throne, in spite of the machinations of the Intendant of the Palace Writers He Chong 何充 (292–346).

But from that year onward, He Chong's star was rising. He had been an old partisan and protegee of Wang Dao who had once tried to persuade the court to make He Chong his successor in the function of Prime Minister,[66] and the activities of He Chong in the years 343–346 may safely be regarded as a come-back of the Wang faction under another name.

He Chong's chance came in 345 when Yu Yi died. He put the two years old emperor Mu upon the throne and became himself regent; his own niece was made empress. The power of He Chong lasted till his death in 346; his role was very important. Politically, because he sponsored the general Huan Wen

桓溫 (312–373) who in 345 obtained all functions of Yu Yi and who was to dominate the next decades, and, more especially for our present subject, because he perhaps more than any other contemporary statesman contributed to the flourishing of Buddhism at the southern capital. As we shall see below, this fact had again serious political consequences. We may therefore take the year 346 as the end of the first period: the initial phase of gentry Buddhism in the South-East, during which Buddhism begins to penetrate and to take root in the highest strata of society.

The first "Eminent Monks" at the southern capital and in the South-East.

The first flourishing of Buddhism at the southern capital is closely connected with the supremacy of the Wang clan from Langye, at this period led by Wang Dao and Wang Dun. No other family has done so much for the benefit of the Buddhist church in the fourth century; no contemporary family counted so many prominent lay devotees among its members.

The favourable attitude of this family of king-makers towards the new doctrine was naturally reflected by the attitude of the court. Emperor Yuan, who still made a conscious attempt to oppose the dictatorial aspirations of the Wang, had already some contacts with at least one of the leading Buddhist masters of his time, whereas emperor Ming (323–326), under whose reign the power of Wang Dao and Wang Dun reached the highest point, appears to have been the first Chinese monarch with outspoken Buddhist sympathies and interests. In our opinion, the pro-Buddhist attitude (the origin of which is obscure) of this family, coupled with the most prominent position of the Wang in the first decades of the fourth century, forms the key to and the actual starting-point of the successful spread of Buddhism among the aristocracy of the capital and the South-East.

This special connection between the Wang clan from Langye[67] and Buddhism is furthermore attested by the fact that at least two of its members—both belonging to the nearest relatives of the two leaders—were priests, an exceptional fact which in the fourth and early fifth century does not occur in any other of the great families.

Shi Daobao.

One of these gentlemen-priests was Shi Daobao 釋道寶, a younger brother of Wang Dao, whose ordination is mentioned in *GSZ*:

> "When young he was enlightened in his mind, and (decided) to withdraw from the world and to say farewell to (its) splendour. Although his relatives and old friends reproved and tried to stop him, nobody could hold him back. He bathed himself in perfumed water (to purify himself), and when about to accept the tonsure he composed a *gāthā*, saying: 'Who knows how a stream of a myriad miles / will spring from the turning over of a (single) cup?' Later he became famous for his scholarly activities".[68]

Daobao's way of conversion has a literary flavour which is characteristic of the changed atmosphere in which these early gentry monks moved. The religious life had obtained a new significance: the ideal of the wandering ascetic who "goes forth into the houseless state" to eliminate "the sorrows of birth, disease, old age and death" has merged with that of the retired gentry-scholar who prefers the "hidden life" of study and artistic pleasures

to the restless and hazardous career of the government official. The purity of the ascetic life is associated with the moral integrity and rustic simplicity which traditionally belong to the ideal life of the retired gentleman.

Zhu Daoqian.

Much more important than this little-known brother of Wang Dao was his cousin, the younger brother of Wang Dun, whose religious name was Zhu (Dao-)qian 竺[道]潛, *zi* Fashen 法深 (286–374).[69] Like Shi Daobao, he had entered the monastery in his youth, at the age of 17 (in 303 AD), when the family was still living in the North. He studied at Chang'an under the famous but mysterious Liu Yuanzhen (cf. above, p. 77); his religious surname points, however, to a master of Indian origin (*zhu* 竺). At that time, in the last years before the destruction of Chang'an by the invading Xiongnu, the glory of Dharmarakṣa's school was still lingering there; in 308 the "Bodhisattva from Dunhuang" was probably still active at Chang'an (cf. above, p. 67), and this *zhu* may indicate that Daoqian was one of his disciples.

Around 309 he became already famous for his explanations of the *Lotus sūtra* and the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* and for his rhetorical skill:

> "his subtle words were influential and his fame penetrated the court in the western (capital). His bearing and expression were grave and dignified…".[70]

Here he conversed already with the Gentleman of the Palace Huan Ying 桓穎[71] who laid the foundations of the later supremacy of the Huan family; later, at the southern capital, his son Huan Yi 桓彝 would also be among the acquaintances and admirers of Zhu Daoqian. Thus the activities of this gentleman-monk actually reach back to the very last years of the Western Jin—the period when other monks like Bo Yuan, Zhu Shulan and Zhi Xiaolong were active along the same lines and in the same region (cf. above, p. 76 sqq).

At Jiankang, where he must have arrived at some date in the second decade of the fourth century, he soon became the most prominent priest and propagator of the faith at the court and among the metropolitan aristocracy. He was greatly honoured by the emperors Yuan (317–323) and Ming (323–326) who allowed the "gentleman from beyond the world" 方外之士, as he was called, to move freely within the palace in his priestly attire.[72] His success was closely connected with the dominating position of his cousin Wang Dao and of Yu Liang, and with the imperial patronage. When, in his old age, he was criticized by people of a younger generation, he used to remind them of his high relations in the past:

> "(Chickens with) yellow bills must not criticize old gentlemen! There was a time when I used to be a companion of the emperors Yuan and Ming, and of Their Excellencies Wang and Yu!"[73]

The *GSZ* mentions also his friendship with Wang Dao's partisan He Chong who would come to play such an important role as a defender of the faith in 340 AD. And the close connection between Zhu Daoqian's missionary activities and the ups and downs of the leading clans is furthermore illustrated by the fact that shortly after 340, when the last of his protectors (Yu Liang) had died and the anti-Buddhist Yu Bing had come to dominate the government, Zhu Daoqian with many of his followers and other prominent priests left

the capital to settle elsewhere. Zhu Daoqian went with his disciples into the mountains of Shan 剡 (near the modern Sheng 嵊 Xian, Zhejiang), where we shall meet him again in our account of the earliest Buddhist communities in the region of Wu and Kuaiji.

Zhu Fayi and Kang Fachang.

Another protegee of Wang Dao was the young scholar-monk Zhu Fayi 竺法義 (origin unknown; 307–380 AD), a disciple of Zhu Daoqian and, like him, a specialist on the *Lotus sūtra*. His biographical note in the *GSZ* records the incident which led to his ordination and which is again very characteristic of the new intellectual climate in which Buddhism from now on developed: Zhu Daoqian, who met the boy when he was twelve years old, was struck by his intelligent remark about a certain puzzling *Lunyu* passage, and therefore advised him to become a priest![74]

Then there was the *qingtan* adept Kang Fachang 康法暢 whose skill in debate is praised in *GSZ*;[75] it is illustrated by a passage in *SSXY*,[76] which shows him in "pure conversation" with Yu Liang. His preoccupation with *qingtan*, notably with the rhetorical art of "characterization" (cf. above, p. 94) of well-known contemporaries appears also from the fact that he wrote a work entitled *Renwu (shiyi) lun* 人物[始義]論 which, to judge from a few quotations preserved in the *SSXY* commentary,[77] appears to have been devoted to such characterizations. One of these passages contains his verdict on his own capacities ("self-characterization" was a common practice): "Sharp intelligence endowed with spirit; talented speech in pervading eloquence" 悟銳有神才辭道辯. Like all these monks, Kang Fachang was an immigrant, a refugee from the battlefields of the North. According to *GSZ*, he had crossed the Yangzi shortly after 326 together with two monks, both prominent representatives of the new clerical intelligentsia.

Zhi Mindu.

One of these was the scholar-monk Zhi Mindu 支愍度,[78] about whose contacts with the southern aristocracy no details are known. He came, however, certainly from a cultured *milieu*: he did important work as a bibliographer and was, moreover, an independent thinker whose name is connected with one of the very first indigenous schools of Buddhist philosophy. Zhi Mindu compiled one of the first known bibliographies of Buddhist scriptures, the *Jinglun dulu* 經論都錄. Like Dao'an's catalogue (cf. above, p. 30), it no longer exists as an independent work, but some of its contents have been incorporated in the bibliographical chapters of Sengyou's *CSZJJ*, wherever they could serve to fill the lacunae in Dao'an's catalogue. Dao'an himself, who at the time of the compilation of the *Jinglun dulu* was still living in the North, seems never to have been acquainted with this work, which, like all early bibliographical lists of this kind, was soon supplanted and rendered obsolete by the more comprehensive catalogues of the sixth century. At the end of the sixth century it had already disappeared.[79]

Another aspect of Zhi Mindu's literary activities is formed by his synoptic editions 合本 of the different Chinese versions of certain important Mahāyāna scriptures: the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*, the prefaces of which have been preserved.[80] Such works were, however, not primarily

undertaken for philological reasons; they had a peculiar and very important function in early Chinese Buddhism. As long as no foreign master was present to give his oral explanations (and, as we shall see, in the South foreign masters were very scarce until the very end of the fourth century), the Chinese exegetes could only try to get as near as possible to the original meaning by critically comparing the various existing Chinese translations of a certain scripture. In accordance with a custom which is attested from the early third century,[81] one of the versions was taken as the basic text (the "mother", 母), to which the other texts, if deviating, were appended sentence by sentence (the "child", 子); minor differences were not listed.[82] None of these works has survived, but the earliest catalogues mention several other synoptic editions compiled by clerical *literati* in medieval times.[83]

Zhi Mindu's theory of the Non-existence of Mind.

Zhi Mindu is furthermore known as the founder of one of the so-called "schools" (家, 宗) of early Chinese Buddhism. The term "school" is misleading; more appropriate is the word *yi* 義 (opinion, interpretation, theory) by which they are often referred to in the earliest sources. All these "theories" were in fact different branches of the *xuanxue* interpretation of the Mahāyāna doctrine of universal "Emptiness" (空, *śūnyatā*), the illusory nature of all subjective and objective phenomena. Although the tenet of the "emptiness of all elements" (法空, *sarvadharmaśūnyatā*) is by no means wholly absent in the doctrine(s) of the Small Vehicle (which primarily stresses the non-existence of a permanent ego, 無我, *anātmya*), this Emptiness became one of the most fundamental dogmas of the Mahāyāna. It is this concept which is expounded at great length in the remarkable class of Mahāyāna literature called "the Perfection of Wisdom", *Prajñāpāramitā*, a group of scriptures of different date and very different length (in its last stage of development ranging from one syllable to 100.000 or more stanzas), most of which are more or less expanded or condensed forms or rearrangements of two basic versions.[84] As a whole, this literature professes to reveal to its students the nature of the gnostic wisdom (智, *prajñā*) of the Bodhisattva, the last and highest of the Six Perfections (*pāramitā*) which the latter acquires in the course of his career.

The inner realization of the undefinable "own-nature" (自性, *svabhāva*) of all phenomena which is called "Emptiness" is not susceptable to description or definition in any terms. In order to adumbrate the highest truth of "Suchness" (如, *tathatā*), the *Prajñāpāramitā* uses the means common to all mystic literature: the negation and the paradox. Its essential function is to break down and to eliminate all ideas and concepts without thereby giving rise to new (and inevitably false) forms of mentation. The fact of the emptiness of all phenomena is here simply stated without any attempt at motivation. There is no trace of the subtle method of logical analysis which leads to a *reductio ad absurdum* of all possible assertions, such as we find in Mādhyamika scholastic literature. The same formulas of negation are applied to all elements of the pseudo-personality, the four great elements, the six sensory faculties together with their objects etc., but also to the very notions expounded by this literature: Buddhahood, Enlightenment, *Nirvāṇa* and Wisdom itself. No concept, no "clinging" to something, no "name" is left standing; when the last barrier, that of attachment to the idea of Emptiness itself, is broken, the yogi merges

into the amorphous "True Nature of all Elements" (法生 *dharmatā*, 諸法寶相 (?) *sarvadharma-bhūta-lakṣaṇa*) which is "empty" (空, *śūnya*), "inactive" (無作, *apraṇihita*), "subtle" (妙, *sūkṣma*), "uncharacterized" (無相, *ānimitta*), etcetera. But all these terms are mere "conventional appellations" (字, *prajñapti*, *saṃketa*), which must never give rise to any mental representation, any "grasping" or attachment. All this is never brought forward in a systematical or coherent fashion; the earlier works of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature form an amorphous and ever-expanding mass of formulas repeated *ad nauseam*, an endless litany of negation, in which the ideas mentioned above are, so to speak, floating around in suspension, before settling and crystallizing in the scholastic treatises of Nāgārjuna and his school.

In the fourth century the Chinese were only acquainted with the two basic texts of this type: the version in 8.000 stanzas (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'*) and the one in 25.000 stanzas (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p'p'*), both existing in various Chinese versions. The rise of the first "schools" of Chinese Buddhist thought, mainly based on the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures which were by far the most influential works of the Buddhist canon in the fourth century, was stimulated by three factors: (1) the obvious resemblance between the doctrine of Emptiness and certain basic notions of Dark Learning, (2) the chaotic, diffuse and frequently cryptic way of presentation of this doctrine which called for systematization and re-statement in more intelligible terms and which left room for widely divergent interpretations, and (3) the terminology of the early free and rather primitive translations of these scriptures with its use of traditional Chinese philosophical terms like "being" 有 and "non-being" 無, the "Way" 道, "spontaneity" 自然, "nature" 性 etc., and the wrong associations evoked by such terms. The first known of these "theories" is the so-called "theory of the non-existence of mind (or mentation)" 心無義, the origin of which is connected with the name of Zhi Mindu.

For a detailed discussion of this theory the reader may be referred to the studies of Chen Yinke, Tang Yongtong and W. Liebenthal;[85] the available information concerning this and the other early "theories" is extremely scanty, and much remains obscure. In general, the problem for these exegetes was what the scriptures exactly meant with their statement that "all matter (or the elements, or the *skandhas*) are empty". One of the basic passages of the *Fangguang jing* 放光經, the late third century Chinese version of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p'p'*, says:

> "The Bodhisattva, when practising the Perfection of Wisdom, does not perceive the existence of a Bodhisattva; he does not perceive (any) appellation 字, nor does he perceive the Perfection of Wisdom. None of these does he perceive, and he neither perceives nor practises (them): why is this? "Bodhisattva" is empty; appellations are likewise empty. In emptiness there are not the five *skandha* (五陰, the "Five Dark ones", *i.e.*, the five elements of the pseudo-personality)... The five *skandha* are identical with emptiness, emptiness is identical with the five *skandha*. Why? because they are mere appellations...In actual truth nothing is born and nothing is extinguished; there is no attachment and there is no detachment. If the Bodhisattva proceeds in such a way, then he does not perceive birth, nor does he perceive extinction, attachment or detachment. Why? Because he regards (or: 'treats') emptiness as the *dharmas*...He does not perceive the appellations of all *dharmas*, and because there is nothing which he perceives, therefore he does not enter into (anything)...".[86]

To some Chinese exegetes it was a difficult problem whether this "emptiness" belonged to the nature of the "things of the outer world", *i.e.*, to an objective condition, or to "the mind of the Sage", *i.e.*, to a subjective experience. Is this *śūnyatā* an ontological fact, or does it denote a state of mind (or rather the state of no-mind)—the inner Void which is the mind of the Sage? Zhi Mindu, not aware of the fact that there is no question of such a pair of alternatives in a doctrine which most emphatically rejects all duality and distinction of opposites, seems to have chosen the second interpretation. He recognized matter (色, *rūpa*, the first of the five *skandhas*) as a real entity endowed with objective existence, whereas the term "emptiness" according to him refers to the mind of the Sage which is "non-being" 無 in so far that it is free from all conscious thought, desire and attachment. In attributing a real existence to the phenomena of the outer world, Zhi Mindu's theory seems to be related to the trend in Dark Learning known as "the exaltation of being" 崇有 (cf. above, p. 90); his ideas closely resemble those of Xiang Xiu/Guo Xiang about the inner "emptiness" and mental immunity of the Sage in his contact with the world of "being".[87]

The theory of the "non-existence of mind" was much attacked and even calumniated,[88] but it persisted at least till the early fifth century. Then it shared the fate of the other early "schools" and was swept away by the new ideas revealed by Kumārajīva and his school at Chang'an.

Foreign Masters in the South: *Kang Sengyuan.*

It is unknown whether any great number of foreign monks emigrated to the South together with their Chinese colleagues or disciples. In any case, the role played by the foreign element at the southern capital is insignificant if compared with that of the Chinese scholar-monks mentioned above. In the first half of the fourth century we find only two prominent monks of non-Chinese origin mentioned in our sources, but even so, one of these, Kang Sengyuan 康僧淵, was completely naturalized.

Kang Sengyuan had come to Jiankang together with Kang Fachang and Zhi Mindu. According to his biography, he was of "Western" origin (his name Kang, if not a religious surname taken over from his master, points to a Sogdian origin), but he had been born at Chang'an; "although his face was that of an 'Indian' 梵, yet his speech was truly that of China".[89] Like most of his prominent colleagues he was specialized in the exegesis of the smaller and the larger version of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. After his arrival at Jiankang, he entertained relations with Yin Hao (died 356), who would become one of the leading politicians in the years 346–353, and with whom he debated about secular and Buddhist scriptures,[90] with Yu Liang and with Wang Dao, whose joking remarks about his un-Chinese appearance provoked one of his famous *bons mots*.[91] Like Zhu Daoqian, he withdrew from the capital around 340, most probably on account of the anti-Buddhist attitude of the leading faction at the court (see below). The foreign *qingtan* adept with the "deep-set eyes and protruding nose" retired to a *vihāra* in the Yuzhang mountains 豫章山 (S. Zhejiang) where he was soon surrounded by a host of disciples and admirers. The *SSXY* contains a probably contemporary description of this idyllic hide-away which demonstrates how much the monastic

career and the gentry ideal of the "retired life", religion and the cult of free Nature had already become amalgamated:

> "When Kang Sengyuan lived at Yuzhang, he had established his *vihāra* several tens of miles away from the city-walls. It leaned against the mountain ranges and bordered on the long river. Fragrant woods stretched before its porches and halls; pure rivulets flowed around the rooms and pavillions. Then he dwelt there at ease, studying and explaining (the scriptures), and hoping to taste the flavour of the (true) principles. His Excellency Yu[92] and other people often came to visit him…". [93]

About the doctrinal aspects of gentry Buddhism in the first phase we know hardly anything, apart from the few fragments about Zhi Mindu's theory mentioned above. It is probable that Zhu Daoqian himself had some contact with Zhi Mindu and his ideas, as one of his disciples seems to have been a propagator of the latter's theory.[94] But for more information we have to wait till the second phase, the period which comprises the activities of Zhi Dun and his disciples in the South-East, and those of Dao'an and his school at Xiangyang. In any case, it is clear that the Buddhism propagated by the first gentry monks at Jiankang was already a mixture of Dark Learning and Buddhism, expounded to an interested but hardly understanding public.

Śrīmitra.

In the midst of this process of hybridization stands the remarkable figure of the *dhāraṇī*-master Śrīmitra [帛]尸梨蜜羅, like a foreign enclave in Chinese gentry Buddhism, the only known really foreign master who in this period moved in the highest circles at the capital and who was treated there with great veneration.[95] According to an early tradition[96] he had been a Kuchean prince who had given up the throne in order to become a monk. Having drifted to the South with the stream of Chinese refugees in the *yongjia* era (307–312), he had been "discovered" at Jiankang by nobody less than Wang Dao who introduced him into the inner circle of the metropolitan aristocracy.

Here Gaozuo 高座, "(the master of) the High Seat", as he was called by his admirers, took part in *qingtan* meetings where he was generally esteemed for his spirited replies (given by means of an interpreter) and his stylish behaviour. There is no reason to assume that he actively propagated the doctrine or that his great popularity was primarily based on religious considerations. On the contrary, he was regarded as a venerable curiosum, and the anecdotes dealing with his presence at the southern capital have that slight tinge of the bizarre which is so characteristic of medieval gentry culture. Śrīmitra did not speak Chinese, or feigned to be unable to do so,[97] but he used to amaze his hosts by anticipating the sense of their words before they had been translated —a kind of "silent understanding" 默會 which was one of the *qingtan* ideals. He also amazed them in a more professional way: being a *dhāraṇī* specialist, he excelled in chanting spells and magical formulas which, according to his biography, never failed to be effective.[98] He is, moreover, credited with the translation of three collections of spells,[99] and the art of chanting these was transmitted by him to his (Chinese?) disciple Mili 覓歷.[100] the same person who seems to have compiled or concocted a *vinaya* for nuns which was attacked as heretical by the masters Zhi Dun (314–366) and Zhu Fatai (320–387).[101]

Among Śrīmitra's friends and admirers we find the most prominent persons of the period: Wang Dun, Wang Dao, Tao's rival Yu Liang and his partisan Bian Hu, the general Huan Yi who had also contacts with Zhu Daoqian, Huan Yi's son the future dictator Huan Wen, and the future emperor Jianwen.

Little more is known about him. Perhaps there were more men like him; a rather obscure passage in *SSXY* which describes a meeting held in the mansion of Wang Dao speaks of several "barbarians" 胡人 who were among his guests, and it is not improbable that these were foreign monks.[102] Though not, as far as we know, esteemed as a great preacher, Śrīmitra certainly contributed indirectly to the spread of the doctrine in gentry circles. The foreign ascetic with his halo of authority and magic was a new element in these circles, and admiration mingled with curiosity prepared the way for the acceptance of the creed. According to his biography, Wang Dao once exclaimed: "Among foreigners you are the only one!", to which Śrīmitra smiled and replied: "If I were like you gentlemen, why should I be here?"[103] The same surprise at the excellence of something non-Chinese and even a denial of China's moral superiority is to be heard in an eulogy on Śrīmitra written by Wang Dao's grandson Wang Min 王珉 (351–398):

> "Hence (people of) an excellence which is superior to that of their generation will at times be born among those ("barbarians"), and (people) of talents which rise above the crowd will match (these "barbarians") among us here. Therefore we may know that eminence and greatness are bestowed by Heaven: how would this depend on being Chinese or "barbarian"?[104]

In the period 335–343 Śrīmitra died, more than eighty years old. He was buried near the hill where he had always practised his religious exercises. Emperor Cheng (326–343) ordered the building of a *caitya* (剎蒙所) at this place—this is the first time that such an act of devotion of a reigning emperor is mentioned in the early sources.

The beginnings of Court Buddhism.

But already before the reign of this monarch the influence of Buddhism appears to have reached the person of the emperor—a fact which must considerably have enhanced the prestige of the church and its doctrine.

We have already mentioned the contacts of emperor Yuan (307/317–323) with Zhu Daoqian, the younger brother of the formidable generalissimo Wang Dun. Apart from these contacts, we find no other symptoms of emperor Yuan's favourable attitude towards Buddhism mentioned in early literature. Falin 法琳 says in his *Bianzheng lun* (626 AD) that the emperor founded the Waguan 瓦官 and Longgong 龍宮 monasteries at Jiankang, where he lodged a thousand priests from Danyang and from the capital.[105] This is certainly wrong: Waguansi was founded ca. 364, *i.e.*, under the fervently Buddhist emperor Ai, by imperial order as a result of a request submitted to this emperor by the monk Huili 慧力.[106] About the foundation of a Longgongsi by emperor Yuan nothing more is known; the monastery is not mentioned in early literature.

There are some clear indications that emperor Ming (323–326) became a devout Buddhist. Falin reports that he founded the Huangxing 皇興 and Daochang 道場 monasteries at the capital;[107] this again is not corroborated by earlier sources. At the beginning of the fifth century the Daochangsi

was one of the famous monasteries at the capital; here Guṇabhadra lived from ca. 415 till his death in 429,[108] and it was also here that Faxian translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* in 417–418.[109]

According to *Biqiuni zhuan* emperor Ming was also an admirer of the nun Daorong 道容 who is credited with the conversion of emperor Jianwen ca. 371.[110] However, Daorong's biography contains such a wealth of legend and hagiography that it seems preferable not to rely too much on it. In fact, according to *Fayuan zhulin*,[111] the whole story appears to have been copied from the *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記, the late fifth century collection of miraculous and edifying tales by Wang Yan 王琰. But one very early document speaks in highly praising terms about emperor Ming's devotion. Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 (died ca. 383) says in his "Letter to Dao'an" (dated 365):

> "... The Majestic Ancestor emperor Ming, whom Heaven truly had endowed with virtue, was the first (monarch) to revere this Way. With his own hands he painted the image of the Tathāgata; his mouth enjoyed the sweet taste of *samādhi*. His observance of the (lay) commandments was stricter than that of a mountain recluse, and by his (understanding of) the Dark Primordial (principle) he abundantly realized the non-origination (of all *dharmas*). (Just as) when "the great earth is roaring (in a storm) and all apertures respond by angry sounds",[112] thus all gentlemen of worth and wisdom (were inspired by the imperial example and) reverted to the True (Doctrine)".[113]

As is always the case with this kind of literature, it is difficult to make out what can be regarded as factual statements and what as traditional features of stylistic embellishment. Xi Zuochi seems to say that emperor Ming had painted one or more Buddhist images, that he accepted the five rules for laymen, and, moreover, that he had been the first Chinese emperor to do so. The rest is rhetoric, and should not induce us to imagine the pious ruler as practising *samādhi* or even realizing the *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*.

Somewhat more can be said about the emperor's iconographic pursuits. Emperor Ming is known to have been an able painter (we are just in the period when painting is becoming one of the occupations of a gentleman). In the oldest preserved treatise on painting, the *Guhua pinlu* 古畫品錄 by Xie He 謝赫 (ca. 480), he is placed in the fifth class, with the qualification

> "He is inaccurate in rendering the formal likeness, but has much spirit and vitality, and his brushwork is of excellent quality".[114]

According to Zhang Yanyuan[115] he had been a pupil of Wang Yi 王廙 (276–322), a cousin of Wang Dao and a general under emperor Yuan, who also painted Buddhist scenes (to my knowledge, the first gentleman-painter to do so). Eight scrolls by emperor Ming were still preserved in the first half of the sixth century in the imperial collection of the Sui.[116] The portrait of the Buddha painted by the emperor in the Lexian hall 樂賢堂 gave rise to a controversy around 332, some six years after his death. Then the (evidently pro-Buddhist) king of Pengcheng, Sima Hong 司馬紘 (died 342), proposed that an imperial order should be given to compose an eulogy (*song* 訟) on this painting, since its beneficial influence supposedly had saved this hall from destruction. The Grand Ceremonialist Cai Mo 蔡謨 (281–356) remonstrated, saying that

> "Buddhism is the vulgar creed of barbarians, and not in accordance with the regulations of the canonical scriptures",

after which the plan was discarded.[117] However, private enterprise seems not to have been forbidden, and a "Eulogy on the Luoxian Hall" by the poet Yu Chan 庾闡, a distant relative of Yu Liang, has been partly preserved.[118]

Under emperor Cheng (326–343) the only sympathetic gesture of the court towards Buddhism mentioned in early sources is the erection of a shrine on the grave of Śrīmitra (see above).[119] The latter part of his reign marks a decline of Buddhism at the capital, which was most serious shortly after 340. The first great patrons of the Church, Wang Dao and Yu Liang, had died, and the government was dominated by the regent Yu Bing (cf. p. 96 above). During this period the centre of Buddhist activities in gentry circles has shifted to the region of Kuaiji 會稽 (in the present Zhejiang). Zhu Daoqian disappeared from the capital:

> "When the emperors Yuan and Ming had passed away (326), and Wang (Dao) and Yu (Liang) had also died (339, 340) he hid his traces in the Shan mountains 剡山 (South of Kuaiji), in order to escape from (the troubles of) the times. Consequently those who followed him to seek instruction came to settle in the mountain monasteries (of Shan)".[120]

Around the same time the most famous gentry monk of the capital, Zhi Dun (314–366, cf. below), then still in his twenties, went from the capital to the same region, only to return at the beginning of emperor Ai's reign (ca. 362) when the situation had become more favourable.[121] These monks and their disciples found a fervent admirer in the king of Kuaiji, Sima Yu 司馬昱, the future emperor Jianwen (reigned 371–373). We have seen how around the same date Kang Sengyuan moved from the capital to his idyllic *vihāra* in the mountains of Yuzhang.

The biographical sources (*GSZ* and *CSZJJ*) say nothing about the reasons of this sudden aversion of the leading Masters of the Doctrine against staying at the capital. However, if we turn to other sources—a set of documents preserved in *HMJ*—it becomes quite clear what had happened. Buddhism had become involved in a conflict between two leading factions at the capital, and exactly in 340 AD it had given rise to a serious controversy in the highest circles.

The controversy about the autonomy of the sangha of 340 AD.

In 340 AD, the power of the Yu 庾 faction led by Yu Bing 庾冰 and Yu Yi 庾翼 was at its zenith. As we have seen (above, p. 96), the supremacy of the Yu was the result of the growing impopularity of Wang Dao after the abortive rebellion of his cousin and of the machinations of his rival Yu Liang with whom he shared the highest power. We have already stressed the peculiar connection between gentry Buddhism in its first stage and the Wang clan, and it is only natural that the Yu leaders were opposed to the growing influence and popularity in government circles of the creed fostered by their rivals. Yu Liang had still been friendly disposed towards prominent priests like Zhu Daoqian, Kang Fachang and Śrīmitra, but as soon as he had died, Yu Bing decided to take measures against the power of the Church in his quality as regent for the young emperor Cheng. Naturally his proposed measures met with opposition of the former Wang faction which was now led by the old partisan and nearest collaborator of Wang Dao, He Chong (cf. above, p. 96), the statesman who on the one hand successfully undermined the power

of the Yu and on the other hand actively stimulated and patronized the Buddhist church, especially after his final victory in 345.

The point of controversy was the fact that the Buddhist church claimed the right "not to pay homage to the (temporal) ruler" 不拜王, *i.e.*, to form an autonomous organization not subjected to the authority of the secular government. We shall treat the general nature of this conflict, which is one of the most essential and characteristic features of Chinese Buddhism, in another chapter. After a long discussion, Yu Bing's plan was discarded. This happened also in the year 403, when the usurpator Huan Xuan 桓玄 again intended to submit the *saṅgha* to his authority, and then it was again a leading member of the Wang clan who successfully defended the right of the monks to remain a brotherhood which is not of this world, clear proof of the intimate connection between the ups and downs of the Buddhist Church (especially that of the capital) and the political struggles and conflicts between the leading gentry clans and factions.

The documents in question,[122] a full translation of which is given in the appendix to this chapter, do not mention the names of Yu Bing's partisans in this controversy. One of them must have been Cai Mo 蔡謨 (281–356), who began his career in the service of Yu Bing; he rose under his rule to the highest functions, and shortly after the elimination of the Yu as a political power (345/346) abandoned all official functions, after which he was disgraced in 350 and reduced to the rank of a commoner.[123] We have already mentioned his anti-Buddhist attitude in the year 332, when he characterized Buddhism as a "vulgar creed of barbarians". Moreover, Cai Mo figures among the great enemies of Buddhism in Daoxuan's "black list" of persecutors in *GHMJ*.[124]

The documents contain the names of four of He Chong's partisans. What is known about them confirms our opinion that we actually have to do with a conflict between two political factions. One of them, Xie Guang 謝廣, has not been identified. The second person, Chu Xia 褚翜[125] (275–341), in 340 first vice-president of the State Secretariat (headed by He Chong himself) had been one of Wang Dao's close collaborators; already in 327 he had become a Palace Attendant.[126] He Chong had intimate relations with the Chu family, especially with Chu Pou 褚裒, the father of emperor Kang's consort empress Chu, and Chu Xia was again an uncle of Chu Pou. About Chu Xia's Buddhist sympathies nothing more is known, but both the empress and her father were Buddhists.

Chu Xia's colleague, the second vice-president of the State Secretariat Zhuge Hui 諸葛恢 (284–345)[127] had also been one of the most prominent collaborators of Wang Dao; he held the high function mentioned here since 321 AD.

Feng Huai 馮懷 is less known. He has no biography in *JS*, but a few words about him occur in the *SSXY* commentary which quotes the "Genealogical register of the Feng family" 馮氏譜.[128] According to this notice, he held the high function of Grand Ceremonialist and the honorary title of General-who-protects-the-Country 護國将軍. His Buddhist sympathies or relations are attested by *SSXY* IB/19a, which shows him in discussion with the famous monk Zhi Dun at the Baima monastery at Jiankang.

Yu Bing's starting-point is the universal nature of secular government, based on the Confucian doctrine of the sacred human relationships, the "grand

pattern of regulations and laws" which "shall not be discarded under the present dynasty" (first edict). This world of human relations must not "show consideration for what lies beyond this world", nor "allow the rabble to disregard the laws" (*ib.*). None of the ancient sage rulers has ever "allowed foreign customs to interfere with the administration of government, or big and empty talk to become mixed with (the ruler's) work of transformation" (second edict). Order and respect for the government are the very foundation of the state: "all basic principles of government are comprised by these" (*ib.*). No power may stand beside the one and absolute authority of the ruler: "there can be only one (principle of government); if one makes it two, disorder will be the result" (*ib.*).

The monks have nothing extraordinary, they cannot claim special privileges. They are "just people (subjects) of the Jin" (first edict). Their doctrine is useless, "something far-away and vague and indistinct", and nobody can make out whether the Buddha actually exists or not (*ib.*). "But even if it would be true, even if it would be real—then one would still have to realize it in one's spirit, and to cherish it in one's heart, and nothing more" (*ib.*).

Everybody is free to believe in the doctrine, but religion and practical affairs must remain separated: "if they practise it personally or within their family, that may be done. But it will not be allowed to practise it in the state and at the court" (second edict). Statesmen must give up their personal preferences for the sake of the State, which means submission and order. Hence they may delight in Buddhism in their private conversation, "but in discussing matters of government you must stress the importance of the basic regulations of the State" (first edict).

The words of Yu Bing are characteristic of the attitude of the anti-Buddhist members of the gentry as a whole; they give us an impression of the immense ideological and practical obstacles which the Buddhist Church met when it began to penetrate into the higher strata of society and to attract the attention of the ruling classes.

We cannot help feeling that the counter-arguments brought forward by He Chong and his partisans are rather feeble. As usual, they invoke the authority of historical precedent: former emperors have never decided to curtail the liberty of the monks, and there is no reason to deviate from this course (first memorial). The government has good reason to stimulate Buddhism, for it is highly beneficial to the State. In the first place because it stresses virtue, like Confucianism; Buddhist laymen will be good law-abiding subjects, for their "five prohibitive rules virtually assist the ruler in exerting his transforming influence" (second memorial). The earnest observation of the monastic discipline is a counterpart of the secular rules of Rites and decorum (third memorial). Secondly, because of the supernatural influence of the Buddhist cult: "the blessings invoked (by Buddhist priests) will always be profitable (to the state)", and the clergy displays a touching loyalty to the throne, for at every religious ceremony they pray for the well-being of the State, "wishing that it will enjoy abundant happiness: their feelings (of concern) are simply without limits" (third memorial). To take measures as proposed against the clergy means to destroy the doctrine. But the "custom of cultivating goodness"—which is Buddhism—is essential to the well-being of the state; for this reason the *status quo* must be preserved (second memorial).

He Chong's sponsorship of Buddhism.

After having broken the power of their rivals, the Ho and their allies the Chu did much to stimulate Buddhism at the capital. He Chong had friendly relations with Zhu Daoqian and Zhi Dun; he is, in fact, the first real devotee whom we meet among the members of the highest officialdom. According to his biography "he loved the (doctrine of the) Buddhist scriptures, had Buddhist monasteries built on a magnificent (scale), and entertained hundreds of *śramaṇas*; (in doing so) he wasted enormous sums of money without grudging, but he would give nothing to his relatives and friends, even if they had fallen into poverty".[129] According to the *Jin yangqiu* 晉陽秋, a (now lost) fourth century history of the Jin by Sun Sheng 孫盛 (ca. 302–373), quoted in the *SSXY* commentary,[130] "when He Chong was (governor of) Yangzhou (*i.e.*, in 343–345 AD) he summoned both officials and common people for labour duties (to construct Buddhist monasteries), and spent tens of thousands on rewards for meritorious work (on these projects); therefore he was ridiculed by all people near and far".

Some mocking remarks about He Chong's devotion have been transmitted.

> "He Cidao (*i.e.*, He Chong) used to go to the Waguan monastery[131] where he paid homage (to the Buddha) most zealously. Ruan Sikuang (Ruan Yu 阮裕, ca. 300–360) said to him: 'Sir, your ambitions are greater than the universe, and your valour surpasses that of (the heroes of) past and present.' He Chong said: 'Why do you suddenly praise me to-day?' Ruan replied: 'I am trying to become governor over a few thousand families and I still cannot get it. You are trying to become a Buddha, is that not grand'?"[132]
>
> The two Xi (Xi Yin 郄愔 and Xi Tan 郄曇) were Daoists, and the two He (He Chong and his brother He Zhun 何準) were Buddhists; both tried to bribe (their respective deities) by means of money. Xie Wan 謝萬 said: 'The two Xi flatter the Dao; the two He fawn on the Buddha'!"[133]

He Chong's younger brother He Zhun was also a fervent Buddhist, a retired scholar who accepted not one of the posts which were offered to him, and "did nothing but chant Buddhist scriptures and built monasteries and temples".[134] He was the father of empress He, the consort of emperor Mu.

Shortly before his death, He Chong founded the first nunnery at the southern capital at the request of the nun Minggan 明感 who had crossed the Yangzi with some ten other sisters. He Chong, then Minister of Works, greatly honoured her and gave her one of his mansions which was named the Jianfu monastery 建福寺.[135] Here he also lodged another refugee, the nun Huizhan 慧湛 from Pengcheng, who had arrived in 344.[136] Some years later, in 354, his niece, empress He, founded another nunnery, the Yongansi 永安寺 (later called "the monastery of empress He" 何后寺) for the nun Tanbei 曇備.[137]

She was not the only female devotee in the surroundings of the young emperor (who was only two years old at the time of his accession in 345; he died in 361 at the age of eighteen). Empress Chu, a daughter of He Chong's partisan Chu Pou 褚裒, was one of the most powerful persons at the Court and played an important role in the palace intrigues during the reigns of five emperors till her death in 384. She had been the consort of emperor Kang (343–345), and acted as a regent for the emperors Mu (345–361) and Ai (362–366), for the deposed ruler Sima Yi 弈 (366–371) and, from 373 to 376, for emperor Xiaowu (373–397).

It was the empress-dowager Chu who in 361 summoned to court the monk Yu Fakai 于法開, famous for his medicinal skill, in order to cure the emperor.[138] In 345 she founded the Yanxing nunnery 延興寺 for the nun Sengji 僧基;[139] at the capital she ordered furthermore the erection of the Qingyuan monastery 青園寺,[140] renamed Longguangsi 龍光寺 ca. 430.[141] Falin attributes the foundation of this famous temple to emperor Ai, under whose reign it may indeed have taken place.[142] At the time of the deposal of the unfortunate Sima Yi by the dictator Huan Wen (cf. below) in 370 AD, "the empress-dowager happened to be in the Buddha-hall burning incense"[143] (or, according to another source, "reading a sūtra").[144] Thus the activities of He Chong and his allies the Chu appear in several ways to have consolidated the position of Buddhism at the imperial court. The important role of nuns must be noted; the imperial patronage of nuns around the middle of the fourth century forms the beginning of their influence upon the court and the government, an influence which around the beginning of the fifth century had assumed dangerous proportions.

III. The second Phase (ca. 346–402).

The supremacy of the Huan, the Xie and Sima Daozi. The main political facts.

The second half of the fourth century is a period of military activity: repeated attempts to recover the northern provinces from the foreign enemies, and, internally, military dictatorship of the Huan 桓 clan and attempts undertaken by the generals of this family to usurp the throne.

In his policy to suppress the Yu faction He Chong relied on a family of upstarts with military proclivities. The Huan, powerful land-owners from Jingzhou, could not boast of a noble pedigree; the prominence of the house of Huan began with the general Huan Yi 桓彝 (276–328), and in spite of later attempts to supply it with a genealogy reaching back to Han times, it was still regarded as a family of parvenus.[145] The Huan did their work thoroughly; already in 345 the two leading members of the Yu family, Yu Fangzhi 庾方之 and Yu Yuanzhi 庾爰之, were transferred to Yuzhang,[146] and afterwards Huan Wen thinned out the Yu at various occasions.[147] But in the same year 345 Huan acquired a number of military and civil functions which at once made him the most powerful man of the empire, a position which he would hold till his death in 373. Also after this date, when at the capital and in the South-East a new faction was ruling at the court, the power of the Huan remained unshaken in the central provinces, and a "come-back" of the Huan led by Huan Wen's son Huan Xuan resulted in 404 in a successful *coup d'état* and the establishment of the very ephemeral Chu 楚 dynasty.

The court first tried to oppose Huan Wen by relying on Yin Hao 殷浩, backed by Chu Pou, the regent Sima Yu 昱 and the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之, a nephew of Wang Dao. Yin was destined to lead the opposition and to counterbalance the power of the dangerous general, and he played this role till the complete failure of his policy and his disgrace in 353.

Both parties tried to win the great prize which would give them immortal fame and forever silence their opponent, *viz.* the conquest and "liberation"

of the North, which would put an end to the "national humiliation" of the exiled gentry.

In 350 there was a splendid opportunity. Shi Hu's empire had collapsed, the reigning family had been massacred together with more than 200.000 members of the Jie people (cf. above, p. 85). The whole North was again in disturbance: warlords of different nationalities, surviving members of the Shi clan and generals of the north-western Xianbi state of Yan fought over the corpse of the "Later Zhao" empire. But the favourable situation did not last long; soon the vacuum was filled again. In the years 350–352 Yan conquered the north-western provinces, established its capital near present-day Beijing, threw off its theoretical allegiance to the Jin and became an empire, reigned by the Xianbi family of Murong 慕容. In other parts of the former Jie empire two families of generals became prominent, both of proto-Tibetan (Qiang 羌) origin: the Pu 蒲 and the Yao 姚. In 350 the leader of the Pu defeated his rival, changed (in accordance with an oracle) his name into Fu 苻 and made himself "Great Military Governor, Generalissimo, Great Shanyu and King of the Three Qin" 大都督大將軍大單于三秦王. In 352 his son Fu Jian 苻堅 became emperor of the State of Qin ("Former Qin" 前秦); his territory comprised the central provinces and the Wei basin, with Chang'an as its capital. Yao Xiang 姚襄, the leader of the Yao, temporarily went over to the Jin. As a general in Chinese service he waited with his army for an opportunity to grasp the power in the North.

At Jiankang the government hesitated to invade the North in the critical years 349/350, and thereby lost a unique opportunity for military action. Also in the years 350–352, Huan Wen—the only great general of the fourth century—desperately tried to obtain permission from the central government to attack Fu Jian, whose power was rapidly growing. However, the court was afraid and did not answer to his petitions.

In 352 the central government attempted a counter-move; Huan's rival Yin Hao obtained the order to hold a military campaign in the North. This became a complete failure, mainly because of the unbelievable fact that the command of one of Yin Hao's armies was entrusted to the Tibetan Yao Xiang. In 353 Yao Xiang suddenly attacked Yin Hao, routed his armies and went over to Yan; the unfortunate generalissimo returned to Jiankang with the remnants of his troops. This debacle sealed the fate of Yin Hao and his faction at the court. The triumphant Huan Wen demanded his punishment, and the court had to give in; in the same year (353) Yin Hao was reduced to the state of a commoner and banished to Xin'an 信安 in Dongyang 東陽 (western Zhejiang) where he died in 356. "From that moment the highest authority both at the court and outside (the capital) all came into the hands of Huan Wen".[148]

In 354 Huan Wen at the head of his armies went to the North, where he was to spend the next years in campaigns against Yan and Qin. His prestige and popularity among the Chinese population in these regions was constantly growing, especially in 356 when he expulsed the armies of Yan commanded by Yao Xiang, and triumphantly recaptured the ancient capital Luoyang, after almost half a century of foreign occupation. The description of this "liberation campaign" testifies of both the military prestige of Huan Wen and of the awakening nationalism of the rural population:

> "The people vied with each other in welcoming (the troops) with cattle and wine. Men and women stood at both sides of the roads to look at them; old people (who could remember the time before the foreign conquest) said with tears in their eyes: 'We had never expected to-day again to see the official army'!"[149]

Huan Wen attempted at once to exploit his prestige in the North by proposing to move the capital from Jiankang back to Luoyang, but this plan was discarded by the government which seems to have been well aware of his intentions. The true motives of Huan Wen's patriotism appear from the fact that, when this plan failed, he immediately abandoned the North, so that Fu Jian in the years 357–376 could conquer the northern provinces without meeting much resistance. In the period 360–373, Huan Wen consolidated his position by ruthlessly persecuting his ancient enemies the Yin and the Yu. However, at the same time a new faction was formed by members of the Xie family, generals who had made their career in the service of Huan Wen: Xie An 謝安, Xie Shang 謝尚, Xie Yi 謝弈, Xie Wan 謝萬. Huan Wen's closest collaborator and spokesman at the court was Xi Chao 郄超 (336–377), about whose devotion and knowledge of Buddhism we shall speak more in detail below. It was the much-feared Xi Chao who together with Huan Wen planned the latter's usurpation of the imperial throne. An attempt to do this by deposing the young Sima Yi 司馬弈 in 371 failed. The next puppet emperor Jianwen (371–373), a scholar and *qingtan* adept with Buddhist sympathies, was probably expected to yield the throne to Huan Wen, but the whole scheme was ended by the latter's death in 373.

The power at the court went over into the hands of Xie An and his faction, where we also find the still active empress-dowager Chu (above, p. 109). Again, the prestige of the leaders of the Xie was established by military feats, which, however, this time were of a defensive character. The ruler of the Former Qin, Fu Jian, who since 376 was master over all the Northern provinces and in control of the caravan routes of Central Asia, decided to take the final step towards the reunification of the empire. Already in 379 the strategical cities of Xiangyang 襄陽 and Shunyang 順陽 (the modern Guanghua 光化 in Hubei) had fallen, and other armies of the Tibetan state advanced into the Huai region. But when in 383 the great offensive came, and more than a million Qin soldiers in four huge armies marched to the South, the most unbelievable thing happened: at the Feishui 淝水, a southern affluent of the Huai, it came to a battle between the Qin and the Chinese armies, during which panic broke out among the Tibetan troops and their confederates.[150] The massacre and chaos which followed virtually marked the end of the Former Qin empire, on the ruins of which Yao Xiang, at last victorious, founded the state of the "Later Qin" 後秦 (384–417).

When Xie An returned after his great victory, the tide had turned again. Within his own ranks a new faction had been formed which now dominated the capital and the court. It was led by his son-in-law Wang Guobao 王國寶 and his cousin, the king of Kuaiji, Sima Daozi 司馬道子, who was one of the constant companions of emperor Xiaowu (373–397). As a result of their machinations, Xie An and his partisans soon lost their foothold at the capital; he retired to the fortified town of Guangling 廣陵 (near modern Jiangdu 江都, Jiangsu) North of the Yangzi, where he remained till his death in 385.

From that time onward all political power in the South-East and at the capital was monopolized by the combination Wang Guobao (and his nephew Wang Xu 王緒) and Sima Daozi (and his son Sima Yuanxian 司馬元賢) who together terrorized the court. Little cliques and factions crowded around the two dictators and their imperial victim in order to obtain their share in the unprecedented corruption and squeeze. However, resistance against Sima Daozi and his clique was built up in the central provinces of the Jin territory, under the leadership of ambitious magistrates and generals like Wang Gong 王恭, Yin Zhongkan 殷仲堪, Xi Hui 郄恢 (a relative of Huan Wen's collaborator Xi Chao), Wang Mi 王謐 (a grandson of Wang Dao) and others, who were secretly backed by the terrified emperor and the empress-dowager. The centre of the opposition was Jingzhou (roughly corresponding to modern Hubei) where Yin Zhongkan was governor since 392. Here, at his residence Jiangling 江陵 where the domains of the Huan family were situated, he was soon overshadowed by a local potentate, Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404). The latter was the son of the famous Huan Wen who in 373 had almost succeeded in dethroning the Jin dynasty. Talented, very rich, feared by his partisans as well as by his opponents and especially by Sima Daozi who tried to keep him in a low position and away from the capital, Huan Xuan was possessed by the ambition to restore the glory of the Huan family and to complete the work left unfinished by his father.

In 396 the tension grew stronger: Sima Daozi and Wang Guobao had emperor Xiaowu killed and replaced by an imbecile boy who could not speak or undress himself and who had to be constantly nursed by one of his relatives; he is known as emperor An ("reigned" 397–419). In 397 a military liga was formed under the leadership of Wang Gong, Yin Zhongkan and Huan Xuan who demanded the execution of Wang Guobao. Sima Daozi grew afraid and had his companion killed. Huan Xuan's power increased; in 398 he succeeded in obtaining the post of governor of Jiangzhou; in 399 he made use of an inundation which had disorganized the adjacent province of Jingzhou to attack and to kill the governor Yin Zhongkan and to annex his territory. One year later (400) he was confirmed by the court in his position of governor of Jiangzhou and Jingzhou and military governor of eight provinces. From now on he was practically master of the empire; the central government remained only in control of Yangzhou (Zhejiang and southern Jiangsu) which in these very years was ravaged by the armies of the warlord and Daoist "magician" Sun En 孫恩 (cf. below). This war with Sun En gave Huan Xuan the opportunity for his military intervention at the capital in 402 which in our survey will mark the beginning of the third and last phase of the Eastern Jin.

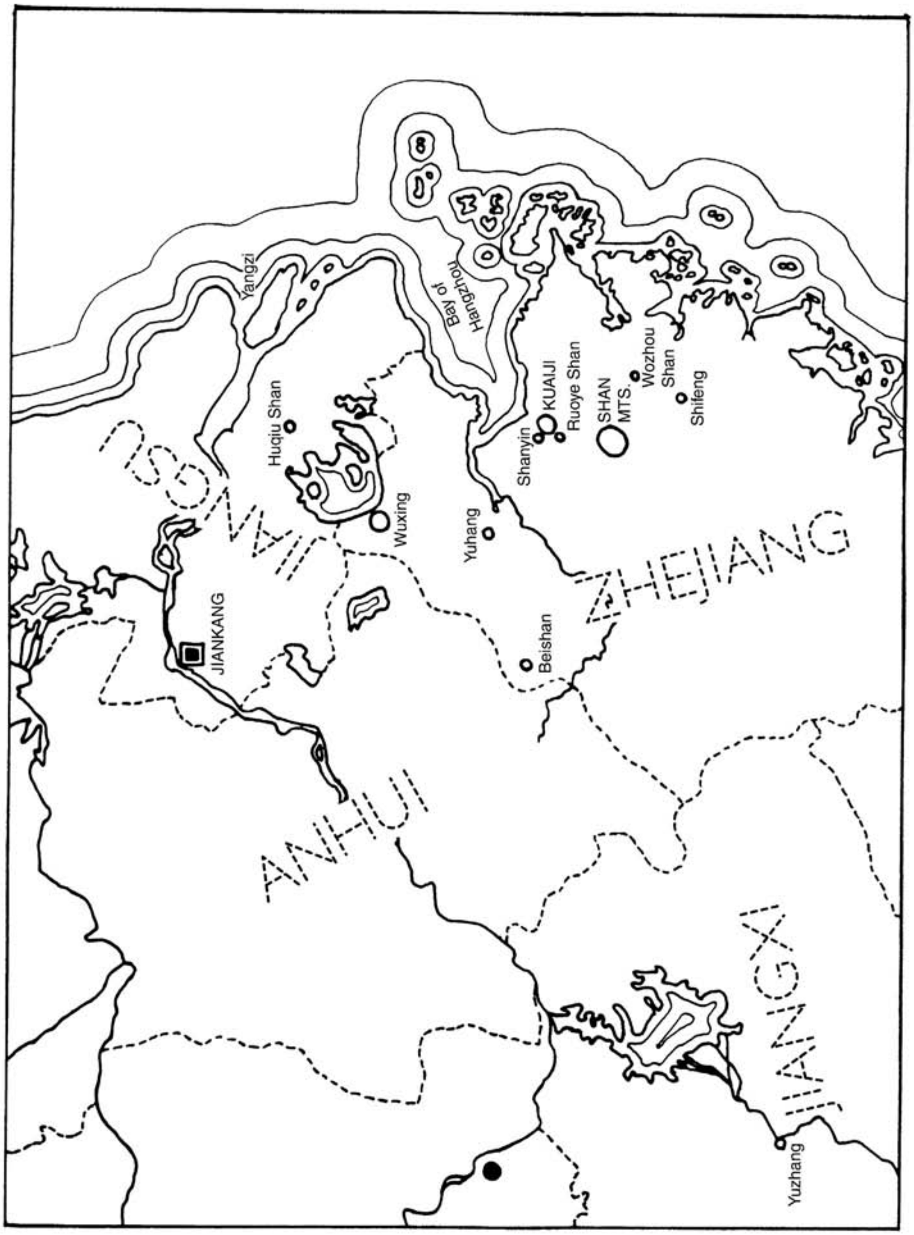
Buddhism on Chinese territory in the period 345–400; general remarks.

We have seen how in the second half of the fourth century the central and eastern parts of the Jin empire formed two spheres of influence, the capital and the region to the East and South-east of it (the "Eastern Region 東土", *i.e.* S. Jiangsu and Zhejiang) being under the jurisdiction of the court, whereas the central provinces, notably Jiangzhou and Jingzhou (roughly equivalent to present-day Jiangxi and Hubei) were mostly dominated by semi-independent satraps and military dictators. The Buddhism of this period bears the stamp

of this development. At the capital and in the East new Buddhist centres arose which were closely connected with the imperial court, the metropolitan aristocracy and the political life at the capital. But at the same time other very important communities developed in the central provinces under the patronage of the local gentry, communities which were only indirectly connected with the court. Ideologically they were more independent and creative, and at the same time more open to influences from the North: Xiangyang 襄陽 (on the Han river in northern Hubei) in the period 365–379, the Lu Shan (between Jiujiang 九江 and Xingzi 星子 in northern Jiangxi) after ca. 380, and the capital of Jingzhou, Jiangling 江陵. The clerical leaders at these centres (Dao'an 道安 at Xiangyang, Huiyuan 慧遠 at the Lu Shan) and many of their disciples came from the North. Their doctrinal views represent an amalgamation of Northern Buddhism with its stress on devotional practices, trance and thaumaturgy and based upon the translated scriptures of the archaic period of which it is a direct continuation, and the more intellectualized Southern gentry Buddhism with its peculiar mixture of Dark Learning and Mahāyāna notions and its ontological speculations based upon the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. The latter creed, which remained *en vogue* at the capital and in the Eastern Region, repeatedly underwent the invigorating influence of these other centres. Elsewhere the spread of Buddhism went on, the first communities being established in isolated Sichuan and in the far South, on the Luofu Shan 羅浮山 near Guangzhou, where Buddhist elements penetrated into this stronghold of Daoism.

In the North, Buddhism went its own ways. About the period 310–380 hardly anything is known apart from the activities of thaumaturge Fotudeng 佛圖澄 (died 349), court-chaplain of the rulers of the Later Zhao, and his school; there is no information about the fate of the two main centres of third century Buddhism, Chang'an and Luoyang, in these years. When in 379 the Tibetan ruler Fu Jian orders Dao'an to come from the captured city of Xiangyang to Chang'an, a new chapter in the history of Northern Buddhism begins, characterized by a renewed influx of missionaries, scriptures and ideas from Central Asia and India, huge translation projects, state patronage and supervision, and the emergence of a body of scriptural and scholastic literature (both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna) together with a new method of exegesis and a new translation technique. In the first decades of the fifth century some elements of Northern Buddhism become gradually known in the South, especially at the Lu Shan where Huiyuan entertained close relations with Kumārajīva's school at Chang'an. Around 416 political conditions in the North brought about the disintegration and dispersal of the Buddhist community at Chang'an. For the third time since the end of the Han a mass-emigration of monks to the South took place, and the propagation of the new ideas and theories resulted in a complete re-orientation of Southern Buddhism and, eventually, in the rise of Chinese schools.

The history of Northern Buddhism in the late fourth and early fifth century is an extremely complicated subject which can only be adequately treated in a separate study. In such a study not only the situation at Chang'an and in the North-west must be taken into account, but also contemporary developments in Central Asia and India, the penetration of Buddhism into the Xianbei empire of the Tuoba Wei in the North-east and at the court of the Korean



Map V. Buddhism in the "Eastern region", 4th century AD

kingdoms of Koguryŏ and Silla, and, in general, the attitude of the foreign rulers towards the Buddhist church and doctrine and the motives behind this attitude. In the following chapters we shall therefore speak only about those aspects of Northern Buddhism which are directly connected with contemporary events in the South.

Here, in the Yangzi basin, Buddhism becomes firmly rooted in the circles of the highest gentry. We find the devotees among the magistrates and generals in active service as well as among their counterpart, the retired *literati* who try to keep away from the troubles and dangers of the official career. The first type predominates at the capital and in the East, the second at the centre on the Lu Shan which develops a remarkable secondary function as a meeting-place and refuge for young aristocratic laymen.

Zhi Dun (*Zhi Daoling*), *314–366*.

In and shortly after 340 AD—the year in which the controversy about the position of the clergy took place at the court—several leading monks went from the capital to the Eastern Region (southern Jiangsu and Zhejiang), mainly to the mountains of Kuaiji and Shan 剡 (near the present-day Sheng 嵊 district south of the Bay of Hangzhou). This was until the very end of the fourth century a comparatively peaceful country, seldom disturbed by rebellions and warlordism. Buddhism seems to have penetrated into the Eastern Region at a rather early date, for, according to a tradition mentioned above (p. 49), already shortly before the middle of the third century Zhi Qian had withdrawn from the capital to the mountains of southern Jiangsu. We find in the fourth chapter of the *GSZ* a whole series of biographies of prominent monks who in the second half of the fourth century were active here, or at the capital which they occasionally visited or where they, sometimes at the invitation of the court, came to live for a longer period. Like the illustrious Zhu Daoqian (above, p. 98), who went to Kuaiji shortly after 340, they all belong to the new type of "gentleman-monk", specialized in exegesis (義學), adepts of Dark Learning and *qingtan*, well-versed in the polite arts and in secular literature. The most famous and most representative of these monks was Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366), better known under his *zi* Daolin 道林.

Zhi Dun's original surname was Guan 關. His family came from the ancient Buddhist centre of Chenliu 陳留 in eastern China and "had been Buddhist since generations". According to another tradition, mentioned in *GSZ*, he came from Linlü 林慮, the modern Lin 林 Xian in northern Henan. Before his ordination he studied the *Prajñāpāramitā* in a monastery in the Yuhang mountains 餘杭山 (N. Zhejiang); he was ordained in 338. Already before that date he had some acquaintances among the highest gentry; his biography mentions Wang Meng 王濛 (ca. 309–347) who admired him excessively and compared the young *xuanxue* scholar to Wang Bi,[151] Yin Rong 殷融, an uncle of Yin Hao, and Xie An, who was living at Kuaiji as a "retired gentleman" without employment, and who is said to have praised the novice Zhi Dun for his easy way of studying and cursory reading of the scriptures (an ideal which is characteristic of this period).[152]

After his ordination (338) he went to the capital where he assembled a host of prominent friends and devotees around him: He Chong, Wang Dao's son Wang Qia 王洽 (323–358), Yin Hao (?–356) and others. However, the

account of the earlier part of Zhi Dun's life in *GSZ* is muddled;[153] in fact, his whole biography is a collection of short episodes, some of which occur independently in *SSXY* and in other sources,[154] and the exactness of the chronological arrangement of these fragments is open to doubt.

In any case, Zhi Dun's first stay at the capital did not last long. In his preface to the "Poems on (the observation of) the Eight Fasting (Commandments)" 八關齋詩 he describes how he held a fasting ceremony at Wuxian 吳縣 (S. Jiangsu) together with "the general of the cavalry He (Chong)" 何驃騎 and twenty-two others, monks and laymen.[155] He Chong had the title of general of the cavalry since 342, and in 343 he must have been living in the region of Wu in his quality of governor of Yangzhou.[156] At that time Zhi Dun had already left the capital for the East, where he remained till 362.

In these years he entertained close relations with a group of aristocrats who either privately or on account of their official position were active in this region and who all belonged to the partisans of Xie An: Xie Wan 謝萬 at Wuxing 吳興 since 358; Xie An 謝安 (320–385), Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321–379), Xu Xun 許詢, Sun Chuo 孫綽 (ca. 300–380) and the king of Kuaiji, Sima Yu 司馬昱, *i.e.* the future emperor Jianwen (320–372), at Kuaiji. Zhi Dun first lived at Wu, and afterwards in the Shan mountains where he founded two monasteries with several hundreds of disciples.[157] However, he was a regular guest at the mansions of the grandees mentioned above, and most of the anecdotes in which Zhi Dun figures in *SSXY* bear upon his activities at Kuaiji and at the near-by Shanyin 山陰 where Xu Xun later founded one of his monasteries, probably for Zhi Dun.[158]

It is in these lively anecdotes that we see Zhi Dun as a "gentleman-scholar" of the purest alloy, as he moved among the prominent laymen of his time. After *qingtan* fashion he "characterized" his contemporaries and was "characterized" by them:

> "Master (Zhi Dao-)lin said: 'Wang Jingren (Wang Xiu 王脩) is a man of surpassing apprehension'."[159]

> "Master Lin said: '(Whenever) you meet (the governor of) Sizhou (*i.e.*, Wang Huzhi 王胡之), startling and surprising (words) come one after another. He causes one to be unable to stop, and yet all day long to be oblivious of one's fatigue'."[160]

> "Someone asked Master Lin: 'How is Wang Huzhi in comparison to the two Xie (Xie An and Xie Wan)?' Master Lin said: 'He surely may scramble up along An and carry Wan in his arms'."[161]

> "Wang Xizhi…said in praise of Master Lin: 'brilliance of capacities, spiritual eminence'."[162]

We see him take part in the cult of the bizarre: how he always kept a number of horses at his monastery, saying to those who remarked that such was not according to the rules: "I, poor monk, delight in their noble spirit",[163] and how he once clipped the wings of some cranes which he had obtained from a friend, to let them grow again when the birds looked sad.[164] As a "gentleman of eloquence" he excelled in coining *bons mots* and making praising or pungent remarks.[165] Many passages describe his activity in *qingtan* meetings where

he took part in discussions on Buddhist as well as secular subjects. Some examples:

> "Zhi Daolin, Xu Xun and other people were assembled in the study of the king of Kuaiji (the future emperor Jianwen). Zhi (Dun) acted as Master of the Doctrine, Xu (Xun) as the Antagonist.[166] Every time when Zhi (Dun) had explained his opinion all those present were fully satisfied, (and yet) every time when Xu (Xun) retorted with an objection, the whole audience applauded and danced (with enthusiasm). But they only sung the praise of the two specialists, without discerning the gist of the principles involved".[167]

> "The Buddhists (generally) have difficulty in explaining the meaning of the Three Vehicles. Zhi Daolin analyzed them in such a way that the Three Vehicles became clearly distinguished. Those who were sitting below and listening (to his words) all said that they could explain it. When Zhi (Dun) sat down below, and (the others) discussed the subject themselves, they could just reach two turns (to speak), but at the third turn they became confused (and could not go on). Although (Zhi Dun's) disciples transmit his new exegesis, they have never grasped (its meaning)".[168]

> "Zhi Daolin and Yin Hao were together at the mansion of the prime minister, the king (of Kuaiji, *i.e.*, Sima Yu, the future emperor Jianwen). The king said to the two men: 'Let us try to hold a debate (between you both). But (in discussing the theme of) "talents and nature",[169] Yin Hao is nearly as strong as the Xiaohan Pass. You, Sir, be careful!' At first, Zhi (Dun) broached a different subject to keep away from him, but after some four turns he had walked into (Yin Hao's) trap. The king patted him on the shoulder and smiled, saying: 'This is really his forte: how could you ever compete with him'?"[170]

> "Zhi Daolin, Xu (Xun), Xie (An) (and other) persons of eminent virtue were assembled at Wang (Meng)'s home. Xie (An) looked around and said to the others: 'To-day we form what may be called a select meeting. Since time passes and cannot be retained, this gathering will surely not be lasting. Let us together speak and chant to sketch our feelings!' Thereupon Xu (Xun) asked the host: 'Do you have a *Zhuangzi*?' He just obtained the one chapter entitled "The Old Fisherman".[171] Xie (An) looked at the title, and then let all participants one by one hold a discussion (about its contents). Zhi Daolin was the first to do so, and spoke some seven hundred words by which he set forth the purport (of the text) in a refined and beautiful way. His able and elegant (exposition) was quite remarkable, and the whole audience praised him…".[172]

We see how he acts as an arbiter between the contending parties when the discussion becomes too personal[173] and how he loses his temper when being vanquished in debate.[174] Beside signs of veneration and admiration the *SSXY* contains several traces of his less pleasant contacts with members of the highest gentry—episodes which naturally do not figure in his biography in *GSZ*: aversion to his physical ugliness, contempt and ridicule, especially about his priestly state.

> "All wanted Ruan Yu to go with them to Master Lin, but Ruan said: 'I should like to hear his words, but I hate to see his face'."[175]

> "Wang Huizhi went to visit Xie Wan. Master Lin was already present among the guests, by whom he was regarded with great veneration. Wang said, 'Don't you think that Master Lin's appearance would be still more impressive if he had kept his beard and hairs intact?' Xie replied, 'Lips and teeth need each other; one cannot do without one of them. What has the tonsure to do with spiritual enlightenment?' Master Lin grew very angry and said, 'To-day this (insignificant) person of mine[176] begs to cast off you two gentlemen (as my friends)'."[177]

"When Zhi Daolin had gone to the East and had seen Wang Huizhi and his brother (Wang Xianzhi), someone asked his opinion about the two Wang (brothers) at his return. He answered: 'I have only seen a swarm of white-necked crows, and heard their noisy cawing'."[178]

"Wang Tanzhi and Master Lin could absolutely not get on with each other. Wang called Master Lin a 'treacherous sophist', whereas Master Lin said about Wang, 'With a scholar's hat on his greasy face and a single garment of (?) coarse[179] cloth he walks behind the carriage of Zheng Kangcheng,[180] holding the *Zuozhuan* under his arm. I wonder who this bag of dust and dirt may be'!"[181]

"Since Master Lin did not (want to) be acquainted with Wang Tanzhi, the latter composed a treatise 'About the fact that monks cannot be regarded as eminent gentlemen', the general purport of which was that 'The eminent gentleman is characterized by a mental freedom which is harmonious and joyful. The monk pretends to be beyond the vulgar, but he is, on the contrary, restrained by (his own) doctrine; he cannot be said to have reached the spontaneous realization of his natural feelings'."[182]

"Wang Yizhi despised Master Lin. (His father) Wang Shu said to him, 'Don't imitate your elder brother (Wang Tanzhi)! Your elder brother himself is not equal to him'."[183]

Wang Tanzhi, in spite of the anti-clerical purport of his essay, entertained relations with other priests, as we shall see below. His personal antipathy against Zhi Dun may have been strengthened by the fact that Zhi Dun was one of the great *Zhuangzi* specialists of his time. Wang Tanzhi himself was a staunch Confucianist, an admirer of Xunzi and Yang Xiong, and he shared the opinion prevalent among the traditionalists that the study of *Zhuangzi* and the pursuit of the ideals of untrammeled freedom and individualism advocated by this philosopher were directly responsible for the moral and political decay of his age.[184] Zhi Dun's exegesis of the chapter "Wandering at Leisure", *Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊, the famous first chapter of *Zhuangzi*, seems to date from his early years. According to a passage in *SSXY*, he discussed the meaning of this chapter with He Chong's partisan Feng Huai) 馮懷 (cf. above, p. 107) at the Baima 白馬 monastery at Jiankang,[185] *i.e.*, very probably during his first stay at the capital in the years 340–343. Some years later, when he came to Kuaiji, he likewise won the esteem of Wang Xizhi, then governor of Kuaiji, by expounding at his request his ideas about this chapter.[186] This discussion must have taken place before 353, in which year Zhi Dun as one of Wang Xizhi's regular guests[187] was present at a poetical *qingtan* gathering at the latter's estate[188]—the same meeting that was immortalized by Wang Xizhi in his elegiac "Preface to the Collection (of poems composed at) the Orchid Pavilion" 蘭亭集序, which would become one of the classical examples of literary composition, and, as written down by himself, at the same time the most famous work of Chinese calligraphy.[189] We shall have to say a few more words about Zhi Dun's *Zhuangzi* exegesis below, when speaking about his activities in the field of Dark Learning and Buddhist thought.

In 362, when emperor Ai ascended the throne, Zhi Dun was summoned to the capital by imperial order—something which from this period onward becomes a regular practice. Here he remained till ca. 365, at the time when Huan Wen's power reached its highest point. He does not seem to have entertained any relation with the dictator himself, but Huan Wen's commissioner

at the capital, the much-feared Xi Chao, was one of his most prominent lay adherents. At the capital Zhi Dun expounded the smaller version of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (道行經) in the Dongan 東安 monastery, where

> "clerics and laity were filled with admiration, and courtiers and private persons gladly submitted (to his words)".[190]

Shortly before emperor Ai's death, in 365, he wished to retire again to the mountains of the "Eastern Region". It is characteristic of his semi-official position at the court that he apparently needed the emperor's sanction to leave, and therefore followed the regular bureaucratic procedure in applying for his retirement. He addressed the emperor in an official memorial requesting to be permitted to withdraw from the capital; the text of this curious document has been preserved in his biography in *GSZ*.[191] The actual request is here preceded by a long introduction in which Zhi Dun gives his views on the monastic life, the relation between the temporal ruler and religion, and the way to reach the ideal state of perfect government in accordance with the *xuanxue* principle of "non-activity".

In the first paragraph of his memorial Zhi Dun stresses the virtues and purity of the monastic life:

> I, Dun,[192] bowing my head, say: Devoid of talents I have presumed to long for the manners (of one living) beyond this world, and I have been unable to whip (my horses) on from the rear, thus failing to realize the spiritual transformation. The righteous duty of the *śramaṇa* is modelled after the saintliness of the Buddha: it is to cultivate (?) purity[193] and to revert to simplicity, to eliminate the desires and to return to the Origin. By wandering in the wide expanse of the empty mystery he holds to the principle of "Saintliness Within", and by maintaining the purity of the Five Commandments he matches the transforming (rule) of "Kingliness Without".[194] Attuned to the music which has no sounds he finds harmony in contentment; earnestly practising the (virtue of) piety which consists of tenderness and love, he does not even do harm to the wriggling creatures (in the earth): cherishing feelings of loving care and compassion he is always distressed about (any) lack of altruism 仁".

After this curious mixture of Dark Learning, Buddhist morality, Confucian ethics and rhetoric, Zhi Dun explains the attitude of the monk towards the ruler, and *vice versa*. In his words we still hear an echo of the controversy of 340 AD, which had taken place during Zhi Dun's first stay at the capital; his arguments closely agree with those brought forward at that occasion by his friend He Chong:

> "He (the monk) cherishes a submission (to law and authority) which is not outwardly manifested, thus from afar guarding against (the evil consequences of) former lives. He draws upon an integrity which is not connected with any (official) status, thus acting with (seeming) insubordination and yet not regretting it. That is why sage kings, though endowed with the supreme dignity of "facing the South", all feel respect for his noble deportment and acquiesce in his unconventional ways, ascertain his (inner) feelings of submission and allow him to abstain from the formal acts of reverence. Thus (such rulers) have caused (the creed) to prosper anew, age after age".

Then comes a most interesting passage in which Zhi Dun commends Buddhism to the ruler as the means to strengthen the position of himself and of the reigning dynasty. As we said before, this was written when Huan Wen's power was at

its zenith, and, in spite of Zhi Dun's connections with Xi Chao, he seems to have entertained very close relations with the leader of the anti-Huan faction, Xie An.[195] Of course he could not speak freely, but the implicit warnings addressed to the emperor—as usual, disguised as historical allusions—are very clear. The emperor must practice Virtue and hold to the Truth, and not listen to the slanderous and dangerous talk of other persons. The situation is as it was in Confucius' times, when the authority of the state of Lu had been grasped by the three great families of Meng(-sun) 孟[孫], Shu(-sun) 叔[孫] and Ji(sun) 季[孫], the latter of whom did not hesitate to usurp the royal or ducal privilege to perform the sacrifice to the Tai mountain (cf. *LY* III. 6). But the emperor must remain the only sacred ruler: only he is entitled to sacrifice to Heaven. He can prevent some (non-specified) subjects from "undertaking personal actions" and maintain his position by means of the mystic power which is the result of the practice of Virtue (which, in this context, naturally refers to Buddhism). Universal happiness will follow, and the fortune of "the Great Jin" will be safeguarded forever. All this is the essential meaning of the following piece of rhetoric:

> I humbly beg Your Majesty to regulate and adjust the two powers (of *yin* and *yang*) and widely to expand the perfect transformation (of beneficial government), to remove the "evil imprecations of (the liturgist) Chen Xin"[196] and to follow the great plan (of Virtue) which was "the prayer of Qiu",[197] to keep away from the mud of small by-ways and trot the level highroad with a free rein. Under such circumstances "the Tai mountain will not be defiled by the (sacrilegious) sacrifice of the Ji clan", and, (as a result, the gods) "will attain Unity and thereby become divine".[198] It is only upon the Round Hill that the (legitimate) ruler may perform the sacrifice (to Heaven),[199] and, (as a result), "he will attain Unity and thereby be the sovereign" forever... If the ruler is (a true) ruler, then his subordinates will have no occasion to undertake personal actions; if the gods are (true) gods, then no prayers (or: 'spells') will enhance their divinity. The mystic virtue (of ruler and gods) will merge and spread, and the people will obtain their invisible protection. The immensity of the universe will become an abode of fortune and happiness; the mighty realm of the great Jin (dynasty) will be a dwelling-place of supreme and all-pervading (virtue).[200]

But how can the practice of government, which includes the administration of capital punishment, be harmonized with the precepts of Buddhism, the first of which is "not to kill"? A basic dilemma, for which the Chinese concept of the ruler's "non-activity" provided a most convenient solution. Already Fotudeng is reported to have said to the Hun ruler Shi Hu, when the latter in 343 AD was killing some of his relatives with his own hands: "The rule is that one should not personally inflict chastisement, for this would run counter to the (principle of) compassion. How could it be that the emperor with his own hands administers a punishment?"[201] The laws must be applied, and the application of capital punishment in accordance with justice has no evil karmic consequences for the ruler. At another occasion Fotudeng said to the Xiongnu tyrant, when the latter declared to see no way to keep the country quiet without killing: "Worship of the Buddha on the part of the emperors and kings lies in their being reverent in their persons and obedient in their hearts and in glorifying the Three Treasures. It lies in not making cruel oppressions and not killing the innocent. As to the rogues and irresponsibles whom the civilizing influence does not reform, when they are guilty of a crime, they must

be put to death, and if they are guilty of an evil deed, they must be punished. You should execute only those who should be executed and punish only those who should be punished"...[202] The same problem forms the subject of an interesting conversation between emperor Wen of the Liu-Song dynasty and the Indian preacher Gunabhadra in 431 AD.[203] In the same way, Zhi Dun says in his memorial:

> "Be constantly non-active, and the myriad beings will revert to the origin; hold to the Great Image,[204] and all the world will move on spontaneously. As to the regulations of the State (such as) the application of capital punishment, there are the various authorities in charge of these. If (Your Majesty) grants one his life without (the awareness of) being kind, then the beneficiary is automatically favoured, and (on the other hand), if you kill one without (the awareness of) anger, then the culprit is automatically executed (without any karmic consequences for you). In this way you will (be able) far and wide to apply the instruments of the State (公器) in order to satisfy the demands of the gods, and to hold the scales in order perfectly to measure what is dim and obscure. This is what is called: 'What does Heaven speak? And yet, the four seasons move thereby'!"[205]

Quite in accordance with the official procedure, the emperor granted Zhi Dun permission to leave by an edict. The description of the farewell party given to Zhi Dun by the leading members of the metropolitan aristocracy (in *GSZ*, and more extensively in *SSXY*) shows his enormous popularity and at the same time delightfully illustrates the intentional disregard of etiquette which was *en vogue* in these circles:

> "When Zhi Daolin returned to the East, the worthies of the time all saw him off (at a banquet)[206] at the Zhenglu pavilion.[207] Cai Xi had arrived first, so that his seat was near to that of Master Lin. Xie Wan came in later and sat down somewhat farther from him, and when Cai had stood up for a moment, Xie moved to the latter's seat. As soon as Cai had returned and saw that Xie had occupied his place, he lifted Xie up together with his cushion, threw him over the ground and sat down again on his own place. Xie's cap had fallen off. He slowly stood up, shook his clothes and went to his mat. His facial expression was very calm, and nobody (could) notice any anger blocking up (his mind). He sat down quietly and said to Cai: 'Sir, you are a strange man. You almost broke my face'. Cai answered: 'Sir, as a matter of fact, I did not mind your face'. Thereupon both men paid no attention any more to (this incident)".[208]

"Such was the way in which he was venerated by the worthies of his time", the *GSZ* adds.[209]

Zhi Dun returned to Kuaiji; he died in the Shan mountains in 366 at the age of fifty-two.[210] His scholarly friends at the capital became his biographers: Xi Chao wrote an essay 序 about him, the famous Confucian historian Yuan Hong 袁宏 (328–376) wrote a laudatory inscription 銘贊, a certain Zhou Tanbao 周曇寶 an eulogy 誄, and Sun Chuo "characterized" him in his collection of epigrams the *Daoxian lun* 道賢論 where he put him on a par with the great *Zhuangzi* commentator Xiang Xiu.[211] His fame as a preacher and scholar was still alive when, some years after his death, the painter-"recluse" Dai Kui 戴逵 (died 396) passed along his grave at Kuaiji and said:

> "Though the sounds of his virtue are still near, the trees near his tomb have already grown dense. We may only hope that the spirit 神理 remains forever, and does not perish, sharing the fate of the material (body) 氣運".[212]

Zhi Dun's teachings.

Like his senior contemporary Zhi Mindu, Zhi Dun is known as the founder of one of the so-called "schools" of early Chinese Buddhism. Like the other "schools", it was a particular method of exegesis (*yi* 義) to define the concept of Emptiness 空 as found in the Mahāyāna sūtras, and the relation between this Emptiness and the phenomenal world, the latter being comprised by the term "(visible) matter" 色 (*rūpa*). The exegesis connected with the name of Zhi Dun is known as that of "Matter as Such" or "Identity with Matter" 即色義. Of his writings[213] in which this theory was expounded only a few fragments have survived, all of which express the same fundamental idea in almost identical wordings. *E.g.*:

> "The nature of matter is such that matter does not exist by itself. This being so, it is empty, although (seemingly existent as) matter. Therefore it is said that matter is identical with Emptiness, and again (on account of its seeming existence) different from Emptiness".[214]
>
> "I hold that 'matter as such is Emptiness, and that matter does not (need to) be eliminated (in order to reach) Emptiness'.[215] These words express the highest (Truth). Why is this? The nature of matter is such that matter does not exist by itself;[216] it is empty, although (seemingly existent as) matter. In the same way knowing does not know by itself, and is therefore always tranquil, although (seemingly active as) knowing".[217]
>
> "Those who speak about matter must only (realize) that matter is matter as such (without any substrate). For how would matter be dependent on anything which causes matter to be matter 色色 in order to become matter?".[218]

All this is none too clear. The idea seems to be that matter (as *pars pro toto* for the five *skandhas*, *i.e.*, the sum of all subjective and objective phenomena, hence also the "knowing" in the second fragment) exists "as such", *i.e.*, it lacks any permanent substrate, any sustaining or creative principle which "causes matter to be matter." In this Zhi Dun's theory forms an amalgamation of secular and Buddhist thought. Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang already categorically denied the existence of a creative power or a permanent substance behind the "things" 物: "There is nothing which can cause the things to be things" 物物者無物.[219] All things spontaneously exist by themselves. Zhi Dun's theory represents a Buddhist elaboration of this idea. According to the Buddhist principle of interdependent causation, "matter" and "knowing" (*i.e.*, the *skandhas*, which, unlike Xiang-Guo's "things" 物, include all mental phenomena) do not exist "by themselves". In fact, they can neither be pronounced to be existent nor non-existent; they exist as ephemeral moments in the process of causation, links in an eternal chain of cause and effect which has no other substantiality than that of causation itself. According to Zhi Dun, this principle of causation, this conditional state is what is meant by Emptiness. Hence Emptiness is not anything apart from "matter", a substrate of which "matter" would be a manifestation. It is simply identical with matter: "Matter does not need to be eliminated in order to reach Emptiness".

Strictly speaking, Zhi Dun's exegesis comes closer to the Hīnayānistic point of view than to that of the Mahāyāna principle of universal Emptiness. There is a considerable difference between his interpretation of Emptiness as being the conditional nature of all "matter" (*i.e.*, the principle of "combination of primary and secondary causes", *hetupratyayasāmagrī* 因緣和合) and the

Mahāyāna concept of Emptiness which reduces all phenomena and notions, including that of causation itself, to a phantasmagoria. For this reason Zhi Dun's theory was severely criticized by Sengzhao in the early fifth century for not being drastical enough; according to this first Chinese Mādhyamika specialist, Zhi Dun saw only the conditional and causal nature of all phenomena, but did not realize the complete truth, *viz.* that conditionality and causality themselves are mere names without any underlying reality.[220]

All this can only give us a very hazy picture of Zhi Dun's teachings. Much more informative than these few cryptic fragments is Zhi Dun's "Preface to a Synoptic Extract of the Larger and Smaller Versions (of the *Prajñāpāramitā*)" 大小品對比要抄序 which has been preserved[221]—an important document which allows us to define more exactly Zhi Dun's position in Dark Learning and early Buddhist thought.

In accordance with the custom of describing the essential purport of a scripture in the opening lines of the preface, Zhi Dun first defines the *Prajñāpāramitā* as the transcendental Wisdom by which the Saint attains "the highest non-being" 至無 which is beyond being and non-being, the mystic state of non-perception in which he is able to realize the unity of all things:

> "The *Prajñāpāramitā* is the deep treasury of 'All Wonders',[222] the mysterious origin of all Wisdom. It is the path followed by spiritual rulers, the (mystic) reflection 照 achieved by the Tathāgata. As a scripture, it is that which (teaches) the empty expanse of the highest non-being, the tranquil absence of things. It (realizes) the absence of things in the things (themselves) and therefore it is able to equalize all things; it (realizes) the absence of knowing in knowing (itself) and therefore it is able to make knowing function".[223]

However, this insight is not sufficient. The student must eliminate all concepts, including those of *prajñā* itself and of the ten stages of the Bodhisattva's career which lead to Buddhahood, for all these are mere conventions, provisional marks to guide the student's mind, to be discarded as soon as they have served their purpose:

> "The terms for the Ten Stages arise from a nomenclature which belongs to[224] a still insufficient (understanding); the (concept of) *prajñā*-knowledge is born from a name which is (only) the outward manifestation 迹 of the doctrine. Therefore: when words are used, then "names" are born; when the doctrine is provisionally established (by words), then knowledge becomes associated (with definite things). Thus knowledge 智 (as expounded in the scriptures) is associated with definite things, whereas the (highest) Reality 實 remains unmanifested; "names" 名 are born from objects,[225] whereas the (highest) Principle 理 is beyond words. Why is this? The highest Principle is dark and (empty like) a ravine, in which (everything) is reduced to a state of being nameless. The state of being nameless and beginningless constitutes the Substance of the Way 道之體, whereas (the realm of the Saint's manifested activities) where 'there is nothing that may be done, and nothing that may not be done'[226] constitutes the attentive (attitude) 慎 of the Saint. When the Saint by this principle of (compassionate) attention responds to the movement (of the world), then he cannot do without expressing (his doctrine) in words".[227]

All this is a Buddhist elaboration of ideas which we found already in the works of earlier *xuanxue* thinkers: the necessity to "forget the symbols in order to grasp ideas" (Wang Bi), or to see through the *ad hoc* rules of the doctrine, the Sage's "traces" 迹, in order to reach his inner wisdom, "that by

which the traces are made" 所以迹 (Xiang-Guo). It is a clear example of hybridization, where the Buddhist pattern of *prajñā* (inner Wisdom) versus *upāya* ("moyens salvifiques") has merged with the Chinese distinction of the immutable inner mind of the sage and his ever-varying precepts and teachings. Zhi Dun's terminology is much influenced by that of Xiang-Guo. In this preface we even find the same peculiar use of *suoyi*...所以..., "that-by-which..." in various combinations; expressions of this type are characteristic of Xiang-Guo's philosophical vocabulary, there as here serving to denote the "substance", the source, versus its outer manifestations (cf. above, note 34):

> "One must clearly see that-by-which (the Saint) expresses (the Truth in words); one must understand that-by-which he speaks. For when the principles are obliterated (in mystic comprehension) then all words are discarded, and when the (idea of) Enlightenment has been forgotten, then Wisdom is complete".[228]
>
> "To preserve (Wisdom) by (consciously trying to) preserve it 存乎存 is not (the right way) to preserve it; to long for Non-being 希乎無 is not (the right way) of non-being. Why? (Such people) only know that non-being is non-being, and nobody knows that-by-which it is non-being 所以無; they know that to preserve (Wisdom) is to preserve it, and nobody knows that-by-which it is preserved 所以存".[229]

The central topic in this mixture of Mahāyāna doctrine and *xuanxue* is the person of the Saint or Sage 聖人, the Perfect Man 至人, still represented as a ruler, but as one of superhuman proportions. He is the personification of Wisdom, the cosmic ruler who leads all beings to their destination by means of his compassionate teachings. He stands above and beyond the world of change 變 to which by means of his teachings he responds as an echo; the acts by which he interferes in the world of change are automatical reflexes which in no way influence his immovable and unchanging "substance" which is wisdom and appeasement. His realm is not that of change but that of absolute Truth, detached from all phenomenal existence and discursive reasoning. This truth is denoted by the term *li* 理 "order, principle", one of the basic terms of the Chinese philosophical vocabulary which had already been used by several authors since pre-Han times with different shades of meaning, but which here (as far as we know for the first time) acquires a new and more abstract significance, the Chinese concept of cosmic or natural order having merged with the Buddhist notion of transcendental Truth, Suchness (*tathatā*).[230] This major contribution of Buddhism to Chinese thought, which had far-reaching consequences, is for the first time attested in the following very important passages:

> "Hence Truth 理 is different from (the world of) change 變, and change is different from Truth; the (manifested) doctrine is different from the Substance 體 (of Wisdom, the inner mind of the Sage), and Substance is different from the doctrine. Therefore the myriad changes and transformations (of the phenomenal world) take all place outside the (realm of) Truth, for how would there be any movement in the spirit 神 (of the Sage)? It is just because it has no movement that it can endlessly respond to change.... Therefore it is on account of the (world of) change that the doctrine has been left (to us by the Buddha), and it is because of the provisional nature (of the doctrine) that Truth has been blocked".[231]
>
> "For a myriad (different) sounds may cause a bell to reverberate, and (the bell) will get hold of all (these different sounds) by one and the same reverberation; (in the same way) the myriad beings may stimulate 感 the Saint, and the Saint will

also respond to them by (one and the same state of) stillness 寂. Hence it is clear that, just as the (different) sounds are not the same as the reverberation, the words (of the doctrine) are not the same as (the inner wisdom of) the Saint".[232]

"(People) only know that the doctrine is created by the Perfect Saint, but they do not know that-by-which he (expounds the) doctrine ...".[233]

The ideal state is one of mental lethargy in which all emotions and conscious thought have been eliminated, the utter "forgetfulness" 忘 of the Saint. Here Zhi Dun comes near to Zhi Mindu's theory of the "non-existence of (conscious) thought", for also to him the concept of "non-being" 無 or "emptiness" seems to have been an inner experience:

"In utter non-being 盡無 (even) the Mystery has been forgotten; because the Mystery (*i.e.*, the highest Truth of non-being) has been forgotten, there is no mentation 無心".[234]

This is the state in which, as Zhi Dun says: "being and non-being are naturally obliterated together, and the low is no more since the high has been forgotten"[235]—the ideal which here is denoted by terms like "obliteration of the spirit" 冥神, "absence of mentation" 無心 and "utter obliteration" 冥盡.

The evaluation of Zhi Dun's ideas forms a difficult problem. The Buddhist element seems—here at least—to be restricted to the notion of an Absolutum beyond the limits of discriminative thought, an equivalent of *tathatā* rendered in *xuanxue* terminology by expression like, "utter non-being" 盡無, the "Mystery" 玄, "Truth" or "Order" 理 etc. The importance of this fact can hardly be overrated; it represents the beginning of a new phase in Chinese thought. When viewed against the background of early medieval thought, it proves to provide a new starting-point in the ancient controversy between the "partisans of non-being" and "those who exalt being" (cf. above, p. 90) by introducing a new and higher concept which formed the synthesis of both conflicting view-points. Here "being" and "non-being" are interpreted not as a pair of correlates, one being the function or manifestation of the other, but as two aspects of the same *arcanum* which embraces and transcends both. As Sun Chuo 孫綽, one of Zhi Dun's prominent lay followers, says: "(On the one hand) it is non-active 無為, and therefore empty and still and spontaneously (existing), and (on the other hand) universally active 無不為 and therefore spiritually transforming the myriad beings".[236] Although this synthesis of "being" and "non-being" on a higher plane of truth is not quite without precedent in medieval Chinese thought—some passages in Wang Bi's *Daode jing* commentary seem to foreshadow this development[237]—it was most emphatically stressed and elaborated by the Buddhist thinkers from the middle of the fourth century onward. It is not enough to note that there was a reorientation in speculative thought; the basic fact is that speculative thought, notably *xuanxue*, had by this time become the field of activity of a new type of people, the cultured clergy, of which Zhi Dun is a prominent example. Up to that time, Dark Learning—and philosophy in general—had been created and practised by *literati, i.e.*, real or potential members of the bureaucracy, and ideal government and the means to realize it remained the central themes of their speculations, however unworldly these may seem to be at first sight. With the rise of the clerical intelligentsia in the early fourth century, *xuanxue* was transplanted from the bustle of worldly affairs into the relative seclusion of the monastic life, and here for the first time it became detached

from the problems of social and political thought, to be amalgamated with certain elements of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This detachment from problems of secular thought and this stress on spiritual values and religious experience, unprecedented in Chinese history, is directly connected with the ideals, the theory and the practice of the monastic life. The autonomy of the religious community in the Confucian state has been of momentous importance socially and intellectually; the emancipation of metaphysical thought from social and political philosophy, never realized in the circles of secular *literati* and politicians, took place and could only have taken place in the a-social and un-political community which the *saṅgha* claimed to be. Thus the beginnings of metaphysical thought in China are as much a social as a spiritual phenomenon, being organically connected with the whole position and role of the Buddhist community in medieval Chinese society.

It is difficult to say in how far the writings of scholar-monks like Zhi Dun must be regarded as typical products of the monastic life. It is not impossible that these statements about the bliss of mystic annihilation and freedom from conscious thought, however rhetorical and hackneyed they may be, form the literary expression of certain religious experiences. The role of "*dhyāna*", which during the earliest period of Chinese Buddhism formed the most important aspect of the religious life, had certainly become less predominant in fourth century gentry Buddhism in the South-East. As we shall see below, those masters who at that time and in that region were specialized in *dhyāna* practices moved in quite a different atmosphere; they had, as far as we know, no direct contact with the leading gentry monks like Zhi Dun, and hardly any with the cultured laity. However, meditation and trance belong to the regular practice of the monastic life, and, moreover, Zhi Dun appears to have devoted some attention to these techniques, since he wrote a commentary to one of the basic *dhyāna* scriptures of the archaic period of Chinese Buddhism, the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經.[238] The definition of "emptiness" as an inner experience points in the same direction. That this was indeed his interpretation follows clearly from a passage of the *Fengfa yao* 奉法要, a treatise written by Zhi Dun's lay follower Xi Chao 郄超, about which we shall speak more in detail below. Xi Chao says:

> "'Emptiness' is an expression for 'having forgotten all feelings'; it is not a term for (something spatial like) an office or a house. 'Non-being' is actually non-being (and no more): if one preserves the (notion of) non-being, then one is impeded and limited (by it). (The same holds good for) 'being', which is actually 'being' (and no more). But if one forgets both (being and non-being), then there is mystic emancipation 玄解".[239]

In one of his poems Zhi Dun himself describes this experience as the state "when matter-as-such 即色 is spontaneously empty, emptiness and being mingle their manifested traces, and both obliteration 冥 and knowledge become free from reflective activity".[240] Passages like these are not rare. Again and again the picture is obscured by a profusion of rhetoric verbiage and literary *clichés*, and we shall probably never know to what extent they conceal or express any real personal experience.

Zhi Dun's world-view, like that of the other prominent gentry monks and laymen of the South-East, was no doubt predominantly intellectual; it was a pursuit of Wisdom rather than a devotional creed. The latter aspect is,

however, not quite absent. In *GHMJ* XV we find a number of "eulogies" 讚 by Zhi Dun, extolling the qualities of several Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, rhetorical products with little content and even less inspiration. However, one of these is devoted to the object of Buddhist devotion *par excellence*, the Buddha of the "Western Paradise", Amitābha. The eulogy is preceded by a short introduction in which Zhi Dun speaks about the happy country of the West named Anyang 安養 "Peaceful Nourishment" (Sukhāvatī) where this Buddha of Infinite Light resides among those who by his grace have been reborn in this paradise to enjoy eternal bliss. To the Chinese scholar Zhi Dun, Sukhāvatī seems to have been an ideal society, a kind of Buddhist counterpart of Dao Yuanming's utopian peach-garden:

> "in this country there is no arrangement of royal regulations, ranks and titles. The Buddha is the ruler, and the three Vehicles are the (state) doctrine".[241]

More interesting are, however, the last phrases of this introduction:

> "Whosoever in this country of Jin, in this era of sensual pleasures,[242] serves the Buddha and correctly observes the commandments, who recites the Scripture of Amitābha,[243] and who (furthermore) makes a vow to be (re)born in that country (of Sukhāvatī) without ever abandoning his sincere intention, will at the end of his life, when his soul passes away, be miraculously transported thither. He will behold the Buddha and be enlightened in his spirit, and then he will realize the Way. I, Dun, born at this late time, (can only) hope to follow the remaining traces (of the doctrine), and I do not dare to expect that my mind is bound for that spiritual country. Hence I had a painting made by an artisan, and erected this as a manifestation of the divine (power); respectfully I look up to the noble appearance (of this Buddha) in order to confront myself with Him whom (I adore like) Heaven".[244]

Apart from a late tradition which connects the beginning of the Amitābha cult with the name of the early third century Buddhist scholar Wei Shidu 衛士度 (cf. above, p. 78),[245] this is the first mention in early literature of this kind of ceremony in which the devotee takes refuge in the saving power of the Buddha Amitābha and before an icon of this Buddha makes a solemn vow to be reborn in the Western Paradise. The same kind of devotional cult coupled with icons and mental concentration we find around 370 AD at Xiangyang where Dao'an assembled a number of his disciples before an image of Maitreya and made a vow to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven,[246] and in 402 AD on Mt. Lu where Huiyuan performed an analogous ceremony with 123 lay followers before an image of Amitābha.[247]

Finally something may be said about Zhi Dun's interpretation of Zhuangzi's first chapter, "Wandering at Leisure" 逍遙遊 (cf. above, p. 119). This chapter consists of some ten parables, all of which serve to illustrate the contrast between the great and the small, the supreme freedom of the Daoist adept and the narrow views of those who suffer from "mental blindness and deafness", who are fettered by utilitarian considerations and by the rules of society and who therefore cannot follow him in his "wandering at leisure". It is a glorification of the Daoist *Übermensch* as opposed to the "small man" of the world: the giant bird Peng which soars up to the sky versus the cicada and the quail which laugh at him and go on hopping around among the brushwood; the superior hermit Xu You versus emperor Yao, the wise master Lian Shu and the pedestrian and unbelieving Jian Wu; the mighty yak

"which is as large as the clouds across the sky, but which cannot catch mice" and the nervous weasel which leaps about for its prey and finally dies in a trap.

There can be little doubt that Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang in their famous commentary have completely misunderstood or falsified the basic purport of this chapter. To them, each being, great or small, noble or base, Roc or quail, has its own natural "share" 分 of qualities, capacities and inclinations. Success, happiness, order and, eventually, the realization of ideal government all depend on the extent to which each individual is able to live in accordance with the capacities and limitations which nature has "allotted" to him. The sage has his share, and the fool has his; both will realize perfect "freedom" and be able to "wander at leisure" if they live "proportionately" and adequately, and do not force themselves to become other than they are.

Zhi Dun was known as a *Zhuangzi* specialist; we have seen how he discussed the meaning of the *Xiaoyao you* chapter with people like Feng Huai at Jiankang and Wang Xizhi at Kuaiji (above, p. 119). According to his biography in *GSZ*,

> "At the Baimasi (at Jiankang) he used to talk with Liu Xizhi 劉系之 (unknown elsewhere) and others about Zhuangzi's chapter on 'Wandering at Leisure'. (Someone) said: 'Everyone following his own nature is to be considered as (wandering) at leisure'. Zhi Dun objected: 'This is not true. The nature of (the tyrant) Jie and (the robber) Zhi was to destroy and to harm, and if one regards following one's nature as the realization (of perfect freedom), then (their way of life) would consequently also be "wandering at leisure".' Then he withdrew and composed a commentary on the *Xiaoyao* chapter which was unanimously admired and followed by all *literati* and experienced scholars".[248]

Zhi Dun's commentary on the *Xiaoyao* chapter has unfortunately been lost. It is not listed in any bibliography, but at least at the beginning of the seventh century it must have still been in existence; a few of Zhi Dun's glosses are quoted by Lu Deming 陸德明 (Lu Yuanlang 陸元朗, 550–625 AD) in his *Zhuangzi yinyi* 莊子音義.[249] There is furthermore a passage from his *Xiaoyao lun* 逍遙論, quoted in the commentary to *SSXY* IB/19a, which may serve to give us an impression of his new interpretation. Here Zhi Dun most emphatically rejects the opinion of Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang. For him the ideal is the Perfect Man 至人, symbolized in *Zhuangzi* by the giant bird Peng; the Saint who "avails himself of the right (course) of Heaven triumphantly, and roams around endlessly in perfect freedom"; this is "the highest satisfaction" 至足, different from the vulgar kind of happiness which is the result of following one's nature, a mere "being satisfied by what (seems) satisfactory (to each individual)" 足於所足.

It is necessary to view Zhi Dun's interpretation against the background of Buddhist thought. In the first place, Xiang-Guo's essentially non-moral conception of a society in which every member is justified to lead any kind of life, provided that his actions agree with his "natural" talents and inclinations, obviously militates against the Buddhist picture of a universe dominated by moral law. Secondly, the rigid deterministic pattern of Xiang-Guo's philosophy according to which "what we do not, we cannot do; what we do, we cannot but do" is irreconcilable with the Buddhist idea that the human personality is susceptible to improvement, and that Saintliness, the state of Zhi Dun's "Perfect Man", can be reached by means of a process of mental discipline, morality and devotion.

The latter point was, indeed, regarded as characteristic of Buddhism. A passage in *SSXY*, which contains a (rather cryptic) remark about Buddhism by Zhi Dun's patron, emperor Jianwen, significantly begins with the words "According to the Buddhist scriptures, Saintliness can be reached by spiritual purification (祛練神明)".[250]

The highest "Perfect Man" is the Buddha. Not the Man but the Myth; in the works of early Chinese Buddhist authors, just as *lokottaravādin* as their Indian Mahāyānist contemporaries, the Buddha is the embodiment of Truth, the completely dehumanized abstraction of Wisdom. The eternal Buddha residing in his *dharmakāya* has merged here with the ideal of the *xuanxue* Sage who "embodies the Way" 體道. A remarkable sketch of the Buddha Śākyamuni's life in *xuanxue* terminology, written by Zhi Dun as an introduction to an "Eulogy on the Buddha", has been preserved;[251] it is to some extent analogous to other philosophical-poetical descriptions by early Chinese Buddhist authors such as we find in the *Mouzi* and in Sun Chuo's *Yu Dao lun*.[252] A translation of the main part of this introduction will be found in the Appendix at the end of this chapter; in view of the extreme artificiality and intentional obscurity of the style, the translation is at times hypothetical.

Zhi Dun's most prominent lay followers.

Zhi Dun's biography in *GSZ* speaks of his "hundreds of disciples", but only a few of these monks are mentioned by name in our sources; we shall revert to them below. Much more is known about his lay followers. The main sources (*GSZ* and *SSXY*) show him conversing with some thirty-five persons, practically all well-known members of the highest gentry, with whom he had more or less regular contact during the twenty-five years of his activity at the capital and in the "Eastern Region". In most cases the relation between these people and the Buddhist master may not have gone deeper than a rather superficial social contact in *qingtan* circles without any far-reaching ideological consequences. However, some of these gentry leaders appear to have been much more deeply affected by the doctrine and the way of life of which Zhi Dun was the representative; in these cases conversation with, and admiration for, the famous gentleman-monk is coupled with an intense interest in, and some knowledge of, the Buddhist doctrine. It is important to note that most of these devotees were at the same time leading figures in the political life. The powerful general Huan Wen is not among them; the few contacts which he appears to have had with Buddhist preachers[253] seem to have been very superficial, and, as we have seen above, there is some ground to suppose that Zhi Dun himself was opposed to his dangerous dictatorial policy. On the other hand Xi Chao 郗超 (336–377), one of Huan Wen's closest collaborators, was a personal friend and devoted follower of Zhi Dun. The other prominent *dānapatis* around Zhi Dun, who, like he, were active at the capital and in the South-East, were He Chong (cf. above, p. 109) Yin Hao 殷浩 (died 356), Sun Chuo 孫綽 (ca. 300–380), Wang Qia 王洽 (323–358), Xu Xun 許詢 (dates unknown; mid. fourth century), and finally Zhi Dun's illustrious patron Sima Yu 司馬昱, king of Kuaiji, who entertained friendly relations with Zhi Dun and Zhu Daoqian before and during his short reign as emperor (Jianwen, 371–373).

Yin Hao had already made acquaintance with the sinicized Sogdian (?)

preacher Kang Sengyuan 康僧淵 at the capital (cf. above, p. 102). However, his most intensive contact with Buddhism seems to date from the dark last years of his life (353–356) when he had been disgraced, reduced to the rank of a commoner and banished to Xin'an in Western Zhejiang at the instigation of his rival Huan Wen (cf. above, p. 111). According to the *SSXY* he studied there the different versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, and seems to have done this most attentively; in these texts he had found several hundreds of obscure passages, the meaning of which he wanted to discuss with Zhi Dun (who at that time was living in the Shan mountains, some hundred miles North-East of Xin'an). He never succeeded in obtaining the master's explanations.[254] Another passage tells how Yin Hao at Xin'an "greatly read Buddhist scriptures", and understood all of their contents except the numerical categories (*i.e.*, groups like the five *skandhas*, the twelve *nidānas* etc.), and how he asked for information concerning these points whenever he met a Buddhist monk.[255] His death in 356 soon put an end to his serious Buddhist studies. In spite of his interest in the new sources of wisdom which he had discovered, his critical attitude towards the scriptures and the doctrine of Buddhism seems to have remained unshaken. The *SSXY* reports how he remarked upon seeing a Buddhist sūtra: "Truth 理 must still be higher than that there!".[256] Elsewhere we read that he objected against the literary form of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures (and nobody who is familiar with these will blame him); to his taste the larger version (Mokṣala's *Fangguang jing* 放光經) was too prolix, and the smaller one (Lokakṣema's *Daoxing jing* 道行經) too concise. He preferred to study the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* 維摩詰經 with which he became acquainted after having read the larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, and which he probably read in Zhi Qian's early third century version (T 474).[257]

The popularity of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, one of the most admirable products of Buddhist literature, among the fourth century Chinese intelligentsia is easily explainable. In the first place this sūtra is a kind of dramatized exposition of the doctrine. The different dialogues between various groups of personages (the Buddha and the *śrāvakas* and Bodhisattvas, each of these again telling their own conversation with Vimalakīrti, the conversation between Vimalakīrti, Mañjuśrī and the other Bodhisattvas etc.), ably strung together in a *Rahmenerzählung* with an ever-changing scenery, have been used to treat a great variety of doctrinal subjects. We find long passages about the wonderful power of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, about the superiority of the Mahāyāna over the Small Vehicle, about the transcendent nature of the Buddha-body, about the concept of non-duality, etc. On the other hand, all these subjects are treated as variations and illustrations of the one basic theme of the whole sūtra: the loving and saving power of the Bodhisattva who, like Vimalakīrti himself, voluntarily undergoes the "disease of existence" for the sake of all beings. Hence this scripture may be regarded—and has indeed been qualified—as a real compendium of Mahāyāna doctrine.[258] This explains why it remained one of the most venerated and influential works of the Buddhist canon in the Far East, and, at the same time, why it never became the favourite scripture of any particular school in later Chinese Buddhism, as happened to other Mahāyāna sūtras with a more specific doctrine centered around one basic theme, such as the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the treatises of the *Sanlun* school.

In the second place, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* possesses some special features which must have been very attractive to the cultured Chinese public in medieval times. The dialogue—since the earliest times the literary form of Buddhist scriptures—is handled here with extraordinary skill. By the arrangement of themes in ascending order of emphasis, both the narrative as a whole and the individual sections of dialogue have a certain dramatic tension which is sadly lacking in practically all other Buddhist canonical works. To the fourth century Chinese intelligentsia this must not only have appealed because of its literary qualities as such; to them the whole situation described in the main part of the sūtra—the conversation between Vimalakīrti and his guests—must have been strangely reminiscent of their own rhetorical meetings devoted to the discussion of more or less philosophical themes. Vimalakīrti, the famous householder (or, in Chinese, *jushi* 居士, "retired scholar"!) of Vaiśālī, rich, honoured and well-versed in debate, resembled their own ideal of the eloquent *qingtan* adept; his "skill in expedient means" applied to save all creatures in accordance with their special nature and needs closely agreed with the "responding" activity of the *xuanxue* Sage; Vimalakīrti's famous moment of silence as the most adequate expression of the Absolute came near to the *xuanxue* concept of the ineffability of Truth and the ideal of "silent understanding"; the frequent and able use of the paradox and of short enigmatic statements corresponded with similar practices in *qingtan*.

For all these reasons the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* soon became one of the most influential scriptures in gentry Buddhism. Yin Hao studied it; we have already seen how Zhi Dun's formulation of the fundamental identity of Matter and Emptiness was primarily based on a passage from this sūtra. Zhi Dun and Xu Xun debated about its meaning at the mansion of the king of Kuaiji;[259] around the same time we find the theme of "the silence of Vimalakīrti" already used as a metaphor in polite conversation,[260] and Xi Chao quotes it several times in his *Fengfa yao*. Finally Vimalakīrti was the subject of one of the most famous works of the painter Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (345–411).[261] All this seems to indicate that the work was "discovered" by the cultured public around the middle of the fourth century AD.

About Yin Hao's Buddhist studies only some isolated facts are known. Somewhat more can be said about the Buddhist or pseudo-Buddhist ideas of Sun Chuo 孫綽 (ca. 300–380), a partisan and protegee of Wang Xizhi. He was famous as a composer of short epigrams and eulogies, the former *genre* being a literary and highly stylized counterpart of the current usage of "characterization" of persons. Some of his written miniature portraits of famous monks have been preserved as quotations, mainly in *GSZ*: fragments of his "Eulogies on Monks of Fame and Virtue" 名德沙門贊, "Characterizations of Monks of Fame and Virtue" 名德沙門題目, and "On Monks and Worthies" 道賢論, the latter being a critical evaluation of, and a comparison between, some well-known clerical and secular *literati* of the recent past, arranged in pairs.[262]

More important from a doctrinal point of view is his short treatise entitled "An Elucidation of the Way" 喻道論 which has been preserved in *HMJ*.[263] With its *xuanxue* terminology, its highly sophisticated language and its extreme hybridization of Buddhist and traditional Chinese ideas it forms a curious example of the type of "Buddhist Dark Learning" which was just

at that time coming into vogue in these circles, and which Sun Chuo must have absorbed at meetings and discussions between learned monks such as the one at Waguansi described in *SSXY* IB/18a–b, where Sun Chuo is stated to have been present.

The basic theme of Sun Chuo's *Yu Dao lun* is the reconciliation of the unworldly and a-social Buddhist creed with Confucianism with its stress on social virtues: the essential unity of "what is beyond the world" 方外 and "what is within the world" 方內. In the first section the author criticises the narrow-mindedness of vulgar *literati* who hold that "the highest Virtue is exhaustively illustrated by Yao and Shun, and the subtle words (of Truth) are completely expressed by *Laozi* and the *Yijing*", and who therefore remain blind to "the wonderful purport (of the doctrine) which reaches beyond this world, and the mysterious reflective (wisdom of the Saint) who dwells 'in the middle of the circle'."[264]

The highest truth is that disclosed by the Buddha. But what is "Buddha"? Sun Chuo gives a conveniently wide explanation which is still surprisingly correct: "'Buddha' means 'one who embodies the Way'" 佛也者體道者也, *i.e.*, one who has realized the Truth. But his further paraphrase brings us back to *xuanxue*: "It is the one who reacts to the stimuli (of the world) 應感 in all-pervading accordance (with the needs of all beings); the one who abstains from activity 無為 and who is yet universally active 無不為". In other words, the Buddha is the "non-active" saintly Ruler whose "transforming influence" is extended everywhere without any conscious exertion on his part, and who automatically reacts to the needs of the world without being involved in it. The Buddha is the cosmic ruler in his double aspect of rest and motion, wisdom and salutary activity, *Nirvāṇa* and *Upāya*: "Being without activity, he is empty and still and spontaneously (existing); being universally active, he spiritually transforms the myriad beings". In these two lines the essence of early gentry Buddhism is comprised, as far as the purely doctrinal aspects are concerned.

Then there is the concept of inexorable justice, the existence of the "natural Law" of *karman* which is the cosmic counterpart of worldly government: "This is the never-changing rule of (all) monarchs, (the principle) shared by (all) leaders in government". But *karman* works more faultlessly and adequately than its earthly replica, and in order to prove this, the effective working of *karman* is illustrated by means of several examples from Chinese history—a favourite theme in Buddhist apologetic and propagandists literature, and an indispensable one in view of the important role of historical precedent in Chinese thought.

In this way Sun Chuo reaches his main conclusion: "(The Duke of) Zhou and Confucius are identical with the Buddha; the Buddha is identical with (the Duke of) Zhou and Confucius! (The difference in) names merely denotes the inner and outer (teachings)". By manipulating Xiang Xiu's distinction between 迹 "(manifested) traces (of the Saint)" and 所以迹 "(the Saint's inner nature) by which the traces are made", the author reduces all contrasts between Buddhism and Confucianism to a mere difference in expedient means. The "traces", *i.e.*, the manifested doctrines of the Confucian sages and of the Buddha, diverge on account of the different circumstances under which they were revealed and to which they were adapted, but the inner nature of these saints, the source and motive power of their teachings, is one and the same; this inner nature is the fact of "being awakened" 覺, *i.e.*, "Buddha".

The latter part of the treatise consists of a long argumentation by which the author tries to prove that Buddhism, far from rejecting the ideal of Filial Piety 孝, constitutes the highest perfection of this virtue.

It is interesting to note that syncretism, the tendency to harmonize various doctrines, was applied by Sun Chuo as much to Daoism as to Buddhism. This appears most clearly from a short fragment of his "Eulogy on Laozi" 老子贊 quoted in *Chuxie ji*, where he applies to the Daoist saint almost the same words which are used in his *Yu Dao lun* about the Buddha: "Old (Master) Li is non-active, and yet universally active. His Way is identical with that of Yao and Confucius, but his (manifested) traces are still more divine and extraordinary".[265]

Wang Qia 王洽 (323–358) was the third son of Wang Dao; around the middle of the fourth century he was living in the East as governor of Wuxing 吳興 (N. Zhejiang). He also had some contact of a doctrinary nature with Zhi Dun. The table of contents of Lu Cheng's *Falun* mentions some pieces of correspondence between him and Zhi Dun about the latter's treatise *Jise youxuan lun* 即色遊玄論 in which Zhi Dun had expounded his theory about the relation between "Matter" and Emptiness. One of these documents, a letter by Wang Qia, has been preserved in *GHMJ*.[266] As is usually the case with this kind of literature, the letter mainly consists of polite phrases and *clichés*. Wang Qia asks for further explanations about the Master's theory, in order to guide him through the jungle of conflicting opinions, for it has come so far that "the discussions about 'being' and 'emptiness' are chaotic and widely divergent, and (we), later pupils, are lingering and full of doubt, and nobody knows how to decide (in this matter)". It is interesting to note that he, as a true Chinese scholar, demands "scriptural evidence" 徵之於文, for although the Master in his "Guide to the *Daoxing* (*jing*)" 道行指歸 has admirably elucidated the "emptiness of matter", it is not yet clear to him where he has obtained it: "I do not yet know whether the text of the scriptures is such that it contains any clear indications (as to your theory)—or did you obtain (this insight) 'outside the symbols' (of the written text) and expatiate on it by means of analogy?"

Xu Xun 許詢[267] was one of the great *qingtan* virtuosi and the most famous composer of five syllable poems 五言詩 of his time.[268] Around the middle of the fourth century he lived as a retired scholar at Kuaiji. He belonged to the group of aristocrats around Xie An and Sima Yu, who by material support enabled him to continue his idyllic recluse life—a remarkable custom of which we find more examples in the fourth century.[269] He figures at *qingtan* meetings at the mansion of Wang Meng 王濛—one of Zhi Dun's oldest friends—and as one of Zhi Dun's guests at the Western Monastery 西寺 at Kuaiji;[270] another passage (translated above, p. 118) shows Xu Xun and Zhi Dun as antagonists in a doctrinal tournament on a Buddhist subject (according to the commentary this was the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*) at the mansion of Sima Yu.

The most important devotee and student of the Buddhist doctrine among Zhi Dun's lay followers was no doubt Huan Wen's powerful confidant Xi Chao 郗超 (336–377). He was mainly active at the capital (where he terrorized the court), and here he must have become acquainted with Zhi Dun. His intense admiration for Zhi Dun is especially mentioned in his biography;[271]

it appears also from his "letter to a friend" preserved in *GSZ*,[272] in which he extols the master's virtues. On the other hand Zhi Dun esteemed Xi Chao very highly, and used to speak about him in very praising terms.[273]

Xi Chao's family is very interesting from a religious point of view, as it was strongly influenced by both Daoism and Buddhism. It is of course probable that here the Daoist sympathies of the family prepared the way to Buddhism; the Wang clan from Langye, which had also some fervently Daoist members and which played a role of paramount importance in the earliest history of gentry Buddhism, forms an analogous case. Xi Chao's father, Xi Yin 郄愔 (313–384), was an adherent of the Daoist "doctrine of the Heavenly Master" 天師道, and no doubt a highly valued member of the Daoist community, for he was extremely rich.[274] However, his Daoist sympathies did not prevent him from consulting the famous Buddhist physician-monk Yu Fakai 于法開 when he was ill.[275] Xi Chao's paternal uncle Xi Tan 郄曇 is also said to have been fervently Daoist,[276] although his personal name (*Tan* = *dharma*) seems to have some connection with Buddhism. This is certainly the case with Xi Chao's nephew who had the purely Buddhist name of Sengshi 僧施 ("Saṅghadāna"); in 377 the latter succeeded the childless Xi Chao as the head of the family.[277] One of Tan's sons, Xi Hui 郄恢 (died 403), is mentioned in *GSZ* as a friend of the monk Daozheng 道整, *i.e.*, the former magistrate of the (Tibetan) Former Qin and patron of Buddhism, Zhao Zheng 趙正.[278] Thus we have here again a clear case of Buddho-Daoist "family-tradition", which may have been one of the most important factors in the early spread of gentry Buddhism.

Xi Chao is, as far as we know, the only one among these gentry-devotees whose *œuvre* included a considerable number of writings on Buddhism. We know the titles of no less than fourteen documents, mainly correspondence on doctrinal matters with Buddhist masters and laymen; some of these were polemical, defending Zhi Dun's views against other theoreticians.[279]

One of his most important writings, a long treatise entitled *Fengfa yao* 奉法要, "Essentials of Religion", has fortunately been preserved in *HMJ* XIII 86.1–89.2. It is an extremely valuable text, a kind of Buddhist catechism composed by a prominent layman of the earliest period of gentry Buddhism. It shows to what extent these persons understood or (what is at least as important) misunderstood the message of Buddhism, what topics they selected as the most significant points of the doctrine, which scriptures they used to read and how they integrated this newly acquired knowledge into their traditional Chinese world-view. In view of the importance of this document for the doctrinal history of early Chinese Buddhism, a complete translation of the *Fengfa yao* has been given in Appendix B at the end of this chapter.

Two other prominent *literati* who both made their career in the service of Huan Wen may be mentioned here: Luo Han 羅含 (ca. 310–280; biogr. *JS* 92) and Sun Sheng 孫盛 (302–373; biogr. *JS* 82). Luo Han was a *xuanxue* scholar of some renown; Sun Sheng is mainly known as an historian: his works included the *Weishi chunqiu* 魏世春秋 in 20 *ch.* and the *Jin yangqiu* 晉陽秋 in 32 *ch.* Luo Han wrote a short treatise on rebirth, the *Gengsheng lun* 更生論, which has been preserved in *HMJ* V together with a letter with objections by Sun Sheng and Luo Han's answer (for these documents cf. above, p. 16, nr. 7). Of Luo Han no direct contacts with Buddhist monks

are known; Sun Sheng appears to have known Zhi Dun (*SSXY* IB/ 17a). However, we can hardly regard either the one or the other as a Buddhist. Luo Han tries to reconcile the process of transformation as expounded in Xiang-Guo's *Zhuangzi* commentary with the theory of the survival of the "soul" 神 after death. His argumentation has nothing Buddhist; since the world, taken as the sum total of all limited entities (數), forms a self-contained unity which undergoes neither increase nor decrease, it follows that there must be a kind of "conservation of energy", as we would say. Life (*i.e*., "souls") is continually devoured by death, and if these souls would not in some way survive and come back in other forms, the souls in the world would have already been "used up" long ago. It is clear that in this curious "scientific" justification of the theory of rebirth the Buddhist element has been reduced to a minimum; the author seems to have heard about the mere fact of rebirth, without having the slightest notion of its doctrinal implications—even the concept of *karman* is not mentioned! Rebirth is something to be welcomed; the Buddhist conception of the endless mass of pain and suffering connected with all existence is not touched upon.

Sun Sheng's objections are of the most traditional and stereotyped kind; when the body disintegrates, the "soul" must be dispersed together with it. It is probable that Sun Sheng belonged to the anti-Buddhist camp; in any case he was *anti-xuanxue*. This attitude appears from a fragment of his *Weishi chunqiu*[280] where he attacks Wang Bi, and still more clearly from his pro-Confucian and anti-Laozi essay entitled *Laozi yiwen fanxun* 老子疑問反訊 which, though included in *GHMJ* V, contains no trace of Buddhist influence.

We must also mention another retired scholar, Xie Fu 謝敷, who had been born in Kuaiji where he continued to live. According to a fragment of the *Xu Jin yangqiu* 續晉陽秋[281] he "venerated and believed in (the teachings of) the Buddhists. At first he entered the Taiping mountains (S.E. of Shaoxing, Zhejiang) where he lived for more than ten years, applying himself to (observing) the long fasting (periods) and entertaining (the *saṅgha*)". He was a protegee of Xi Chao's father Xi Yin, the "Daoist"—another example of the coexistence and amalgamation of both religions in this family. It is very probable that Xie Fu had personal contacts with Zhi Dun, although the sources do not mention these. In the table of contents of the *Falun* (*CSZJJ* XII) we find mention of five letters written by Xi Chao to Xie Fu, and of the latter's correspondence on doctrinal subjects (識三本,三識) with a priest here called "the monk Zhi" 支道人, *var* "the monk You" 友道人. The first reading could refer to Zhi Dun (although Lu Cheng in his titles regularly mentions Zhi Dun as "the master of the doctrine" 法師 and not as a mere "monk"), whereas "the monk Yu" could be Zhu Fayou 竺法友, one of Zhu Daoqian's disciples in the South-East. Xie Fu also entertained correspondence with one of Xi Chao's protegees, the famous recluse-painter Dai Kui 戴逵, likewise a Buddhist, whose melancholy remark at the grave of Zhi Dun we have mentioned before (above, p. 122), and who no doubt also belonged to the circle of Zhi Dun's acquaintances.[282] All these documents have been lost; all that remains of Xie Fu's writings is a preface to his commentary on the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (the same scripture on which Zhi Dun had written a commentary) which has been included in *CSZJJ*,[283] and a single line from a letter to Xi Chao quoted in

Li Shan's commentary to the *Wenxuan*:[284] "The Highest Truth 至理 is still and mysterious, and is not to be illustrated by words or symbols". This dictum, which is found with minor variations throughout early Chinese Buddhist literature, aptly illustrates what many cultured devotees of Zhi Dun's time sought in Buddhism: a new attempt to define the Mystery, the Way that cannot be spoken about and the Name that cannot be named; in other words, a new approach to precisely the same concept which for more than a century had been the central topic of indigenous *xuanxue* thought.

If the adepts of Dark Learning were primarily attracted by the philosophical side of Buddhism, other devotees or interested laymen stressed the value of its moral teachings. In fact, the writings of the early Buddhists in their accounts of the Doctrine testify of two different conceptions of Buddhism which closely correspond to the more speculative (*xuanxue*) and the predominantly moralistic-ritualistic ("Confucian") trends in secular Chinese thought. Xi Chao's *Fengfa yao* (translated in the Appendix to this chapter) clearly belongs to the latter *genre*: the philosophical element is very insignificant, and Buddhism is primarily described as the doctrine of the retribution of good and evil deeds and of compassion, moderation and purity. Another good example of this almost purely moralistic appreciation of Buddhism is the short description given by one of Zhi Dun's acquaintances, the famous historian Yuan Hong 袁宏 (328–376 AD) in his *Hou-Han ji* 後漢記.[285] Here no word about the inexpressible *arcanum* which is emptiness and non-being: Yuan Hong defines Buddhism as "the doctrine which has the cultivation of goodness and tenderness as its principal tenets". Its adherents "do not kill living beings, and apply themselves to the pursuit of purity and tranquillity". It teaches rebirth and the retribution of all acts, and therefore "they value the practice of good deeds and the cultivation of the Way, as means to refine their spirits", for these practices eventually lead to the cessation of rebirth and to Buddhahood.

Monastic communities in the South-East; *colleagues and disciples of Zhu Daoqian and Zhi Dun.*

Since ca. 340 the famous Zhu Daoqian (286–374; cf. above p. 98 sqq.) was living with his numerous disciples in the Shan mountains in northern Zhejiang, where he spent the last thirty years of his life; his activity in the "Eastern Region" was only once interrupted by a short stay at the capital under emperor Ai (362–366), when he had been summoned to the court in order to expound the larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. At his mountain retreat at Yangshan 仰山 the Buddhist gentleman-scholar transmitted his hybrid teachings to monks and laymen:

> "Sometimes he expounded the *vaipulya* (*-sūtras, i.e*., the *Prajñāpāramitā*), sometimes he explained *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, so that for all those who followed and revered him the Inner and Outer (teachings: Buddhism and secular philosophy) were combined and harmonized".[286]

On the base of such an amalgamation of *xuanxue* and *Prajñāpāramitā* he must have developed his own method of exegesis, his "theory" which in later sources is called "the Variant School of Original Non-being" 本無異宗. One single fragment of a further unknown treatise by Zhu Daoqian has been transmitted. Here the relation between "fundamental non-being" 本無 ("the

shapeless emptiness out of which the myriad things are produced") and the phenomenal world is described as a temporal one, matter or the "four great elements" (*mahābhūta* 四大: earth, water, fire and air) being the "product" of original non-being.[287] Later authors (Sengzhao, Jizang) severely criticized this theory as being utterly un-Buddhist and heterodox. We shall not speculate here about its meaning and background; the extreme scantiness of information defies all attempts to give more than a purely hypothetical interpretation.

Zhu Daoqian's nearest companions and disciples closely resembled their illustrious master in their way of living. At the community at Yangshan not only Buddhist but also secular literature and art were cultivated.

Here we find the first known Buddhist biographer Zhu Faji 竺法濟,[288] who compiled the "Lives of Eminent Buddhist Recluses" 高逸沙門傳, according to *LTSPC* VII (74.1) a little work in only one *juan*, written during the reign of emperor Xiaowu (373–397).[289] The *SSXY* commentary contains some long quotations from this work which was devoted to the lives of prominent gentry monks like Zhu Daoqian, Zhi Dun and other representatives of the ideal of "noble retirement" 嘉遁, suggested by the word *yi* 逸 "untrammeled, free and unconventional" in the title. The work was used by Huijiao in compiling the *GSZ*, and it is mentioned as such in his preface. The fact that in one of the existing fragments Zhi Dun is stated to have died at Luoyang, and that in another passage the author does not seem to know the original surname of his own master Zhu Daoqian[290] does not inspire much confidence in its accuracy and reliability.

Another monk in this community, Kang Fashi 康法識[291]—his religious surname indicates that he was not a direct pupil of Zhu Daoqian—was not only an exegete 義學, but also an able calligrapher. He is, in fact, the first "calligrapher-monk" known in Chinese history. At this time calligraphy had already become a polite art practised with more or less success by most of the prominent *literati* and statesmen; the earliest lists of famous calligraphers contain the names of such illustrious personalities as Wang Dao, Wang Qia, Yu Liang, Xi Yin, Xi Chao and Huan Xuan. It is only natural that the practice of this skill or art flowed over into the monastery as soon as the doctrine and the clergy came to play a role in the life of the cultured upper classes.

Kang Fashi is said to have held an artistic contest with Kang Xin 康昕, one of the greatest calligraphers of his time. Kang Xin was a foreigner, probably of Sogdian origin; however, his activities as a calligrapher prove that he was completely sinicized. As far as we know, he was not a monk. The earliest references to him are found in the *Cai gulai nengshu renming* 采古來能書人名 by the calligrapher Yang Xin 羊欣 (first half fifth century; edited by Wang Sengqian 王僧虔, late fifth century) and in Wang Sengqian's *Lunshu* 論書.[292] In the former work Kang Xin is called a "barbarian" 胡人, and we find Kang Xin and Kang Fashi (here called "the monk Shi" 識道人) treated together in one paragraph in the *Lunshu*.[293] This is to my knowledge the only place outside *GSZ* where Kang Fashi is mentioned as a calligrapher.

Copying out the text of Buddhist scriptures, in itself a meritorious religious work regularly stipulated in Buddhist canonical literature, provided a new field for calligraphy, in which the satisfaction of piety and the joy of artistic

work were combined. Kang Fashi's calligraphed manuscripts of sūtras were highly valued;[294] the same is said about copies of Buddhist sūtras executed by Xie Fu (above, p. 136) and by a certain Xie Jing 謝靜 who is further unknown.[295]

Then there was Zhu Daoqian's pupil Zhu Fayou 竺法友, whom the master especially instructed in "Abhidharma".[296] It remains obscure what kind of Abhidharma text(s) is meant; we must probably think of the short excerpts and sūtras containing series of classified terms and concepts (數, "numbers", as they were called), such as had already been translated by An Shigao and his school. The monumental Hīnayānist *summae theologiae*, which were not known to the Chinese before the very end of the fourth century, are of course out of the question.

Zhu Fayou excelled in memorizing these difficult and extremely technical texts; interesting are the words which Zhu Daoqian is said to have spoken to his scholastic-minded disciple:

> "To be able to recite whatever had (once) passed one's eyes—(that gift) was praised by the Ancients. If Śākyamuni would once more arise (in the realm) of the Great Jin, he would certainly choose you as one of the five hundred" (*i.e.*, as one of the 500 arhats who according to tradition recited by heart and compiled the Buddhist canon after the Buddha's decease, at the "council" at Rājagṛha).[297]

Zhu Fayou probably entertained some contact with Xie Fu (cf. above, p. 136); later he founded his own monastery in the Shan mountains, the Fataisi 法臺寺.

Activities in the field of speculative thought are reported of Zhu Daoqian's disciple Zhu Fayun 竺法蘊 who excelled in the study and exegesis of the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* (方光經). He seems to have been the same person who in later sources[298] is called Zhu Fawen 竺法溫, and who there is credited with the introduction of the "theory of the Non-existence of (conscious) Thought" 心無義, which had somewhat earlier also been propagated by Zhi Mindu (cf. above, p. 100). Nothing is known about the relation between these two theoreticians or between their ideas. Of Zhu Fawen's (or Zhu Fayun's) treatise "On the Non-existence of Thought" 心無論 only one short passage is known in two slightly different versions, both fragments being quoted by Anchō (cf. note 298) from a probably sixth century anonymous work (the *Shanmen xuanyi* 山門玄義) which in turn quoted Fawen's essay. Here the idea is developed that the tenet of the "non-existence" of matter is only taught in the scriptures as an expedient means, a pious trick, in order "to stop (the activity) of the inner mind (of the student)", and that existence, being endowed with visual form, must have reality. "Non-being" (*i.e.*, Emptiness) is not an objective fact, but merely denotes the mental state when "the things of the outer world are no longer present among the inner feelings".[299]

Much less information is available about disciples of Zhi Dun. The two masters themselves no doubt knew each other. According to a well-known story in *SSXY*, *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* and *GSZ*, Zhi Dun once sent a messenger to Zhu Daoqian and asked the latter's permission to buy a small mountain-ridge near the Yang mountain from him (or, more probably, from Zhu Daoqian's monastery on that mountain, as the actual owner of the grounds). Zhu Daoqian sent the messenger back with the famous answer

> "When you come, you shall have it at once. Who has ever heard about (famous hermits like) Zhaofu and Xu You buying a mountain to live in retirement?"[300]

Later Zhi Dun wrote a letter to a certain "monk from Koguryŏ" 高驪道人 (the first mention of Buddhism in connection with this Korean kingdom), part of which is quoted in *GSZ*; here he extols the virtues and talents of Zhu Daoqian, mentions his former missionary activities at the capital and describes his present life of teaching and exegesis on the Yangshan.[301] Finally we find Zhu Daoqian together with Sun Chuo present at a debate between Zhi Dun and an unknown monk from the North, but this debate took place at the capital in the Waguan monastery, *i.e.*, in the years 364/365, when both masters were at Jiankang.[302] All this proves that Zhi Dun and Zhu Daoqian knew each other rather well, and there may have been regular contacts between these two centres of gentry Buddhism.

However, very little is known about Zhi Dun's disciples; the sources contain a few names of monks, and little more than that. We hear of a certain Faqian 法虔, Zhi Dun's very gifted companion, who died shortly before the master, *i.e.*, ca. 365. Zhi Dun, who esteemed him very much, was broken by grief; the story as told in *SSXY* even implies that the loss of his dearest friend caused his own death. Here again the power of Chinese literary tradition becomes manifested, for at the death of his friend, Zhi Dun wrote a kind of philosophical elegy entitled *Qiewu zhang* 切梧章 using traditional literary themes to suggest his feelings of distress and loneliness. A similar *cliché*-reaction is attributed to Zhu Fatai at the death of one of his favourite disciples.[303]

One of Zhi Dun's pupils, whose name is unknown, was the author of a commentary to the *Śūraṁgamasamādhisūtra*, the preface of which has been preserved in *CSZJJ*.[304] The commentary consisted of Zhi Dun's glosses, noted down and edited by this monk who in the preface states to have obtained the master's oral explanations. The preface gives a short description in *xuanxue* terms of the purport of this still very influential sūtra. Before concluding with the traditional remarks about the author's awareness of the shortcomings of his work and his hope that later experts may come to fill the gaps and correct the mistakes, the anonymous commentator praises Zhi Dun's wisdom and insight, and mentions in passing the basic subjects of his teachings:

> "The brilliance of the *śramaṇa* Zhi Daolin's religious mind 道心 surpasses that of (any person of) former generations; his spiritual insight has sprung from his heavenly (natural) constitution. By the superior clarity (of his intellect) and penetrating understanding he mysteriously reflects upon (the truth of) the "Emptiness of Matter" 色空 (cf. above, p. 123); starting (his investigation) from the destiny (as determined) in the past, he orderly exposes (the meaning of) the Three Vehicles (cf. above, p. 118)".[305]

The masters of Yuanhuasi.

In the fourth century AD there was in the Shan mountains another centre of gentry Buddhism, different from and even rivalling with those of Zhu Daoqian and Zhi Dun, but as much as these entertaining close relations with the cultured laity. This was the Yuanhua monastery 元華寺, founded early in the fourth century by Yu Falan 于法蘭 from Gaoyang 高陽 (northern Hebei) and his disciples Yu Fakai 于法開 and Yu Daosui 于道邃.

The sources say nothing about Yu Falan's teachings (about his dates see Ch. II note 135). However, his two famous disciples were both specialized in

the *Prajñāpāramitā*, whereas Yu Fakai also studied the *Lotus sūtra*, and in this they may have followed the example set by their master. On the other hand, Yu Falan's biography speaks of his great endurance and energy in practising ascetism and *dhyāna* in the mountains. Most interesting is his last journey; after having settled on the Shicheng Shan 石城山 in the Shan mountains, he felt the urge to obtain more complete copies of the scriptures and to be instructed in the doctrine in its land of origin. At some date between 325 and 335 he set out for India together with Yu Daosui; it is worth nothing that in doing so they took the southern route, via Jiaozhou. At Xianglin 象林 in Indo-China both master and disciple fell ill and died; Yu Daosui was then only thirty years old. With the northern monk Kang Falang 康法朗 from Zhongshan (cf. ch. II note 204) who somewhat earlier went to Central Asia, they are the first known Chinese "pilgrims" after the pioneer Zhu Shixing. Most of the earliest Buddhist travellers did not go farther than the Buddhist centres at the Central Asian oases; Yu Falan and his pupil are, as far as we know, the first pilgrims who tried to reach India.

Yu Daosui had been a real gentleman-monk of the type of Zhi Dun. He was, beside an expert on the *Prajñāpārimatā*, "a clever debater"; after good *qingtan* fashion he had been "characterized" by his master[306] as "noble and simple, refined and sincere, with the manners of the Ancients" 高簡雅素有古人之風.

Moreover, like the more famous Yu Fakai, he was an able physician, "good at (preparing) medical drugs", which seems to have been a tradition in this school. From the earliest times of Chinese Buddhism, medical art was closely connected with the work of foreign missionaries,[307] but among Chinese monks Yu Daosui and Yu Fakai are the first who are said to have excelled in medical science.

Yu Fakai (ca. 310–370) was Yu Falan's most brilliant disciple. Around 362, shortly after his successful escape from the hands of the metropolitan police (cf. note 138), he enlarged the Yuanhua monastery of which he had become the head since his master's departure. He was one of the most famous physicians of his time, and various anecdotes about his medical cases are told in the sources.[308] Quite in accordance with the principles of Buddhism—which professes essentially to be a "therapy"—he used to justify his medical profession as "to elucidate the Six Perfections (*pāramitā*) in order to eliminate the (mental) disease of the four evil ones (四魔 the *kleśas*, the *skandhas*, death and the god Māra), and (at the same time) to investigate the nine kinds of pulsation 九候 in order to cure the maladies of wind and cold, and thereby to benefit oneself as well as others — how would that not be permissible?".[309]

Yu Fakai professed to transmit the art of the early fourth century Indian thaumaturge and missionary Jīvaka 耆域 who ca. 306 had come to Luoyang,[310] but his diagnosis and therapy were essentially Chinese. In any case, this knowledge served to open the doors of the highest gentry to the preacher who, in the words of Sun Chuo, "propagated the doctrine by means of (medical) art" 以數術弘教 (the term *shushu*, normally reserved for various other, mainly mantic, arts, here evidently refers to medicine). Among his lay patrons we find Xie An, Wang Tanzhi (for whose less amical relations with Zhi Dun see above, p. 119) and, some years later, emperor Ai (reigned 362–366).

Here, at the Yuanhuasi and at the Lingjiusi 靈鷲寺 which he founded

afterwards, Yu Fakai developed his own "theory", by which he came into conflict with Zhi Dun and the latter's theory of "Emptiness of Matter" or "Matter as such". This tension between the two main centres of gentry Buddhism in the South-East led to vehement debates between the Buddhist masters and between their respective lay adherents.

Yu Fakai's theory is in later sources called the "School of Stored (Impressions of) Consciousness" 識含宗. As usual, the theory was embodied in a short treatise; of this work, named "On the Double Truth of Delusive Consciousness" 惑識二諦論, one passage has been preserved:

> "The Triple World is the abode of the Long Night 長夜 (of birth and death); conscious thought 心識 is the primary cause of the Great Dream (of existence). All (impressions of) existence which we now perceive are seen in that dream. But as soon as we awaken from the Great Dream and the Long Night grows light, then delusive consciousness becomes extinguished, and the Triple World (is realized as being) all empty. At that time (the mind), fully enlightened, 'has nothing from which it is born, and yet there is nothing which it does not produce'."[311]

Various factors in this theory may be distinguished. Zhi Dun emphasized the idea that the absolute as the immanent reality in all phenomena is to be found in the phenomena as such (即色), so that the latter do not need to be eliminated in order to reach the absolute (非色滅空)—a standpoint which clearly foreshadows the Mādhyamika tenet of the virtual identity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa, saṃvṛti* and *paramārtha*. Yu Fakai in his theory stressed another aspect of Mahāyāna thought: the idea of *māyā* 幻化, the utterly illusory nature of all dharmas. In doing so he uses the simile of the Long Night (*dīrgharātra*, here literally translated and interpreted as 長夜, although the Sanskrit word, esp. as an adverb *dīrgharātram*, is commonly used to denote "(for) a long time"): the long sleep during which all beings are lost in anxious dreams. Yu Fakai may also have been inspired by the famous series of similes (*upamāna* 喻, normally nine or ten) which in Mahāyāna literature are often used to suggest the illusory nature of all *dharmas*: "like a magical illusion 幻, a dream 夢, an echo 響, a shining (reflected image) 光, a shadow 影, a metamorphosis 化, a bubble 水中泡, an image in a mirror 鏡中像, a mirage 熱時炎, the moon reflected in the water 水中月.[312]

In opposition to this Long Night in which consciousness (識 here probably for *vijñāna*) creates a world of dream-images, Yu Fakai poses the state of mental enlightenment 覺, *bodhi*, which term is here literally interpreted as "awakening" from the dream. Thus "awakened" to truth, one passes from the night of illusion into the realm of reality which is that of Emptiness.

We must not underestimate the Chinese element in this theory, as the dream is a favourite theme not only in Buddhism, but also in Daoism. Parallel with the expression "Long Night", the author uses the term "Great Dream" which is no doubt borrowed from the famous passage in the second chapter of *Zhuangzi*:

> "How can I know that the dead do not regret their former clinging to life? Those who dream of carousing may in the morning wail and weep; those who dream of wailing and weeping may in the morning go out to (enjoy themselves with) hunting. When dreaming, they do not know that they are dreaming; in their dream they even (try to) interpret their dreams. Only when they are awake, they realize that they dreamed. Thus there is (also) a Great Awakening 大覺, and only then we

> shall know this Great Dream.... Confucius and you are both dreaming. That I call you dreaming is also a dream. This saying may be called a paradox...".[313]

Like all early Buddhist theoreticans, Yu Fakai still recognizes the existence of a permanent spiritual principle 神 in man, which is polluted and darkened by the influences of the world. This base of future enlightenment is to be purified and liberated from the fetters of the body, and eventually it will be mystically "darkened" 冥 on a higher plane of existence, but not extinguished 滅 or eliminated 盡. Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443), whose *Mingfo lun* 明佛論 (ca. 433 AD) shows the influence of Yu Fakai's ideas,[314] still holds that the *dharmakāya* 法身 means "pure existence of the spirit" without any material support.[315] Yu Fakai's "awakened" spirit is merely another way of stating this basic concept in early Chinese Buddhism, a form of *ātmagrāha* which only very slowly yielded to the more "correct" Buddhist views expounded by Kumārajīva and later teachers.

There seems to have been an intense rivalry between the schools of Zhi Dun and Yu Fakai, enhanced by their geographical proximity; during a certain period both centres must have been situated at the Shicheng 石城 mountain in the Shan region, Zhi Dun at Qiguangsi 棲光寺 and Yu Fakai at Yuanhuasi. We read how "Yu Fakai used to quarrel with Zhi Dun about the (latter's) theory of "Emptiness of Matter"; (at these debates) He Mo 何默 (elsewhere unknown) from Lujiang 盧江 elucidated Yu Fakai's objections, whereas Xi Chao from Gaoping 高平 formulated Zhi Dun's explanations: (the documents pertaining to this controversy) have all been transmitted".[316] Another passage speaks of a quarrel between Zhi Dun and a certain Fawei 法威, a disciple of Yu Fakai who was sent by his master to Shanyin 山陰 (in Kuaiji) where Zhi Dun at that time expounded the smaller version of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, probably at the mansion of Sima Yu.[317] Zhi Dun's most important lay helper was Xi Chao; Yu Fakai counted among his partisans the elsewhere unknown He Mo, and probably also Wang Tanzhi, whose opposition to Zhi Dun may have more personal than ideological motives. The correspondence between Xi Chao and Yu Fakai mentioned by Lu Cheng[318] was no doubt devoted to this subject of controversy; the documents referred to in the passage which we translated above may have been these letters.

Zhu Fachong.

Somewhat later, in the second half of the fourth century, another learned monk named Zhu Fachong 竺法崇[319] was also active in the Shan region, at the Gexian Shan 葛峴山, where he led the idyllic life of a scholarly recluse. He used to converse with the well-known retired gentleman Kong Chunzhi 孔淳之[320] whose life forms another good illustration of the *yinshi* 隱士 ideal. Like Zhu Fachong and other companions mentioned in his biography, he "by nature loved the beauty of mountains-and-water"; he roamed through the mountains of Kuaiji, refused all official posts which were offered to him, and devoted himself together with Zhu Fachong to "wandering beyond (the world of) men" 人外之遊. The poetic words in which they described their arcadic pleasures (quoted in *GSZ*) eloquently testify of the new function and significance which the monastic life had obtained in gentry circles. Fachong was important as an expert on the *Lotus sūtra*. He was, as far as we know, the

first Chinese who wrote a commentary on this scripture: the *Fahua yishu* 法華義疏 in four *juan*,[321] which, like practically all early Chinese Buddhist commentaries, has been lost.

Masters of Huqiu Shan and Ruoye Shan.

Finally we must mention two other centres of Buddhism in the region East of the capital: the Huqiu Shan 虎丘山 North-West of Wu (Suzhou, S. Jiangsu), and the Ruoye Shan 若耶山 (South of the modern Shaoxing, Zhejiang). The most prominent Buddhist master, active at both centres, was Zhu Daoyi 竺道壹 (ca. 330–440);[322] as a disciple of Zhu Fatai 竺法汰 he had been living at the capital during the period of ca. 370 to 387. Zhu Daoyi himself came from Wu, and like so many of his clerical and lay contemporaries, he seems to have preferred the life in this country of mountains and streams to the bustle of the capital. When the prefect of Danyang 丹陽 (East of Nanjing) was ordered by the court to bring him back to the capital, he remonstrated in a curious letter of protest (cf. below), after which the authorities left him in peace.

He spent some years at the Ruoye Shan together with another scholarly recluse, the monk Bo Daoyou (see below). The prefect Wang Hui 王薈 (the youngest son of Wang Dao) built for him the Jiaxiang monastery 嘉祥寺 and made Daoyi the head of it. Here the scholar-monk, who, like most of his prominent colleagues, "was fully conversant with the inner (Buddhist) and outer (secular) teachings", explained the scriptures, stimulated the making of images and statues,[323] maintained a strict monastic discipline and attracted a great number of disciples from different regions, on account of which he was called "the general surveyor (維那 = *karmadāna*) of nine provinces". It was probably here that he developed his "theory" which in later sources is called the "School of (phenomenal) Illusion" 幻化宗. In the only fragment of his treatise "On the Double Truth of the Spirit" 神二諦論 which is known, he states that all phenomena (法, *dharma*) are illusory and form the "worldly truth" 世諦, whereas the spirit 神, as the base of wisdom and enlightenment, is not "empty" but, on the contrary, the principle of the highest truth (第一義); but for the "spirit" there would be nothing which would "become enlightened".[324] No further information is available, and for us it is difficult to see in how far this theory differed from other contemporary methods of exegesis. Towards the end of his life Zhu Daoyi returned to his native Wu, and died ca. 400 at the Huqiu Shan.

Around the same time we find at the Huqiu Shan the psalmodist Zhi Tanyue 支曇籥,[325] one of the last preachers of Indo-scythian origin in China. Little is known about him. His family lived at the capital; as we shall see below, he was at some date in the last quarter of the century summoned to court to become the teacher of the pious emperor Xiaowu (reigned 373–397). Zhi Tanyue introduced a new way of chanting Buddhist verse which became very popular; he composed a number of Buddhist hymns in six-syllable lines 六言梵唄 which were still current at the beginning of the sixth century.[326]

At Ruoye Shan we find since ca. 365 the monk Zhu Fakuang 竺法曠 (327–402).[327] His family was of northern origin, hailing from the very ancient Buddhist centre Xiapei 下邳 in northern Jiangsu, but living at Wu. Here Fakuang had contact with Xie An before he came to the region of Kuaiji

and settled at Ruoye Shan. His activities form an interesting combination of medical-exorcising practices and Buddhist devotion. The latter aspect appears from the fact that he was a specialist on the *Lotus sūtra* and the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, always reciting these two scriptures wherever he went. At Ruoye Shan he kept in his monastery a statue of the Buddha Amitābha (made by a clerical artisan named Zhu Daolin 竺道隣), probably as an object for mental concentration. On the other hand, he knew a great number of "divine spells" of curative power, and healed many patients during a pestilence in the eastern provinces. At Ruoye Shan he conversed with some of Zhi Dun's lay followers, notably Xi Chao and Xie Fu. Under emperor Xiaowu (373–397) he was summoned to the capital, where he died in 402.

Another interesting figure at Ruoye Shan is the monk and "retired scholar" Bo Daoyou 帛道猷,[328] also native from the East (from Shanyin 山陰 near Kuaiji), whom we have already mentioned in connection with Zhu Daoyi. His biography speaks about his skill as a calligrapher and about his idyllic life in the mountains. He invited Zhu Daoyi to Ruoye Shan, and there they roamed around, "enjoying themselves with (Buddhist) scriptures and calligraphy" 以經書自娛. These words denote already to what extent the monastic ideal had been modified and even secularized. Still more clearly this is expressed in the letter of invitation sent by Bo Daoyou to Zhu Daoyi as quoted in *GSZ*:

> "Only now I have found the opportunity to roam freely through the mountain forests, and to let my mind indulge in the (study of) Confucian and Buddhist literature. Everything which touches my emotion becomes a poem! I go over the mountain peaks to gather medicinal (herbs), and I consume them in order to escape from disease—all this is abundant joy. The only thing which I regret is that I do not spend these days together with you. So I have made a poem, which runs as follows:
>
> "Chains of mountain-peaks over thousands of *li*;
> the slender forest girds the tranquil ford.
> When the clouds move on, the distant mountains fade away;
> When the wind comes, the wild-growing brushwood becomes (even more) inaccessible.
> The thatched roof (of the hermitage), hidden away, is not visible,
> but from the sounds of chickens I know that there is someone (living there).
> When I slowly walk on along the path
> I see firewood left behind everywhere (by the recluse).
> And then I know that, after a hundred ages,
> there are still people from primeval times.[329]

The anachoretes.

In the immediate neighbourhood of all these gentlemen-monks, and yet both practically and doctrinally moving in a different world, there were what we would call the "anachoretes"; the "old men in the mountains" who in caves and solitary mountain hermitages perpetuated the tradition of *dhyāna* practices, thaumaturgy and shamanism. A few passages in *GSZ* allow us some glimpses of the life of these masters who together with small groups of disciples devoted themselves to trance and ascetism, meanwhile stirring the imagination of the population by their alleged supernatural powers and their occasional missionary activities among tigers and local mountain spirits.

There was the *dhyāna* master Bo Sengguang 帛僧光 who used to remain in trance during seven days at a stretch. Fifty-three years long he lived on the

Shicheng mountain in his hermitage, the Yinqiusi 隱丘寺 which had been built for him by his disciples. He died ca. 397 at the age of 110; his body, purified by ascetism, did not decay, and several decades later it was still sitting in its posture of meditation.[330]

There was also the contemporary thaumaturge and exorcist Zhu Tanyou 竺曇猷, who, like Bo Sengguang, entertained regular contacts with ferocious animals, mountain spirits and Daoist immortals. At some date during the period 376–397 he was requested by the court to avert the influence of an "evil star". After five days of exorcising (probably by chanting *dhāraṇīs*; no details are given) a "spirit-child" in a blue garment appeared and informed him of the fact that the evil power had gone. He died ca. 390 in his mountain cave.[331]

Miraculous stories of the same type are told about the *dhyāna* master Zhi Tanlan 支曇蘭 from Qingzhou 青州 (Shandong), who at the end of the fourth century settled in the Shan mountains, and later moved to Shifeng 始豐 (near the modern Tiantai 天台 in W. Zhejiang).[332]

All this obviously belongs to another level of Chinese Buddhism. It is the mixture of Buddhist elements not with *xuanxue* and gentry ideals but with Daoist religion and other popular cults—the mixture which from the earliest times down to the present day has formed the Buddhist or pseudo-Buddhist creed of the illiterate population. Here no direct contact with the cultured laity, no Dark Learning nor *qingtan*, no scholastic, literary or artistic activities, but tales of miracles and ascetism, trance and ecstasy which are signally absent from the biographies of fourth century society-monks like Zhi Dun and Zhu Daoqian.

In the North, under the foreign rulers, the shamanistic aspect remains very important even in the highest circles; it completely dominates the court-Buddhism preached by Fotudeng and other missionaries around Shi Le and Shi Hu, and even at the much more sinicized courts of the Former and Later Qin (Fu Jian and Yao Xing) the magical power of both the priest and of the great Spell which is the doctrine itself are much more emphasized.

It cannot be doubted that the South has been more creative. Here the fourth century forms the heroic period of Buddhist speculative thought, "exegesis" (義學), whereas the North from the last decade of this century onward is characterized by an enormous activity in the field of translation (which actually from Han times onward had been a typically northern phenomenon, Zhi Qian—of northern origin, but active in the South—being the only important exception). The later "exegesis" which came to flourish in the school of Kumārajīva at Chang'an in the first decades of the fifth century is no doubt spectacular and extremely important for the later history of Chinese Buddhism, but the originality of the ideas manipulated by thinkers like Sengzhao remains a problem. They had certainly undergone the stimulating influence of the new literature translated and orally elucidated by Kumārajīva, but their basic ideas and concepts as well as their method of argumentation still form a continuation of the earlier types of Buddhist *xuanxue* such as developed by Dao'an at Xiangyang and no doubt from there transplanted to Chang'an.

These basic ideas and patterns of thought which remain characteristic of Chinese gentry Buddhism as a whole appear for the first time in the writings of the Buddhist theoreticians of the South-east around the middle of the fourth century, whose lives and activities we have briefly described in the foregoing pages.

In the meantime, other forces were at work at the capital Jiankang. There, in the immediate surroundings of the emperor and the seat of the central government, a typical southern court-Buddhism developed. It became more and more entangled in the intrigues of the leading cliques and factions at the court, and around the end of the fourth century it appears to have gained considerable political power and influence. This again leads in the first years of the next century to a renewed clash between the Buddhist Church and the secular government, represented by the dictator Huan Xuan.

At the same time, less politically tainted theoreticians and preachers carry on the work of exegesis along "Chinese" lines, developing and propagating "theories" like their colleagues in the Eastern Region, who also occasionally come to stay in the large monasteries at the capital. The doctrinal development of metropolitan Buddhism is repeatedly stimulated by influences from the other Buddhist centres in the central provinces.

Buddhism at the capital and at the court in the second half of the fourth century.

Of the no doubt very numerous metropolitan clergy only a few persons are known to us by name. Apart from people like Zhu Daoqian, Zhi Dun, Yu Fakai and other monks who lived outside the capital but who occasionally came to preach there, there are two prominent Buddhist masters who spent a considerable part of their life at Jiankang, and who played an important role in the development of metropolitan Buddhism. These are Zhu Sengfu 竺僧敷 (ca. 300–370) and Zhu Fatai 竺法汰 (320–387); both were of northern origin.

Zhu Sengfu[333] was a refugee from the North who had arrived at Jiankang in the second decade of the fourth century. The *GSZ* must be wrong where it reports that at that time he already took up his residence at the Waguansi, for this monastery was not built before 363/364. It is probable that after that date he moved to the newly founded monastery where Zhu Fatai also came to live after 365, and that it was here that the debates between the two masters took place. Like practically all prominent gentry-monks of the period, he was a specialist in the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Fangguang jing* 放光經 and *Daoxing jing* 道行經), and his explanations of these scriptures were highly esteemed by the monks at the capital. "Master (Seng-)fu's way of studying the subtleties (of the *Prajñāpāramitā*) is most excellent, and none of us can match him (in this)", as a certain monk Daosong 道嵩 wrote in a letter[334] to Dao'an, who at that time was probably still living in the North.

Zhu Sengfu was mainly active in the field of exegesis; he wrote commentaries on the scriptures mentioned above, and took an active part in the doctrinal disputes of his day. A theory (unknown from elsewhere) is said to have been popular in clerical circles at Jiankang at this time, according to which "the spirit has a (material) form 形, and its (substance) is merely more wonderful (妙: mysterious, refined) than that of the myriad things (of the visible world)". To counter this view, Zhu Sengfu developed in his treatise "On the Formlessness of the Spirit" 神無形論 the theory that the spirit 神, being wholly without form and immaterial, is an everlasting principle, different from and lying beyond the realm of limited entities.[335] By this he is said to have vanquished the "materialist" heretics among the clergy at the capital.

Zhu Sengfu seems to have made a great impression on Zhu Fatai who

shortly after 365 arrived at Jiankang with a great number of disciples. It is quite probable that Zhu Fatai's own version of the "theory of Fundamental Non-being" 本無義 (about which nothing specific is known) was influenced by or resulted from their debates at the capital which he mentions in a letter to Dao'an.[336] That Zhu Fatai was influenced by Zhu Sengfu's ideas (in which, to judge from the only surviving fragment of his treatise, the concept of the "spirit" 神 was of great importance) is the more probable since Zhu Fatai is said to have expounded Zhu Sengfu's theory in several letters to Dao'an; the documents in question had already been lost at the beginning of the sixth century.[337]

Zhu Fatai (320–387)[338] came from Dongguan 東莞 (the modern Yishui 沂水 in central Shandong). As a young man he had studied together with Dao'an at Ye under the famous thaumaturge-missionary Fotudeng, the (probably Sogdian) court-chaplain of the Hun rulers Shi Le and Shi Hu.

In or shortly after 349 he left Ye and followed the then already famous Dao'an on his peregrinations through the northern and central provinces. When Dao'an with his host of followers finally fled to Xiangyang (365), he sent Fatai with more than forty disciples to the capital with the significant words: "At that place there are many gentlemen 君子 who appreciate the refined manners 風流 (of the cultured priest)".[339]

At Jingzhou (near Jiangling 江陵 in Hubei), Fatai fell ill, and was respectfully treated by the governor Huan Huo[340] and attended by Huiyuan, whom Dao'an had sent for this purpose from Xiangyang. The delay at Jingzhou was, moreover, enlivened by heated debates between a certain Daoheng 道恆, an adherent of the "theory of the non-existence of (conscious) thought" 心無 and Fatai's favourite disciple Tanyi 曇一; on the second day of the debate Daoheng was vanquished by Tanyi and by Huiyuan who also took part in it.[341] According to the relevant *GSZ* passage, the *Xinwu* theory was much *en vogue* especially in the region of Jingzhou. Jingzhou was the stronghold of the Huan family for several generations, and Huan Wen's son and successor Huan Xuan seems indeed to have been a partisan of this theory.[342]

Shortly after 365 Fatai and his disciples settled at the newly founded Waguansi at Jiankang; here he must have met Zhu Sengfu (see above) who made a great impression on him. Fatai soon became very popular at the capital and at the court. His (apparently public) explanations of the *Prajñāpāramitā* were attended by the emperor (Jianwen, 371–373), the highest nobility and the courtiers as well as by thousands of other people who came from all the Eastern Region to hear his lectures. Zhu Fatai is again one of those masters who in later sources are said to have developed a particular "theory"; in his case the "Variant School of Fundamental Non-being" 本無異宗 is mentioned. About this theme he actually exchanged some letters with Xi Chao,[343] but we have no more information about his activities in this field. Nor is anything specific known about his efforts (alluded to in two contemporary colophons in *CSZJJ*)[344] to obtain better texts of the monastic rules for monks and nuns. This care for and interest in monastic organization which he had in common with his former companion Dao'an appears also from the fact that, soon after his arrival at the capital, he enlarged the Waguansi from a small temple to one of the most important monasteries at Jiankang.

In doing this he defied with great courage the hostility of Sima Zong 司馬綜, son of the King of Runan 汝南, whose mansion happened to border on the monastery and who therefore sabotaged the work of construction.[345]

Beside Buddhist studies also secular learning flourished in his school. His disciples Tanyi and Tan'er 曇二 were experts on *Laozi* and the *Yijing*, in which field they are said to have been equal to Huiyuan.[346] Among his pupils we find also the young Daosheng 道生, who later, in the first decades of the fifth century after having studied under Kumārajīva, would become one of the leading Buddhist thinkers of the time.[347]

In the third quarter of the fourth century, Buddhist elements started to become regular features of court life at Jiankang, no doubt as a result of the pro-Buddhist attitude of He Chong and his partisans of the Chu clan around the middle of the century (cf. above, p. 109). It is in this period that it became customary for the court to invite famous preachers to explain Buddhist scriptures (notably the *Prajñāpāramitā*) for a select audience of courtiers and high magistrates, sessions which were not seldom attended by the emperor in person.

Under emperor Ai (362–366), whose reign marks a great development of court Buddhism, several famous preachers from the Eastern Region were thus invited to return to the capital. Zhi Dun came to expound the smaller version of the *Prajñāpāramitā* at the Dongan monastery in 362, and stayed there for three years (cf. p. 119); at his departure for the East he was provided by imperial order with all travelling requisites.[348] Also around 362 an imperial decree ordered Zhu Daoqian to return to the capital in order to explain the larger version of the same scripture (Mokṣala's *Fangguang jing*) in the palace,[349] and at the same time the monk-physician Yu Fakai, who four years earlier had unsuccessfully attempted to save emperor Mu's life, was summoned to the court to hold sermons on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, after which he was richly rewarded by the emperor with money, silk, a carriage, and summer and winter garments.[350]

Such invitations sent by the court to prominent monks seem sometimes to have had a more or less compulsory character, an official "order" which was of course incompatible with the freedom of the monk from all worldly duties—again the old problem of the relation between the autonomy of the religious life and the totalitarian Confucian state! A typical case is that of Zhu Daoyi (p. 144). At some date after 387 the prefect of Danyang was ordered by the court to summon Zhu Daoyi, then living at Wu, to go to the capital, much to Daoyi's displeasure. He wrote a letter of protest in which he tried to convince the authorities of the fact that eminent recluses must always maintain their complete freedom of movement, and that those who have chosen the religious life must be left in peace, the more so, since the court just now actively stimulated the flourishing of Buddhism. "For if now (the government) demands that they be inscribed in the registers, and puts them to work together with the normal population (編戶), then it is to be feared that the itinerant worthies will long for the (lonely) cliffs at this age of saintly (government), and that those who (like Immortals) rise lightly upwards will majestically depart, never to return". After this letter the order was cancelled.[351]

Some well-known monasteries at the capital were founded at this time. Around 364 the monk Huili 慧力 asked the emperor's permission to build

a small monastery at the site of an old pottery factory at the capital, and this became the nucleus of the famous Waguansi 瓦官寺, which, further enlarged by Zhu Fatai, developed into one of the main Buddhist centres in the South-East.[352]

Another monastery, the Anlesi 安樂寺, owed its origin to the visionary dreams of the monk Huishou 慧受. When he arrived at the capital (ca. 365), he saw himself in his dreams repeatedly building a monastery in the private park of Wang Tanzhi at Jiankang, and did not fail, though after some hesitation, to report the workings of his subconscious mind to the owner of the park. Wang Tanzhi allowed him to build a little chapel in the garden. Huishou remained active, for as a result of further prophetic dreams the domain of the Anlesi soon comprised the whole garden of Wang Tanzhi, to which the adjoining parks of the prefect of Danyang Wang Ya 王雅, the prefect of Dongyan Liu Dou 劉鬪 and the prefect of Yuzhang Fan Ning 范寧 were added in due order. In the early sixth century, when Huijiao compiled the *GSZ*, it was still one of the most splendid monasteries at the capital.[353]

Emperor Jianwen (Sima Yu 司馬昱, 320–372) before as well as after his accession to the throne was much interested in Buddhism. We have already mentioned his contracts with and admiration for masters like Śrīmitra (p. 104), Zhu Daoqian and Zhi Dun (p. 106, 117, 118. 130); he was also a friend of Zhu Fatai whom he repeatedly invited to explain the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* at the palace.[354]

Under his short reign we find the first known case in which the Chinese court uses the exercising power of the Buddhist priest in order to avert an evil omen or to evoke an auspicious sign (for another probable connection between Buddhist practices and the ancient Chinese belief in portents see the data concerning the alleged "relics of Aśoka" given below, ch. V). In 372 the emperor ordered the prefect of Tangyi 堂邑 (the present-day Liuhe 六合 near Nanjing) named Qu Anyuan 曲安遠 to go to the Buddhist master Zhu Fakuang (cf. p. 144) at Ruoye Shan in order to inquire after his health and at the same time to consult him about the means to eliminate the baleful influence of an "evil star" 妖星. This phenomenon had occurred on February 18, when "Mars receded into the constellation Taiwei".[355] The ominous portent had made a great impression on the emperor, to whom it was an obvious sign of the approaching usurpation of the imperial throne by Huan Wen, then at the height of his power. He discussed its meaning with Xi Chao, and it may well have been this fervent Buddhist who persuaded the emperor to consult Fakuang.[356] We have seen how some years later, under emperor Xiaowu (373–397), an analogous request was directed to the exorcist Zhu Tanyou 竺曇猷 (p. 146). Both emperor Ai and emperor Jianwen also made use of the magical practices of Daoist masters (the former's death was even caused by an excessive dose of Daoist "elixir of immortality"); here again both creeds exist side by side.[357] However, Jianwen's interest in Buddhism was primarily philosophical; he was a well-known *qingtan* scholar who excelled in "Dark-Learning".[358]

According to Falin,[359] emperor Jianwen ordered the building of a sanctuary of great size and beauty "at (the site of) the old Changgan pagoda"; Changgan 長干 was the name of a suburb a few *li* south of Jiankang. The old Changgansi is mentioned in *GHMJ*[360] in a probably legendary account of the finding of a miraculous statue as early as the *xianhe* era

(326–335), ca. forty years earlier than Jianwen's reign. The new temple mentioned by Falin must be identical with the three-storied pagoda where according to *GSZ*[361] the monk Huida 慧達 discovered several relics of the Buddha.

However, it was under emperor Xiaowu (373–396) that Buddhism scored its greatest successes at the court. The emperor was only ten years old at his accession; till 376 the (pro-Buddhist) empress-dowager Chu (p. 109) acted as a regent. The emperor's principal consort empress Wang (360–380) had the clearly Buddhist personal name of Fahui 法慧 ("Dharma-jñā").[362] She was a younger sister of the general Wang Gong 王恭 (died 398) who under this emperor became very influential at the court, and of whom it is said that

> "he fervently believed in the Buddhist doctrine; he made the people pay (additional) taxes and perform statute labour in order to build and adorn Buddhist temples, striving to make them grand and impressive, so that both gentlemen and common people sighed in anger. Even when going to his execution (in 398) he still recited Buddhist sūtras".[363]

At the death of Zhu Daoqian in 374 the emperor (c.q. the empress-dowager Chu) decreed to contribute 100.000 cash to his funeral.[364] Both the act and the amount of money given at such occasions seem to have become customary in this period, for when in 380 Zhu Fayi (cf. p. 99) died, the emperor bought for 100.000 cash the Xinting hill 新亭崗 to bury him, and had a three-storied pagoda erected on his grave,[365] and in 387 he contributed again 100.000 cash to the funeral of Zhu Fatai.[366] Several other favourable acts towards Buddhists and Buddhism are reported of emperor Xiaowu: an invitation sent to Zhu Fayi in 375 to come to the capital,[367] complimentary letters to Dao'an and to the nun Lingzong 令宗,[368] his order to build a three-storied pagoda at the site of a small temple near Changgansi in 391.[369]

However, the greatest triumph of court Buddhism happened in 381:

> "In the first month of spring (February–March 381) the emperor for the first time (formally) accepted the Buddhist doctrine (*i.e.*, the lay precepts). A *vihāra* was established within the palace, and monks were invited to dwell in it".[370]

This statement about the emperor's official conversion is corroborated by the *GSZ*, where it is said that emperor Xiaowu at the beginning of his reign invited the sinicized Yuezhi Tanyue 支曇籥 (cf. p. 144) to the capital where he subsequently "received from him the five rules for laymen 五戒, and honoured him as his master".[371] Likewise he is said to have "served" the Chinese master Zhu Fakuang 竺法曠 (327–402; see above, *ib.*) whom he summoned to the capital.[372]

It may have been after the establishment of the *vihāra* within the palace that some Buddhist scriptures found their way into the imperial library. In any case we read in the table of contents of the *Qilu* 七錄, an early bibliographical work by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (523 AD, preserved in quotations in *GHMJ*) in which the author gives the number of books mentioned in still earlier catalogues, that according to the (fourth century?) *Jinzhong jingbu* 晉中經簿 there were Buddhist scriptures in the Jin imperial library amounting to sixteen "rolls" (*juan*)—a negligeable quantity on a total of 20.935 *juan*! But even in the first half of the fifth century, when Buddhism completely dominated the intellectual life at the court, we find that according to the *Bige sibushu mulu* 祕閣四部書母録 of 431 AD (quoted *ib.*) the Buddhist

scriptures in the palace library amounted to no more than 438 *juan* on a total of 15.074 *juan*.[373] This is symptomatic of the fact that the Chinese cultured upper class, in spite of its interest in Buddhist ideas and theories, never seriously studied Buddhist canonical literature. People like Yin Hao, Xi Chao and Xie Fu were rare exceptions at least in the fourth and fifth century; it is highly questionable whether among the hundreds of interested and even devout hearers of the lectures of Zhu Fatai and Zhi Dun there was a single one who had ever taken the trouble to read or study the texts explained to them.

Emperor Xiaowu's devotion must have definitively consolidated the position of Buddhism—as a doctrine and as a religious organization—at the Chinese court. In spite of some interruptions and ephemeral anti-Buddhist movements it was to be successful in maintaining this position for at least four centuries.

A remarkable happening, known from various independent sources and of unquestionable historicity, proves that the fame of emperor Xiaowu as a *dharmarāja* had already reached what was to the Chinese the very limits of the known world. In or shortly after 395 the king of Ceylon (Shiziguo 師子國 = Siṃhala), apparently impressed by the emperor's religious zeal, despatched the *śramaṇa* Tanmoyi 曇摩抑 (**d'ān-muā-.iək* = Dharmayukta?)[374] to the Chinese court with a valuable Buddha-statue of jade, four feet and two inches high, to be presented to emperor Xiaowu as a token of his cordial feelings.[375] For unknown reasons the journey lasted more than ten years, so that the precious gift was eventually offered to emperor An some time during the *yixi* era (405–418), several years after Xiaowu's death. This mission marks also the beginning of Sino-Singhalese relations.

We do not know how the news of the emperor's conversion had reached the Singhalese court. The first Chinese known to have visited the island was Faxian, who at the end of his stupendous journey stayed there for more than a year (412–413). It was here that he finally succeeded in obtaining a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mishasai lü* 彌沙塞律 (? *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T 1421);[376] the fact that at Anuradhapura he saw "a merchant make an offering of a white silk fan from China" does of course not prove that there had been any official relations between the two countries before 395/405. In any case Faxian arrived at Ceylon many years after the date on which the Singhalese envoy is supposed to have departed.

However, ten years is an enormous time for a journey (no doubt by sea) from Ceylon to Jiankang, even in the fourth century AD.[377] It seems much more probable that this number is the result of a chronological computation made by the Chinese historians, ten years being the minimal time between the death of Xiaowu (for whom the present was destined) in 396 and the first year of *yixi* (405), the era during which the envoy was known to have arrived (if we take into consideration the Chinese custom of including the year from which one starts counting, *i.e.*, 396). In doing so they of course overlooked the fact that the Singhalese court had no conceivable means to obtain up-to-date information about the decease of a Chinese emperor, and it seems very probable that the mission started a considerable time after the year 396.[378]

As we have seen in our historical summary (p. 113), during the last decade of

Xiaowu's reign and in the first years of emperor An (397–418), the court was completely dominated by the clique of An's uncle Sima Daozi 司馬道子 (364–402), whereas the opposition was represented by a military junta led by Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) who finally succeeded in overthrowing Sima Daozi and his faction in 402.

Sima Daozi was an ardent Buddhist, and the exuberant way in which he manifested his devotion and the very dubious role which the Buddhist clergy came to play in the sordid intrigues of the various factions account for much of Huan Xuan's later conspicuously anti-clerical policy.

> "At that time (ca. 388), emperor Xiaowu did not personally take part in the affairs of the government; he only caroused and enjoyed himself with Daozi, conversing with old women,[379] nuns and monks in a very familiar manner… Moreover, (Daozi) revered and believed in the teachings of the Buddha; his excessive waste in spending (money for religious purposes) made life intolerable for the common people…".[380]

In 389 the general Xu Yong 許榮 exposed in a memorial the evil practices prevailing at the court, in which he denounced the role of the clergy in most emphatic terms:

> "Monks, nuns and wet-nurses[381] are vying with each other to enter into the cliques and parties… I have heard that the Buddha is a spirit of purity, far-reaching intelligence and mysterious emptiness. He has based his doctrine upon the five (lay) commandments (such as) those prohibiting intoxicating drinks and debauchery. But nowadays the devotees are vile, rude, servile and addicted to wine and women… Monks and nuns crowd together and, though relying on (the prestige associated with) their religious dress, they are yet unable to observe even the most elementary rules of the five commandments, let alone the (more) detailed and subtle (rules for the monastic life). Yet, deluded people vie with each other in revering and serving them. Moreover, they oppress and pillage the people, considering the collection of riches as wisdom, which does not agree with the (Buddhist) principle of liberality".[382]

The texts speak repeatedly about the influence of nuns. It must be remembered that the first nuns at the capital had been patronized by He Chong and his partisans around the middle of the fourth century, and that the first nunneries there had been founded by the empresses He and Chu (above, p. 109). This indicates that from the beginning there had been a close connection between the metropolitan nunneries and the court, notably the imperial harem.

The most striking example of the influence of the clergy at the Jin court in the last decades of the fourth century is furnished by the activities of Miaoyin 妙音, a nun of unknown origin, who under Xiaowu and An came to play an important role in the intrigues of the various cliques. According to her biography

> "she possessed a wide learning on Buddhist and non-Buddhist subjects, and excelled in literary composition… Together with the emperor, the Great Preceptor (*i.e.*, Sima Daozi), the (officials) of the inner palace and the (court) *literati* she used to hold discussions and to compose literature…".[383]

In 385 Sima Daozi made her an abess over more than a hundred nuns in the Jianjing monastery 簡靜寺 which he had founded for her.[384] From that time onward

> "people of talents and virtuous conduct, clerical as well as non-clerical, depended on her to obtain advancement. She received innumerable gifts (from them), and

> her wealth upset the capital. She was revered and served by rich and poor alike—more than a hundred carriages and horses (of visitors) stood daily at the gate (of her monastery)".[385]

When in 398 the plan was made to appoint the powerful general Wang Gong 王恭 to the post of governor of Jingzhou, Huan Xuan feared that this rival would prove to be an obstacle to his own plans, and so he sent a messenger to Miaoyin, asking her to persuade the emperor (or rather Sima Daozi) to appoint the weak and inexperienced Yin Zhongkan 殷仲堪 (?–399) in his place. The plan succeeded, and in November 398 Yin Zhongkan became governor of Jingzhou, soon afterwards to be attacked and killed by Huan Xuan who annexed his territory.[386]

Likewise, when Wang Guobao 王國寶 (?–387), who belonged to Sima Daozi's clique, felt that his position at the court had become hazardous, he made his partisan Yuan Yuezhi 袁悅之 send a letter to Miaoyin in which she was requested to extol Wang Guobao's loyalty to the throne in the presence of the mother of the crown-prince. The intrigue eventually had success, although it cost Yuan Yuezhi his head.[387]

The last phase: Huan Xuan's usurpation and the rise of Liu Yu (402–420 AD).

Sun En.

In 399, a war between the court clique of Sima Daozi and the military leaders in the central provinces led by Huan Xuan had been averted by Sima Daozi, partly by force of arms, and partly by an official recognition of Huan Xuan's authority in these provinces (cf. above, p. 155). But at the same time there was another enemy who more and more undermined the power of the central government in the only part of the empire still under its jurisdiction, the region East and South-East of the capital: the pirates and popular armies of the "magician" Sun En.

This movement had been started in the eighties by Sun Tai 孫泰, a Daoist master from Langye, and it had immediately found many adherents not only among the rural population in the Hangzhou region, but also among the local gentry. Sun Tai had even been introduced to emperor Xiaowu (373–397) by Wang Ya 王雅, who shared the emperor's interest in both Buddhism and Daoism. The emperor made Sun Tai prefect of Xin'an 新安 (W. of Chun'an 淳安, Zhejiang) where he built up a semi-religious, semi-military organization not unlike that of the "Yellow Turbans" who two centuries earlier had effectively broken the power of the Han empire. In 393 he mobilized his armies and was about to move to the West "in order to punish (Sima Daozi's rival) Wang Gong", when Sima Daozi, not convinced of the pure intentions of his curious partisan, had him and his sons arrested and executed. Sun Tai's nephew Sun En 孫恩 fled with his army to the Chusan archipelago from where he organized raids on the mainland from the lower Yangzi up into Guangxi. In 399 he occupied the region of Kuaiji; the population revolted, killed its magistrates and joined Sun En's "long-lived" soldiers (長生) whose number in a few days increased to a hundred thousand. Sun En proclaimed himself "General-Chastiser of the East" and marched to the capital. This led to a veritable "protracted war", during which Sun En again and again

defeated the government armies in swift campaigns, successfully avoiding all counter-attacks by retiring with his troops to the islands before the coast. During this war the name of Liu Yu 劉裕, a commander in the army of the Jin general Liu Laozhi 劉牢之, is mentioned for the first time; some twenty years later he was to ascend the throne as the first emperor of the (Liu-)Song dynasty.

It is the classical pattern of a dynasty in the last phase of its decline. Just like in the last decades of the Han, the eventual breakdown of the dynasty was brought about by the combined forces of an organized large-scale revolutionary movement and the ensuing disintegration of the bureaucratic apparatus in one of the most basic areas of the empire; just like then, the future king-makers were military adventurers who made their careers in the campaigns against the "rebels". And finally, just like Dong Zhuo's abortive rebellion in 189 AD had paved the way to Cao Cao's eventual victory, in the same way Liu Yu's rise to power was preceded and indirectly caused by Huan Xuan's unsuccessful attempt to dethrone the Jin and to found a new dynasty. This happened in the years 402/404.

Huan Xuan's coup d'état.

On June 28, 401 AD, Sun En suddenly appeared at Kuaiji with a huge army and ca. thousand "towered battle-ships", and sailing up the Yangzi, he met the army of Liu Yu in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. Huan Xuan, since 400 governor of Jingzhou and military commander of eight provinces, saw his chance. He marshalled his troops, proclaimed his intention "to protect the emperor" and marched to Jiankang, in spite of the fact that in the meantime Sun En had already been defeated and driven back to his islands. Huan Xuan's victory was ensured when the only capable Jin general, Liu Laozhi, who had been sent against him, went over to Huan with all his troops (March 31, 402). Huan Xuan victoriously entered the capital and had Sima Yuanxian and, somewhat later, Sima Daozi himself executed (April 27). He then appointed his relatives and his nearest collaborators Wang Mi 王謐, Yin Zhongwen 殷仲文 and Bian Fanzhi 卞範之 to the most strategic posts, and retired to Gushu 姑孰, the modern Dangtu 當塗 in E. Anhui. From there he exercised dictatorial power, personally deciding the most important affairs, and leaving the routine of the administration of government in the hands of his trustees at the capital.

Huan Xuan was at first hailed as the great liberator by the courtiers and the metropolitan gentry. However, his popularity soon waned, mainly on account of conditions which it was beyond his power to change. On the one hand the gentry were impoverished as a result of the war with Sun En and, after 402, with his successor Lu Xun 盧循 who continued the raids on the mainland. On the other hand they suffered from the intrigues, factionalism and corruption in the ranks of Huan's partisans. His own attempts to improve the government organization by a stream of proclamations and edicts on the most trifling matters, his severity in degrading and banishing officials for small mistakes, and his indulgence in luxury (he is one of the first known art collectors in Chinese history) had made him impopular even before his usurpation, and many members of the gentry, who foresaw Huan's line of policy, turned from him to Liu Yu, who was still engaged in fighting the pirates of Lu Xun.

Huan Xuan did not wait long. On October 16, 403 he had himself appointed prime minister 相國 and King of Chu 楚 on December 20, emperor An abdicated and gave the State Seal to Wang Mi, to be handed over to Huan Xuan, and on January 2, 404, Huan arrived at Jiankang to ascend the throne as the first emperor of the Chu 楚 dynasty. He ennobled his famous father Huan Wen posthumously as emperor Xuanwu 宣武, but he had some difficulty in filling his ancestral temple with the required number of illustrious forbears (cf. note 145). The deposed emperor An was banished to Xunyang 尋陽 (N. of Huangmei 黃梅 in S. E. Hubei).

Huan's "Chu dynasty" did not last longer than three months. Liu Yu, well-aware of the favourable public opinion about himself, soon took the lead in a conspiracy to eliminate the dictator and "to restore the Jin dynasty". When the insurgents reached Jiankang with a small army mainly consisting of their private troops, Huan Xuan fled with some of his nearest relatives and collaborators, first to the ex-emperor at Xunyang, and from there to Jiangling (Hubei), forcing the debile boy to go with him. Again defeated by one of Liu Yu's generals (June 11), he abandoned the emperor and fled to the East. Not far from Jiangling he was killed by one of his own officers, at the age of 35 (June 20, 404 AD). Many of his partisans fled to the "Tibetan" empire of the (Later) Qin in North-West China, where they came to fill high posts in the government; others continued to fight in the central provinces, where the authority of the government—from now on dominated by Liu Yu—was only slowly re-established. The resistance of the Huan lasted till 406 AD.

In spite of their violence and kaleidoscopic movement, all these happenings were actually no more than superficial shifts of power from one faction to another but analogous group. The base of medieval society, the power of the great clans, remained unshaken. This is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that Liu Yu, when he came back at Jiankang, did not dare to take any measures against the man who had been the most powerful partisan and trustee of Huan Xuan, Wang Mi. Liu Yu immediately appointed him director of the State secretariat and to the very important post of governor of Yangzhou. The shadow of the great Wang Dao (above, p. 95), Wang Mi's grandfather, was still there; in spite of all ephemeral political changes and disturbances, the Wang clan of Langye which once had created the Eastern Jin, which had invested Huan Wen with dictatorial power and which had assisted his son Huan Xuan in dethroning the emperor, now again took part in restoring the dilapidated house of Jin and, in the meantime, in preparing the rise of the new dynasty.

The conflict between Church and State in 403/404 AD.

The intermezzo formed by Huan Xuan's *coup d'état* is therefore hardly relevant from a political point of view. The reason why we have treated it in some detail is that Huan Xuan was one of the few dictators who consciously tried to apply a consistent anti-clerical policy, which brought him into conflict with both the ecclesiastical leaders (notably with Huiyuan) and with the pro-Buddhist members of his own faction. This forms the second known clash between the temporal and the clerical spheres of influence (the first one having taken place in 340 AD, cf. above, p. 106). The basic point of controversy was the same in both cases; although this time the dispute about the *śramaṇas*

not paying homage to the ruler went farther and deeper than in 340 AD, and although it was accompanied by other clearly anti-clerical measures, yet the Church again won the duel. There is one document which proves that Huan Xuan's attempts to select the clergy and to put an end to its intrigues and corruption has been in vain. In *HMJ* VI we find a apologetic essay entitled *Shibo lun* 釋駁論, composed by the monk Shi Daoheng 釋道恆 as a reaction against another treatise written in 405 AD by two magistrates at Jiankang, in which the authors had described the Buddhist clergy as one of the "five subversive elements" 五横 of society.[388] The imaginary opponent in Daoheng's essay gives us a vivid description of the behaviour of the metropolitan clergy at this time: we see them engage in commercial activities, accumulate riches, sell drugs, practise soothsaying and physiognomy etc. (cf. also below, Ch. V).

Since the life and thought of one of the main antagonists, Huiyuan, falls outside the scope of this chapter, we shall treat the whole development of the controversy of 402–404 AD in the next chapter.

The last years of the Eastern Jin (*405–420*).

The "restorer of the Jin", Liu Yu, inevitably became Huan Xuan's successor. Unlike Huan Xuan, who had directly aimed at the throne at Jiankang, he imitated the example of the great Huan Wen, *i.e.*, before realizing his final aspirations he attempted to enlarge his already immense prestige and martial fame by extensive campaigns in the North. Like those of Huan Wen, his military successes were short-lived but spectacular. In the North, the political situation favoured such an undertaking. The many self-styled kingdoms and empires founded and precariously maintained by the various Xianbei, Xiongnu and proto-Tibetan ruling families were constantly at war with each other. In the East, the rapidly expanding state of Wei 魏, since 398 an empire under the Xianbei clan of Tuoba, undermined the power of the successor states of Yan 燕 (ruled by members of the Xianbei clan of Murong), whereas in the West Yao Xing 姚興, the capable ruler of the "Tibetan" empire of (Later) Qin 後秦, was engaged in fighting the armies of the Hun chieftain Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃, who had founded the state of Daxia 大夏 in northern Shanxi and who was now attempting to overrun the Wei basin.

In a first successful expedition against the "Later Yan" in 408–410 AD, Liu Yu effectively broke the power of the Murong rulers; however, he had to hasten back to Jiankang with his armies, when Lu Xun (cf. above, p. 155) after having marched Northward through Jiangxi from his bases in Guangdong, had reached the lower Yangzi region and threatened to occupy the capital. Liu Yu's great chance came in 416, when the political disturbance at Chang'an after the death of Yao Xing enabled him to hold a large-scale expedition against the Later Qin empire. The campaign lasted till 418. Liu Yu even surpassed Huan Wen's former achievements by capturing both Chang'an and Luoyang, but as soon as the main force had been withdrawn, the defense collapsed, and both cities were taken by the Hun troops of Helian Bobo who came to fill practically the whole vacuum left by the Later Qin.

Thus, when Liu Yu in 418 returned to Jiankang as a triumphator, the results of these huge military operations had already been undone. But, as we said before, it is quite probable that the psychological effect of his glorious

campaigns was more valuable to him than the unrealistic ideal of an effective and lasting conquest of the whole North.

Once returned at the capital, Liu Yu soon took the last steps. In 419 he had emperor An murdered and replaced by An's brother, emperor Gong 恭, who in 420 yielded the seal of state and the imperial dignity to Liu Yu, henceforward emperor Wu of the Song dynasty (reigned 420–422).

There are some indications that Liu Yu entertained relations with the clergy. He seems to have honoured the monks Huiyan 慧嚴 and Sengdao 僧導;[389] the *GSZ* mentions his admiring remarks about Huiyuan,[390] and among the persons who shortly before his accession fabricated "favourable omens" we find also a monk, the *śramaṇa* Shi Facheng 釋法稱 from Jizhou.[391] Nothing is further known about his attitude towards the religion, and no devotional activities like the founding of monasteries are reported about him. The same holds good for the person of the emperor. The sources do not attribute any pro-Buddhist activities to emperor An in the years 404–419, apart from a complimentary message to Huiyuan (404 AD) which figures under the name of this feeble-minded "ruler" in the *GSZ*.

Emperor Gong, the last ruler of the Jin dynasty, reigned only seventeen months (February 2, 419–July 6, 420).

> "(Emperor Gong) deeply believed in the Buddhist doctrine. He (ordered the) melting down of 10.000.000 cash to make a sixteen feet tall bronze image (of the Buddha), and personally went to meet it (when it arrived) at the Waguan monastery (at Jiankang), following it on foot for more than ten *li*".[392]

On November 13, 421, little more than one year after he made him abdicate, Liu Yu gave orders to have the ex-emperor killed. The dramatic scene at which the Jin imperial lineage came to an end forms another example of the influence of Buddhism among the members of the Sima family.

> "When (the guardsmen) handed the poison to (the former) emperor Gong, he was unwilling to drink it, saying: 'The Buddha teaches that he who commits suicide cannot return to a human body'. Thereupon they smothered him under a padded bed-cover".[393]

Concluding remarks.

Here we shall end our survey of the developments of Buddhism in the eastern part of the Jin territory and at the capital. As far as the imperial sponsorship of the Buddhist church is concerned, it may be useful to sum up our findings as follows.

In early and reliable sources we hardly find any evidence of contacts between the Buddhist clergy and the imperial family before 300 AD. After that date Buddhism was successfully propagated at court by a relatively small number of cultured Chinese monks who themselves partly belonged to gentry families. Both emperor Yuan and emperor Ming (317–325) stimulated these activities; the latter is reported to have accepted the lay commandments. After an interval of about forty years, during which only a few pro-Buddhist actions are reported on the part of the imperial family and when the centre of gentry Buddhism in the South has shifted to Kuaiji, there is a spectacular revival of court Buddhism at the beginning of emperor Ai's reign (362); after that date the Buddhist cult forms an integral part of court life. In 381 emperor Xiaowu is converted, and a *vihāra* is established in the palace. The last forty years of

the dynasty (380–420) are marked by the increasing political influence of the Church at the imperial court, a remarkable role being played by women: converted empresses, court ladies and nuns.

In general, we have found the following types of contact existing between the imperial family and the clergy during the period in question:

(1) polite conversation, discussion and debate; *qingtan* discussion and practice of literary composition;
(2) listening to sermons and expositions of Buddhist scriptures (notably the *Prajñāpāramitā*) at court;
(3) correspondence with monks and nuns;
(4) donation of money and statues; foundation of stūpas and monasteries;
(5) conversion, acceptance of the lay commandments; visits to temples and monasteries;
(6) consultation of monks in case of disease or inauspicious portents.

APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE CONTROVERSY OF 340 AD.

Chinese text in *HMJ* XII 79.2.12 sqq and in *Ji shamen buying baisu dengshi* 集沙門不應拜俗等事 T 2108 I 443.3.18 sqq.

(Introduction).

In the sixth year of the *xiankang* era of the Jin (340 AD), when emperor Cheng was still young, Yu Bing, acting as a regent, considered that the *śramaṇa*s ought to fulfill their duty of reverence to the ruler. The Intendant of the Masters of Writing He Chong and others proposed that this should not be done. The matter was referred to the Board of Rites for a detailed discussion, and (there again) the opinion of the Scholars of Wide Learning agreed with that of He Chong, whereas the (officials of the imperial) Chancellery, acting on a hint of Yu Bing, opposed this. Then the Intendant of the Masters of Writing He Chong, the Vice-presidents of the State Secretariat Chu Xia and Zhuge Hui, and the Masters of Writing Feng Huai[1] and Xie Guang memorialized to the effect that the *śramaṇa*s should not (be compelled) to pay homage (to the ruler).

(First memorial).

"The Intendant of the Masters of Writing (with the honorary titles of General)-who-leads-the-Army and (General)-who-pacifies-the-Army, the Urban District Marquis,[2] your servant (He) Chong,

The Knight in Irregular Service in Constant Attendance, the first Vice-president of the State
[79.2.20] Secretariat, the Earl of Changping, your servant (Chu) Xia,

The Knight in Irregular Service in Constant Attendance, the second Vice-president of the State Secretariat, the Earl of Jian'an, your servant (Zhuge) Hui,

The Master of Writing, the Marquis-within-the-Passes, your servant (Feng) Huai,

The Viscount of Chang'an, provisionally acting as a Master of Writing, your servant (Xie) Gong say:

The Epochal Ancestor emperor Wu by his superb intelligence changed the mandate (and founded the dynasty), and the Majestic Ancestor emperor Ming with his saintly wisdom was absorbed in mystic contemplation.[3] How could it be that they would not have changed the (custom of) bending the knees as regards the *śramaṇa*s of their time?[4] However, they did not make them alter their (particular) method of cultivating virtue, for this is how (the ruler) agrees with the aspirations of all men. In our humble opinion, the precedent established by the former emperors must be followed—this is the most righteous solution.

(Edict promulgated by Yu Bing on behalf of emperor Cheng).

"From of old, the myriad regions (of the world) have different customs, and their religious practices are hard to distinguish.[5] For one who encompasses all particular (doctrines) in one comprehensive view, there is indeed nothing remarkable (in this state of affairs). How much less should one attach importance to such (outward acts of) decorum as kneeling and bowing!

We must, however, realize the original intention of the ancient rulers, the reason why they attached importance to these (acts of reverence). For how could they have

been merely fond of the (sight of) this crouching and bowing, this idle display of bending the knees![6] This is certainly not the case.

The hierarchical order of lord and subject derives from the respect which the son owes to his
[79.3.1] father. The establishment of laws and regulations, the veneration for rites and ranks,—how could these be in vain? They surely have their reasons. Since they have their reasons, why should we depart from them? For is the establishment of (correct) names and rites not (in accordance with) human feelings?

Moreover, does the Buddha really exist, or does he not exist? If the Buddha exists, then his doctrine will prosper anyhow. If he does not exist, (adhering to his precepts) has no sense at all. But even if one goes on believing it to be true, it is something from beyond this world. May then this world (of human relations) show consideration for what lies beyond this world, (permitting people) to violate their bodies, to go against their normal duties, to change the codes of ceremonious behaviour and to reject the doctrine of (correct) names? That I doubt very much.

The doctrine of names (Confucianism) has its origins in the past; a hundred generations have faithfully adhered to it. At the very dawn (of history) its splendour has been greatly (manifested), but in later ages (men) have been hesitating and irresolute (as to its superiority)—this irresolution is an evil, the causes of which are difficult to define. But now, (the Buddhists say), we must long for something far-away and vague and indistinct, we must abolish the Rites on one morning, throw away our doctrine at this moment, and allow the rabble to disregard the laws—this again is something which I doubt very much.

[79.3.10] And even if it would be true, even if it would be real—then one would still have to realize (the Buddhist doctrine) in one's spirit, and to cherish it in one's heart, and nothing more. The grand pattern of regulations and laws should not be discarded under the present dynasty.[7] All such (monks) belong to the people (*i.e.*, the subjects) of Jin. As to their talents and wisdom, they are not above the average. But if they, on account of the abstruseness of their theories, use their apparel to commit insubordination, to arrogate to themselves the haughty behaviour of a foreign lore, and to stand upright before the Lord of Ten Thousand Carriages (the emperor)—that again is something which I cannot accept.

You, gentlemen, are all "vessels of the State" (capable magistrates). In your (private) conversation you may fathom the deep and subtle (principles of Buddhism), but in discussing the matters of government you must stress the importance of the basic regulations of the State. If you do not act in this way—what more can I then say about it?"

(Second memorial of He Chong, Chu Xia, Zhuge Hui, Feng Huai and Xie Guang).

[79.3.20] "(We have received) the edict as quoted above. Your servants, stupid and shortsighted, are unable (adequately) to appreciate the Saintly intention (of the imperial order), or to proclaim its great meaning. Respectfully perusing this brilliant edict, we were trembling with fear and agitation; together we have forthwith investigated its (contents) in all detail.

Whether there is a Buddha or not is a question which your servants are certainly unable
[80.1.1] to settle. But if we investigate the scriptures which he has left behind and penetrate into their essential meaning, (then it appears that) the five prohibitive rules (of the Buddhist layman) virtually assist the ruler in exerting his transforming (civilizing) influence. (The Buddhist doctrine) despises the idle splendour of fame and reputation, but values the obscurity of good works done in secret. The practice of virtue (according to Buddhism) lies in forgetting one's self, and in grasping the pure and wonderful state of mental concentration.

Moreover, since its first (appearance) in Han times down to the present day, the (Buddhist) doctrine, though subject to prosperity and decay, has never been corrupted by weird and evil practices. As a spiritual doctrine (神道) it has lasted longer than

any other (creed). Whereas (malicious) imprecations are harmful, the blessings invoked (by Buddhist priests) will always be profitable. Your servants in their naive sincerity really wish (by such blessings) to add their single grain of dust to the soaring Tai Shan, and to moisten it with their single drop of dew; (they wish) with their insignificant prayers[8] to contribute[9] to the perfection of the imperial sway.

Now as soon as (the monks) would be ordered to pay homage (to the ruler), their doctrine would be destroyed. As a result, the custom of cultivating goodness would be abandoned at this time of Saintly (government), and vulgar practices[10] would become a constant rule; this would certainly cause (this glorious time) to be obscured by sadness and fear. It is because of this that your servants venture to feel uneasy.

Your servants are ignorant and stupid; how would they with their one-sided views dare to question Your Majesty's sagacity?[11] They merely consider that in the course of three eras (Han, Wei and Jin) these people (the Buddhist monks) have become even more wise
[80.1.10] and intelligent; if now no restrictions are imposed on them, then the laws of the state will suffer no harm and (moreover) the road to the mysteries (of the Buddhist doctrine) will not be blocked. For this reason (your servants) again display their naive sincerity and beg that You will grant Your (renewed) consideration. Respectfully submitted".

(Second edict of Yu Bing issued on behalf of emperor Cheng).

"I have examined the purport of (the memorial in which) you have expressed your feelings.

Dark and abstruse matters can certainly not be expressed by words of metaphorical value, but, generally speaking, they consist of[12] the great and constant regulations for (the relation between) men and spirits (gods 神), and as such they may again be roughly divided into various (kinds).

In general, although the hundred rulers (of the past) in creating rules and laws have made these more primitive or more refined according to the exigencies of the times, yet none of them has ever allowed foreign customs to interfere with the administration of government, or weird and extravagant talk to become mixed with (the ruler's) work of transformation. We can hardly assume that the Saintly (rulers of) antiquity wore not intelligent, and that the (so-called) Saints of this degenerate age[13] are endowed with greater understanding.

Moreover, the trifling[14] virtues of the five (Buddhist) commandments—how is it that they roughly imitate the (Confucian virtues of) the human relationships, and yet on the other hand dispense with (the basic virtue of) decorum and respect due to the sovereign? Important are the Rites! Great is (the power of) Respect! All basic principles of government are comprised by these. It is not so that the Lord of Ten Thousand Carriages (the emperor) desires to be
[80.1.20] venerable, nor is it so that the common people of the countryside desire to be low. But if (the distinction between) high and low is not clearly exposed, the ruler's civilizing (activity) will become confused. For there can be only one (principle of government); if one makes it two, disorder will be the result.[15]

This is the way in which the ancient sages have established rules and administered the empire; it is necessary to have no doubts concerning this. Persons of many-sided abilities may select (what is good) from a wide range (of different doctrines), and may always practise it entirely.[16] If they practise it personally or within their family, that may be done. But it will not be allowed to practise it in the state and at the court. Is this not a far-sighted (course of action)?

To judge from your memorial, you are actually also unable to make out whether (the Buddha) exists or not. But even if you could, I would still maintain that (Buddhism) must not interfere with government affairs. How much less can both be practised[17] if (the Buddha) does not exist at all?"

(Third memorial of He Chong and his partisans).

"Although your servants, stupid as they are, do not understand the far-reaching purport (of this edict), yet, in view of their respectful attention day and night and of their desire to comply with[18] the ruler's measures, how could they stick to their narrow views and recklessly confound the great (human) relationships? They only consider that from Han and Wei down to Jin times nobody has ever made proposals to deviate (from the *status quo*, *i.e.*, to bring the *saṅgha* under government authority), and yet (the distinction between) high and low as well as the regulations and laws have at no moment been harmed.

Now the *śramaṇa*'s observation of the monastic rules is very attentive, and as regards the
[80.2.1] practice of their rites they are completely uniform.[19] Their sincerity in observing these rules being such that they will sacrifice their lives without regret (rather than break their vows)—how would (such diligent people) venture to be lax in matters of decorum and respect with regard to their bodies? We have always noticed that (the monks) when burning incense and saying prayers always put the Ruler (國家) first (among those for whom they invoke blessings), wishing that He will enjoy abundant happiness: their feelings (of concern for the Ruler) are simply without limits.

(The principles of) serving one's superiors and exalting (the virtue of) submission are derived from man's natural constitution; they are the most essential form of rites and ceremonies, which (in their case) consists of maintaining the "Law" (法) with a concentrated mind. That is why the Saintly rulers of former times have (always) allowed them to continue (their way of life) without changing it.

"All-embracing is the net of Heaven; its meshes are wide, and yet nothing is lost".[20] Your servants earnestly consider that if (the monks) are not ordered to pay homage, the law will not suffer any harm from it. Grant them this favour in accordance with what is profitable to them, so that nobody, wise or fool, will dare not to be sincere. Then, above, (the emperor's rule) will be beneficial like Heaven that covers and Earth that sustains (all beings), and below there will be those who concentrate upon the cultivation of what is good.

Diligently we submit again our stupid and shallow ideas, requesting the favour of your consideration".

APPENDIX B

XI CHAO'S *FENGFA YAO* 奉法要 (**"Essentials of Religion"**).

Chinese text in *HMJ* XIII 86.1 sqq.

The profession of faith (*triśaraṇa*).

The Threefold Refuge (三自歸) consists of taking refuge in the Buddha, in the twelve classes of scriptures (十二部經)[21] and in the *bhikṣu-saṅgha*, *i.e.*, in the Buddhas of the three times of past, present and future and of the ten directions (of the universe), in the doctrine of the scriptures of the three times and the ten directions, and in the *saṅgha* of the three times and the ten directions. At every occasion of worship and repentance of sins one must always surrender oneself full of devotion (to this triad),[22] at the same time cherishing thoughts of tenderness towards all living beings and wishing that they obtain emancipation. What in a foreign language is called *nanwu* 南無 (*namaḥ*) is in Chinese called "to surrender one-self to...".[23] (The word) "Buddha" is in Chinese rendered by "awaken(ed)" 覺.[24] "*Saṅgha*" is in Chinese "the group" 衆.

The fives Rules (*pañcaśīla*) and their karmic consequences.

The Five Rules (of the Layman) are as follows: (1) not to kill, nor to make others kill,
[86.2.1] and always firmly to persist in this to the end of one's life;[25] (2) not to rob, nor to make others rob, and always firmly to persist in this to the end of one's life; (3) not to commit (acts of) unchastity, nor to make others commit such acts, and always...(4) not to commit falsehood, nor make others commit falsehood, and always...(5) not to drink wine, nor to use wine as a gift, and always...If the wine is used as a medicine, the dosage must be weighed, the main point being that it must not provoke drunkenness. Drunkenness is accompanied by thirty-six evils,[26] and the scriptural teachings prohibit it most strictly. One who does not kill will have a long life; one who refrains from robbery will have lasting prosperity; one who is not unchaste will be pure; one who commits no falsehood will always be respected and trusted by others; the spirit of one who is not drunk will be clear and orderly.

The period of fasting.[27]

Once having (decided to) practice the Five Rules, (the *upāsaka*) must observe the three (long) fasting periods in a year and the six monthly fast-(days). The three (long) fast-
[86.2.10] ing periods in a year are from the first to the fifteenth day of the first, the fifth and the ninth month. The six monthly fast-(days) are the 8th, the 14th, the 15th, the 23rd, the 29th and the 30th of (each) month.

On all fast-days meat nor fish should be provided; (the devotee) must (only) eat before noon, and when noon is past, he is not allowed to taste any kind of sweet-smelling and delicious food. (During these periods of fasting) he cleans his mind and thinks about the Way. Surrendering himself to the three venerable ones (the Buddha, the *Dharma* and the *Saṅgha*), he repents of his sins and reproves himself, and practises the four thoughts of general, (*i.e.*, all-pervading, love and compassion) 四等心.[28] He keeps far from the (women's) apartments in order not to be ensnared by the six passions. (On those days) he must not beat (people or animals) with a whip or a stick, or use abusive language; he must not drive in an ox-cart or ride on horseback, or carry arms.

As for female (devotees, *upāsikā*), they moreover must abstain from the use of perfume, flowers, cosmetics and other ornaments; with proper minds and decent thoughts they must strive to preserve (the female virtues of) softness and submission.

When fasting, the devotee must perform this for the sake of all who have passed away or who are still alive, for his acquaintances and relatives, as well as for all living beings. In all these occasions he must use this (fasting) to extend his sincerity and by hidden thoughts move and stimulate (their minds).[29] Once (their) minds have been moved and stimulated, they will forever avoid sin and suffering. Therefore loyal and filial gentlemen exert themselves to the utmost (in observing the fast-days) in order to do the meritorious work of helping all together; it is not merely for his own sake.

[86.2.20] During the fast-days he must exclusively concentrate his thoughts on the vision of the Mystery and recite the words of the Doctrine. If he is unable to practise (the contemplation of) Emptiness, he must perform the Six Remembrances.

The Six Remembrances (*anusmṛti*) and the Ten Good Works (*kuśala-karmāni*).

The Six Remembrances 六思念[30] are: to remember the Buddha 念佛, to remember the scriptures 念經, to remember the *saṅgha* 念僧, to remember charity 念施, to remember the Rules 念戒 and to remember the gods 念天.[31]

What does "to remember the gods" mean? The practice of the Ten Good Works (cf. below) and the Four Thoughts of General (Compassion) form a way of conduct which corresponds to (the will or the status) of the gods (or: of Heaven). Moreover, he must to the best of his power strive to help all beings.

The Ten Good Works 十善[32] are the following. With his body he must not commit the sins of killing 殺, robbery 盜 or unchastity 淫; in his mind he must not be envious 嫉, spiteful 恚 or foolish 癡; in his speech he must not be false 妄言 specious 綺語, double-tongued 兩舌 or foul-mouthed 惡口.

What is meant by "not killing"? (The devotee) must always be compassionate (even) to crawling creatures (like vermin); even when he is much vexed by them he will never do them harm for his own profit. In general, if any living being is in danger or distress, he must do his utmost to help them; whether they be in the water or on the land, he will make them gain their (proper) element. He shall not accept any (meat of animals) that may perhaps have been slaughtered for his sake.

What is meant by "robbery"? In general, taking whatever is not one's own, irrespec-
[86.3.1] tive of the size (of the object), as well as being impure in the administration of one's
office—all this is called "robbery".

What is meant by "unchastity"? All bonds and fetters are generally called "unchastity".[33] As applied to sensual desires, it means that outside the regular relation of marriage no offenses (of this kind) may be committed.

"Envy" means "jealousy". If (the devotee) sees the good points of another man, if he sees that the other is virtuous, he must always rejoice on his behalf, and not have any feelings of contention, hatred and jealousy.

"Spite" means that the mind harbours anger which lies hidden and coagulates within.

"Foolishness" means to have no faith in the great doctrine and to be sceptical and ignorant as to the scriptural teachings.

What is meant by "falsehood"? It is to represent something non-existent as something that exists, and so to fabricate vain assertions.

What is meant by "specious language"? It is glib-tongued speech, refined and adorned, flowery but untrue.

What is meant by "being double-tongued"? It means to say different things before one's face and behind one's back, and to speak about B in the presence of A (and *vice-versa*).

What is meant by "being foul-mouthed"? It means abusive language, or, as some

[86.3.10] say, to speak about (someone's) shortcomings so that other people will take your words and use them to blame (the person in question).

All these ten (evil) things must not even for one moment arise in (the devotee's) mind and thought. These then are the Ten Good Works; they are also (to be regarded as) the Ten (prohibitive) Rules: the Five Rules (above p. 164) regulate the (acts of) the body, whereas the Ten Good Works serve to restrain the mind.

The five *gati*.

A more or less strict (observation of these) matters is followed by a more or less heavy (karmic) retribution. The whole universe[34] taken together is called the Triple World 三界;[35] within the Triple World there are five modes of existence ("courses", *gati* 道): (1) gods, (2) human beings, (3) animals, (4) hungry demons,[36] (5) (inhabitants of) the hells. Those who fully observe the Five Rules obtain a human shape. Those who (in addition) perform the Ten Good Works are (re)born in the abode of the gods 天堂, and even those who fully observe one of the Five Rules still do not fail to become human beings. But among these there are differences between high and low, and between the long-lived and those who die prematurely: all this depends on the number of Rules which they have observed.[37]

The opposite of the Ten Good Works is called the Ten Evil Works, and those who have committed them all will enter Hell. Those who have been violent and oppressive, who have not taken to heart faithful remonstrances, who have had many venomous thoughts, and who
[86.3.20] have been striving for their personal (well-being) whilst cheating others[38] either fall as low as domestic animals or as snakes and vipers. Those who have been stingy and covetous and only interested in gain, and who have always been anxious lest they would not have enough descend to (the state of) hungry demons. Those whose sins have been somewhat less serious or numerous, but who have often cherished dark and egoistic (thoughts), and whose feelings have not been honest and fair all descend to (the state of) demons and spirits; although they may enjoy a little happiness, they cannot avoid suffering and pain. These (three spheres of existence) are called the Three Paths 三塗 and also the Three Evil Courses.[39]

The five *skandha*.[40]

(Visible) matter 色, painful or pleasant sensation 痛痒, thought-and-memory 思想, birth and passing away (of mental phenomena) 生死 and recollection 識 are called the Five Dark(ening) elements 五陰.[41]

In general, all things of the outer world which have form and can be seen are (called) "matter".

When losing them one feels distressed: this is "painful sensation" 痛; when obtaining them one feels happy: this is "pleasant sensation" (lit. "tickle") 痒.

To think in anticipation of what has not yet taken place is "thought" 思; afterwards to recall what has already happened is called "memory" 想.[42]

The rise of a thought is "birth"; when a thought passes into memory and is extinguished, this is "passing away".

Whatever once in the past has involved the mind is stored away and not forgotten: this is "recollection". After having passed through a succession of *kalpas*, recollection will still sprout again in the heart. Although one is ignorant about its origin, yet it lingers at its root. At first,
[87.1.1] it secretly develops from something infinitesimal, but in the end it becomes (huge) like mountains and valleys. That is why the student must strive to be attentive in whatever he practises.

The five *nīvaraṇa*.[43]

The Five Covering (sins) 五蓋 are (1) desire-and-lewdness 貪淫, (2) anger-and-spite 瞋恚 (3) ignorance 愚癡, (4) wrong views 邪見, (5) dalliance 調戲.

Taken separately, "desire" means lust; "lewdness" means to be permanently addicted to them.

What appears on the outside is "anger"; what coagulates within is "spite".

"Ignorance" is to be bound by fetters, to come into conflict with true principles, and to be perverse and deluded. Ignorance is the root of the causal (process of) birth-and-death; all fetters begin with ignorance.

The terrible torments of hell are often a result of spite, for, as a scripture says, "the guilt of one who kills another in a sudden fight is still (relatively) light, but for him who secretly plots with venomous thoughts, the punishment will accumulate, eon after eon, and there is no hope (or "final term") of emancipation".[44]

The six *āyatana*.[45]

The Six Feelings 六情, also called the Six (factors of) Decay 六衰 or the Six Desires 六欲 are: the eye perceiving matter 目受色; the ear perceiving sound 耳受聲; the nose perceiving odour 鼻受香; the tongue perceiving savour 舌受味; the body perceiving (tangible qualities like)
[87.1.10] fine-and-smooth 身受細滑; the mind perceiving recollection. This "recollection" is the same as the dark element (*skandha*) of recollection mentioned above.[46]

The five Dark (Elements) and the six Feelings are the origin and root of (the cycle of) birth-and-death, and the source of all sin and suffering. The method to eliminate them is set forth in the scriptures.

The mind; its dangerous and elusive nature.

It is said in a scripture: "The mind makes (one a) god, the mind makes (one a) human being, or (an inhabitant of) hell, or a domestic animal—even the (state of) one who has gained the Way (得道) is a result of the mind".[47]

Each and every thought that springs from the mind is subject to retribution; even if the fact (or act) has not yet been realized, the hidden response (of *karman*) has been built up in the dark. Now feelings and thoughts are swiftly moving around; suddenly and abruptly they appear (one after another) in a continuous succession, and stimulated by an insignificant motive they at once expand throughout the universe. (Future) punishment and happiness, (bodily) form and destination (道 = *gati*)—there is none which does not spring from them; fortune or disaster, shame and regret are decided in a single moment. That is why he who practises the Way is always "careful of himself when being alone"[48] in regard to his mind: he guards against (evil thoughts) when they are still minute, and he is aware of their first beginning. Using the perfect principle (of the doctrine) as his bulwark, he always remains in control of what is fundamental in order to restrain what is secondary. He does not rashly form thoughts about matters which have not yet taken shape. How could he merely be concerned about "(manifested) words which go out of his house so that (the people) from a thousand miles respond to them",[49] or how could he, in
[87.1.20] view of the fact that "nothing is more visible than what is secret",[50] be only watchful over his bodily (actions without trying to restrain his thoughts)?

It is said in the separate version of the *Shi'ermen jing* 異出十二門經: "What is good in a man should always be kept hidden, but what is evil in him must always be clearly exposed".[51] It must be remarked that the superior man "does not set his mind either for anything, or against anything",[52] and having committed errors he will not be satisfied without having repented them. Quite rightly he leaves to circumstances whether he should be active or hide himself; how could he consciously strive for hiding or manifesting (his person)? But the application of the teaching (of Buddhism) should probably be restricted to the common affairs (of average people).[53]

Good works must be done in secret; sinful deeds must be confessed.

If we investigate the way in which the natural principle (of *karman*) functions in punishing or rewarding (all actions), it appears that the more (the good or evil intention) leaks out the lighter (its retribution) will be, and the more (the intention) is inwardly accumulated the heavier (its retribution) will be. When its traces have become manifested in the world of men, then the invisible response (of *karman*) will certainly become less.

Moreover, to boast of one's goodness and to make a display of merit is the great desire of all beings; to hide one's defects and to gloss over one's faults is the common practice of all kinds of creatures. If good works become manifested, the outward act is displayed, and, as a result of such a display of outward acts (of goodness), a good reputation is built up. But if the feelings become entangled by (considerations of) promotion and degradation[54] and a good reputation is built up on the outside (to earn the praise of the world), then greed will come to fill up the inner mind.

Moreover, "he who is a superior man among human beings is still a small man before Heaven".[55] How much more (is this true in the case of) those in whom the virtue of altruism
[87.2.1] has not yet become perfect and whose fame is in excess of reality! They will most certainly suffer punishment in the dark and hidden (hereafter). Unless one's virtue is complete one will certainly have one's shortcomings.[56] If one lays bare (these shortcomings) and makes them publicly known, then (these) will be dispersed together with the acts. If one engraves (one's erroneous thoughts) in one's heart, and outwardly cultivates a honest appearance[57] in order to avoid other people's criticism and to receive and gather the praise of the world, thereby violating the Heavenly principles—would in such a case one's offense against nature not be even more serious? Therefore Zhuangzi also says: "He who commits evil in secret will be punished by demons and spirits".[58]

Moreover, man's feelings are such that he will not be ashamed for the principles (which he violates) but for other people. If his faults are brought to light, disgrace will come, and from disgrace shame is born; (thus) his state of mind will be near to repentance, so that the evil has no chance to accumulate. If, on the other hand, (his faults) do not come out, he will on account of this never change his course. If furthermore his offenses against Heaven fill (the mind) within, and he is in constant fear that they will become manifested without, then he will be tormented by a myriad anxious thoughts, and his ingenious precautions (against discovery) will have to be more and more complicated. For the rest of his years he will have to devote all
[87.2.10] his energy to this (policy of self-concealment), but in the end disaster from Heaven and material troubles will suddenly overcome him together. All this is the result of not guarding against the first sprouting (of the seeds of evil) or carefully attending to its beginnings, and of concealing one's faults and making a display of goodness.

Stressing the good qualities of others.

It is said in the *Zhengzhai jing* 正斋經: "You may only speak about another's hundred good points; you must not speak about his one fault".[59] If we speak about another man's goodness, good thoughts will be born. If we speak about his faults we give rise to thoughts of resentment, and such thoughts, though small at first, will gradually combine and accumulate. Thus one (thought of) goodness creates innumerable (thoughts of goodness), and one (thought of) evil creates innumerable (thoughts of) evil.

Karmic retribution does not involve the relatives of the sinner.

The Ancients used to say: "The flourishing of (a family of) military specialists does not last longer than three generations",[60] and (the general) Chen Ping 陳平 also said: "Since I have often devised secret strategems, my sons and grandsons will not prosper".[61] The instruction to be derived from (such sayings) is truly worth

being propagated. However, (karmic retribution works otherwise): the (tyrants of) Qi and Chu enjoyed their (royal) heritage for many generations, whereas (sages like) Yan (Hui) and Ran Geng never obtained a glorious recompense from their offspring (both having died prematurely).[62] All this is clearly evident from factual cases (in history), and we do not need any deductive reasoning to elucidate this. Moreover, Gun 鯀 was banished whereas (his son) Yu 禹 was raised (to the rank of minister);[63] tadpoles and frogs (though related) have different
[87.2.20] forms.[64] That the four punishments[65] do not extend to (the culprit's relatives) has been a constant rule for a hundred generations. When a sage monarch rules the world there are already no excesses (in the application of punishments)—how much less (do they occur) in the mysterious response of Nature! Not to take the circumstances into consideration, but to cause punishments and rewards to be applied in a disorderly way so that good and evil are without distinction is to violate the true principles most seriously.

Moreover, when the Qin instituted the punishment involving the whole family 收孥之刑,[66] the (actual) perpetrator was still regarded as the principal (criminal), and only after the principal criminal had undergone punishment, it was inflicted on the others. (However), not to have the offence visited on the person (of the offender), but to have the disaster extend to his relatives—that would be a way of legislation not only intolerable to the sacred scriptures, but also certainly rejected by (the legalist philosophers) Shen (Buhai) en Han (Feizi). Hence it is said in the *Nihuan jing* 泥洹經: "When the father has done wrong, the son will not suffer in his place; if the son has done wrong, the father will not suffer either".[67] (*Karman* is such that) the one who does good automatically reaps happiness, and that he who does wrong automatically undergoes its baleful results. How perfect are these words! They agree with the heart and accord with reason.

But if we investigate the origin of the secular teaching (concerning collective punishment), is it not so that, when the circumstances are not taken into consideration, whilst everybody is arrested without stopping at the single person (of the evildoer), the warning and the fear are all the greater as the number of those who are affected is larger? Therefore (the ancient rulers) concealed the real motive, laying it up as in a case, and always set forth its common
[87.3.1] (application) as a means to control those who are only little advanced. (Such a procedure) did no harm to the (deterrent power) of punishment and admonition, and was in accordance with what is suitable. Those who long for (man's well-being) must pay no attention to accidental matters and understand the profound leading principle and hidden intention (of the sages). But there are those who hold on to the letter (of the law) without adapting themselves to the changes, who blindly follow the doctrine without understanding the circumstances (of which it is an expression), and who regard this as the faithful observation of right principles—is this not (purely) external?

The inevitability of karmic retribution.

The relation between (future) punishment and perverseness and between (future) happiness and compliance (with virtue) is that of an inevitable and never failing response. For one who is ignorant of this principle, right and wrong will have no fixed positions, and his mind will have no standard to abide by. If we test this in our present life, where we find that even boundless sincerity is seldom confirmed (appreciated), and that the absence of (any) transgression of the right principles is not always clearly manifested by a factual (reward), must we then not ascribe this to causes in past (lives), and trace (their results) in a future existence? Therefore he who attentively studies the principle (of *karman*) comes to the conviction that (retribution, like) shadow and echo,[68] is hard to impose upon; he rejects (so-called) factual evidence and abides by what is unseen. He understands "how vast and
[87.3.10] wide the net of Heaven is",[69] and therefore he expects (the eventual fulfilment of his *karman*) from that which lets nothing escape, realizing the continuity of the course of destiny. (In

this way) he blends (the causes and effects) of a myriad eons into one morning, he comprises the three times (of past, present and future) in one mysterious unity, and sums up the final (outcome of his deeds) as that which simply must come. How would he ever change his opinion because of (the fact that retribution may) be more or less clearly perceptible (in the present life), or that it may tarry a long time before (taking place)? This (firm belief) is the very first root and essence of faith, and the deeply-felt expectation of the mind which (is bound to) *karman*.

Antidotes against self-complacency, desire and anger.

It is said in the *Shi'ermen jing* 十二門經: "Whenever (the devotee) imagines himself to be correct and good, he must consider how his own body is no more than a collection of (organs such as) liver, bowels, stomach and lungs, and of bones, blood, excrement and urine—what good things are there in it? Then again he must contemplate the evil and decay in other people's bodies all in the same way".[70]

If thoughts of desire arise, he must consider how at birth he did not bring with him his valuable possessions, and how at death he will not take them with him either. In the vicissitudes of life in which he is tossed around, it is difficult to keep them even (for one day) from morning till night. His body will not last long, and things have no permanent owner. (Therefore) he ought, at this very time, to practise benevolence and kindness, to help the poor with money and the sick with medicine, and joyfully to strive, to the end of his days, to care for and to help (all beings).

[87.3.20] If thoughts of anger arise, he must produce an intense (feeling of) equanimity 平等, at the same time maintaining the ten prohibitive rules (十戒, *i.e.*, the Ten Good Works, cf. above, p. 165).

The virtue of Equanimity (*kṣānti*).

It is said in the *Chamojie jing* 差摩竭經: "Of all the (virtues) practised by the Bodhisattva, that of Patience (忍辱, "to endure humiliation", *kṣānti*) is the greatest. If he is scolded and abused he will be silent and not answer; if he is beaten and punched, he will undergo it without joining issue. If he meets with anger and hatred, he will face (his opponents) with tenderness; if he is slandered, he will not think about the evil (of their words)".[71] It is also said in the *Faju jing* 法句經: "The patient heart is like earth; the practice of forbearance is like a threshold".[72] This is because (the earth and the threshold) hold the dust and receive (all) impurities, and always (patiently) bear being trodden upon.

It is said in the *Chengju jing* 成具經: "If the other commits the four (oral) transgressions towards you, then (this will serve to make you) realize the vices of speech, and you must answer him with good and affable words, with sincerity and simplicity".[73] The "four transgressions" are those mentioned above (p. 165), *viz.* being double-tongued, foul-mouthed, false and specious.

In general, if the other meets me with evil and I answer with goodness, then his heart, if not made of wood or stone, will certainly be moved by truth. (This being so), I should only
[88.1.1] be afraid not to dwell constantly (in this attitude) and not to accumulate (the merit resulting from this) by propagating it. For if in all matters one thinks of patience, then the (need for) repentance of sins will disappear in the present and a blissful reward will appear in the future. It is said in the *Xianzhe de jing* 賢者德經: "What is uncomfortable to yourself, never inflict on others";[74] (these words), if referring to the common (morality), constitute the (Confucian) principles of "Loyalty and Consideration" 忠恕,[75] and if enlarged to their highest (application) they convey the sense of the four kinds of general (i.e. universal, sympathy) 四等.

The four *brahmavihāra*.[76]

What are these four? Love 慈, Commiseration 悲, Joy 喜 and Protection 護.

What is meant by "Love"? It is to consider all beings and my own person on the

same footing and to be considerate towards others; to desire to give rest to all; to extend one's love (even) to the insects and to cherish feelings (of sympathy for all) without distinction.

What is meant by "Commiseration"? It is with universal love (博愛) to save all, with tears like rain and a heart full of pity; it is the urge to do real works of merit performed in secret, and not only to have the (good) intention (to do so).

What is meant by "Joy"? It is to be cheerful and gentle and to give without regret.

What is meant by "Loving Protection" 愛護? It is to excel in saving all kinds (of beings) with appropriate means; to serve as a ford or bridge for the whole world; to strive to be of assistance to all.

Not rebirth in Heaven, but *Nirvāṇa* the highest goal.

He who is able to practise the four general (feelings described above) is the most venerable in the triple world. However, unless one can darken his mind in (the highest Truth) which "gives
[88.1.10] no sign" 無兆, one is still in the (domain of limited) "numbers" 數,[77] which necessarily must come to an end. That is why the *Benqi jing* 本起經 says: "Although the gods lead a blissful existence, yet when their (share of) happiness has been exhausted they also lose it. However exalted they may be, if they do not know the Way, their doors face those of hell".[78] It is also said in the *Chengju jing*: "Happiness has its pain, has its end, has its toil, has its going and returning",[79] and the *Nihuan jing* says: "In the five *gati* there is no rest, only 'non-being' (無, or "non-activity" 無為 = *nirvāṇa*) is happiness".[80]

Impassivity and insight into causation prepare the way to *Nirvāṇa*.

It is said in the scriptures that the devotee must first abandon the eight worldly things 世八事: gain and loss, slander and fame, praise and ridicule, sorrow and joy.[81] When hearing good things he does not rejoice; when hearing evil things he does not fear. As his faith is naturally firm, neither obstruction nor encouragement are able to move his will; as the principle of Truth is (deeply) rooted in his heart, the things of the outer world are unable to affect his thoughts.

Moreover, (he knows that) whatever occurs in the present is necessarily a result of past causes, and that the mysterious operation of past causes is in truth (inexorable) like (the succession of) the four seasons: their coming cannot be halted, their going cannot be stopped. He must submissively acquiesce in it, and joyfully complete (his task). He must energetically strive to increase his understanding of the Way, and train himself to set a term to all wrong thoughts,[82] for only by elimination of bodily retribution he will obtain the great peace.

Now Truth being rooted in his mind, its retribution will become manifested in factual
[88.1.20] (results), just as the shadow is straight when the body is upright, or as the echo is concordant when the voice is melodious. This is the mysterious response which comes spontaneously—how could there be any (conscious agent) who makes it happen?[83]

Therefore, he who makes his mind tally with the spiritual Way 神導 must certainly do so in the expectation of gaining full understanding of the truth 理. In devoting himself to the realisation of what is far-reaching and great, and in emptying his inner (mind) and rectifying his own person, he may have no hope to obtain any help from without: it can neither be obtained by humble and disgraceful (practices) nor extorted by impassioned striving. This is the key to be placed in the heart; the student must keep this (constantly) in mind.

The role of devotion.

(But now) someone may hold that, the retribution of thoughts being inevitable like shadow or echo, one must only strive for self(-cultivation) and no more, and that this has nothing to do with (the cult of) what is dark and abstruse. Now if we

investigate why the doctrine originally was established, we could say that it was to make (people) realize (the need of) striving for self(-cultivation). But for the doctrine, nobody would understand the method of self-cultivation, and since this understanding is a result of the doctrine, therefore the merit (of this self-cultivation) is derived from the supernatural way (of the Buddha). Our joyful emotion, once born in the heart, must necessarily express itself in actions, just as when the singing is not sufficient (to express our feelings) it has to be combined with gestures and dancing.[84] Hence our feelings of worship and veneration (for the Buddha and his doctrine) are, strictly speaking, not required by reason 理, but the emotions cannot do without them.

(But mere self-cultivation is not enough): we must let ourselves go and, profoundly realizing the intention of the doctrine, forget (all other) considerations and be joyful, with the intention
[88.2.1] to attract others by means of our own (example), and to enlarge ourselves so as to comprise all. That is what makes firm the will of those who have recently begun to wade through the stream (of the religious life), and what gives determination to their inner thoughts.

Suffering and decay.

It is said in a scripture: "Birth is suffering, old age is suffering, disease is suffering, death is suffering. To be united with that which one hates is suffering; to be separated from that which one loves is suffering; not to obtain what one seeks is suffering".[85]

Being (subjected to) all these forms of suffering, we must deeply think about the process of causation,[86] at the same time being well aware of Māra's tricks; we must open up (our understanding) by far-reaching contemplation, and enlarge it by means of the (four) thoughts of universal (sympathy).

Moreover, this brief life passes like (the glimpse of a horse galloping) past a fissure (in the wall);[87] although the vicissitudes (of our lives) may be different, yet in the end we are (all) reduced to dried and rotten (bones),[88] and the amount of our successes and failures is certainly not worth calculating. If we thoroughly understand the various ways (of fate),[89] then this heart (which clings to the world) will automatically cease to be.

Moreover, as long as one has not yet entered into the way, joy and sorrow alternate, collection and dispersion (of fortune) come and go, wisdom and foolishness go hand in hand. That is why a scripture says: "If one is safe, there will be danger; if one obtains, there will be loss;
[88.2.10] being together will (be followed) by separation and birth by death".[90] For this is the constant condition of nature, the fixed final term which is due to come (for everything). If we expand this (idea) and (are able) to rest content with it,[91] then our path will be smooth wherever we go.

Vimalakīrti says: "All *dharmas* are born from and shaped by thought".[92] Hence when the first signs have become active (in the mind), the factual (result of thought) will follow as a response. When ideas arise there is sorrow, when they cease there is none. Once the thoughts are appeased, (our ways) will be smooth whatever happens, and once the emotions are obstructed, we shall be unimpeded wherever we go.[93]

It follows that the source of (all) impediment lies in ourselves and not in the outer world. For when fear arises in the heart, then the hostile forces[94] from without will take advantage of (our weakness), and when this happens, the inner fear will accumulate more and more. For if one is afraid to lose, one is capable of doing anything. That is why a scripture says that "if a strong man is afraid, then the demons get their chance".[95] But if one is really able to restrain one's mind by reason, so that the natural bastion is made strong inside, then men and demons will find no crevice (to get in by), and the process of causation will cease by itself. The myriad phenomena of existence will have no power to bind; all evil will be unable to attack.

Impermanence.

[88.2.20] The four (aspects of) what is not permanent[96] are the following: (1) impermanence 無常, (2) suffering 苦, (3) emptiness 空, (4) impersonality 非身.

That forms change from young to old, and that (as time goes on) hills become vales and vales become hills, is called "impermanence".

That flourishing and decay alternate, and joy at its summit must turn into grief is called "suffering".

That all the myriad (phenomena of) being finally return to non-being is called "emptiness".

That the spirit 神 has no constant abode, but shifts and changes without ever stopping is called "impersonality".

A scripture says: "dwelling in a place of delusive joy, he realizes the retribution of certain suffering". Thus (one may) infer the supersession (of things or states) by one another from this, and see clearly how joy is followed by sadness—therefore when dwelling in peace (one must) think of danger, and be "vigilant at night"[97] amidst "worldly splendour".[98] A deep understanding of (the universal nature of) suffering is called "to see the truth (of suffering)" 見諦: this is to realize that to have (conscious) thought 有心 means to have obstructions, and that whenever there are (such) obstructions, there will be suffering. Even if one belongs to the highest nobility among men and gods, and is in a position both high and venerable, yet the greater his authority and display of power are, the more painful—if (viewed in the light) of truth—are (the results of) the pleasures in which his senses delight.

Therefore a scripture says: "The triple world is all suffering; there is nothing enjoyable in
[88.3.1] it", and again: "All beings of the five *gati* are together in one vast prison".[99] When the mind is fettered by existence, then punishment and bliss are intimately connected—therefore the triple world as a whole is called "one vast prison".

The Buddha (once) asked his disciples: "What is meant by impermanence?" One of them answered: "That even for the time of one day (life) cannot be preserved—that is impermanence". The Buddha said: "You are not my disciple". Another said: "That it cannot be preserved even for the time of one meal[100]—that is impermanence". The Buddha said: "You are not my disciple". Another said: "That after a (single) exhalation without response[101] one has already passed to a later moment—that is impermanence". The Buddha said: "You are truly my disciple".[102]

Now the clear evidence for (the reality of) impermanence is daily displayed before our eyes, and yet innumerable generations of men go the same way, no one ever understanding its (true nature). Without a single moment's rest they harbour plans (intended for) endless ages, and since they are (only) afraid lest they will not take part in (worldly relations),[103] they are lax and negligent in all (other) matters. If one in this way (attempts to) advance in virtue, then the result will be that "no basketful (of earth) is thrown (to raise the mound)";[104] if one in this way (attempts to) regulate the mind, then one will be indolent in one's study.

[88.3.10] Therefore gentlemen who (practise) the way give heed to "a single inch of time"[105] and regret its passing away; they always exert themselves to whip on the laggards in a struggle with time. As the days are not enough, disorderly thoughts and (their evil) retribution have no opportunity to arise.

The six *pāramitā*.

The six Transcendent Virtues 六度[106] are: (1) Liberality 施 (*dāna*), (2) Observance of the rules) 戒 (*śīla*), (3) Forbearance 忍辱 (*kṣānti*), (4) Progress 精進 (*vīrya*), (5) Mental Concentration 一心 (*dhyāna*), (6) Wisdom 智慧 (*prajñā*).

"Liberality" is to be able to disperse whatever one has accumulated in order to benefit and to help all beings.

"Observance" is assiduously to maintain the Ten Good Works and to keep out depravity by means of sincerity.

"Forbearance" is though offended not to enter into altercation, and always to excel in humbling oneself to others.

"Progress" is diligently to perform the work (of salvation) from morning till evening, without flagging.

"Mental Concentration" is to be intent upon guarding one's thought, and to regulate the multitude (of thoughts) by restraining them.

All these five (virtues) are practised with (conscious) thought 有心; (hence) they are called the "worldly *paramitā*" 俗度. To let them merge into "universal oblivion" 兼忘[107] is called the "Wisdom of the Way" 道慧 (*prajñā*, gnosis).

Emancipation through *prajñā*.

It is said in the *Benqi jing*: "The (masters of) the ninety-six (heretical) doctrines[108] all believe in the creeds (which they propagate), they are all joyfully contented with life[109]—who knows how deluded they are?".[110]

Now to rejoice about success and to hate failure, to take pleasure in existence and to be distressed about death is the common error of "the boy who forgot his way (home, and settled
[88.3.20] elsewhere)",[111] a feeling which is shared by all beings. But the unseen power makes (everything) secretly fade away, and it cannot be held back by loving attachment; it responds to every (action) which it comes to face, and how could it be controlled by a (conscious) application of wisdom?

That is why the student must turn his mind towards the root of (the process of) transformation and direct his view towards the mysterious principle 玄宗. Enjoy it and taste it, and all thoughts will automatically be discarded. When thought is discarded, there is forgetfulness 忘, and with forgetfulness, causation ends. When the causal (process of) retribution has ended, one enters into No-birth 無生, and since (in that state) one is not born, therefore one is able not to die.[112]

Therefore the *Puyao jing* 普曜經 says: "There is nothing from which he is born, and there is nothing to which he does not give birth. Among all that has been borne by him, there is nothing which (in fact) has been born".[113] The *Nihuan jing* says: "If the mind is at rest then there is neither death nor birth. The mind is the seed, the actions are the soil, their retribution are the fruits, each being in accordance with the kind of seed that has been planted. When the time has come, they are born, and nothing can stop them".[114] When one has planted (the seed of observing) the ten Rules (of the) Good works,[115] then one is rewarded by birth (in Heaven), as has been set forth in one of the preceding sections. If one furthermore has planted the (seeds of) *dhyāna*, of universal (sympathy) and of the four (kinds of) emptiness 四空,[116] then one will occupy the most exalted position in the realm of the gods. The meaning of the "four kinds of
[89.1.1] emptiness" and of *dhyāna* (in general) is contained in several scriptures.

The *Nirvāṇa* **of the Arhat and of the Buddha.**

He who from the first to the eighteenth heaven[117] performs meritorious works in accordance with circumstances, who in ever-increasing numbers plants (the seeds of) the (realization of) Impermanence, of *dhyāna* and of the (Four Noble) Truths, and who turns the back on Being and clings to Non-Being—(such a person) obtains the *Nirvāṇa* of the Arhat.

But if one is neither afraid of activity[118] nor attached to the contemplation of Emptiness 空觀, if all principles are effaced ("darkened" 冥) and one does not hold to or rely upon anything, then one does not plant any ("seeds") at all, and since one does not plant, one is not subjected to retribution. The vast emptiness of mystic discarding (of all notions)—that is the *Nirvana* of the Buddha. "*Nirvāṇa*" is called "non-activity" 無為 in Chinese, and also "extinction (in the) beyond" 滅度.

Heretical teachings.

Vimalakīrti says: "Those six (heretical) teachers regard the exposition of their biased views as the (true) Way. To follow the six teachers means to cling to the

(various) views; it means to fall into the Extremes; it means to come into the Eight Difficult (situations); it is not the doctrine which makes free from birth-and-death".[119] Even if one has often tried to practise the mental state of mystic ("forgetfulness"), yet the slightest (mental) commotion makes one equal to those six teachers and causes one to be impeded, like they are, by one and the same (false notion of) Being. How much more is this the case with those who (positively) desire to produce biased views, who hold to (the idea of) an ego in order to resist the (universal) transformation! Let their merit (resulting from good works,
[89.1.10] 福) be higher than mountains and longer than streams, and let them have the most exalted position in the triple world—yet, by relying on the whirl(pool of "Being") they will in the end fall into sin and suffering. How could they ever obtain the great accomplishment of the "pacification of the spirit" 寧神, and the mystic equality 玄夷 which is tranquil?

"Emptiness" an inner experience which transcends both being and non-being.

It is a universal principle that whatever lives must have (either good or bad) feelings. If one does not dwell in goodness, then one certainly dwells in evil. He who begins to practise the Way must therefore have some foothold; such a foothold is necessarily derived from "being", and "being" is necessarily bound up with grief. Hence a sūtra says: "No one will ever succeed in building a palace in the Void".[120] The paradise of the Buddha is not to be obtained in (the contemplation) of Emptiness. Hence the five ("worldly") *pāramitā* and the four (feelings of) universal (sympathy) can never be discarded; one must only, whilst maintaining their practical application, discard the obstreperous thoughts (of attachment to them). Whenever (in daily life) "taking one's refuge in the Buddha" (above, p. 164) one must (at the same time) realize that, as to the Buddha, there is no question of "taking refuge"; whenever (observing) the Rules, (he must likewise realize that) there is no merit whatsoever in observing them.[121]

(If that is done), then the Truth (realized by) *dhyāna* and the Five Dark(ening) elements (*skandha*) will both be effaced ("darkened" 冥); the secondary function and the contemplation of the fundamental will together be obliterated. Although one will still make a display of all (possible worldly) activities, it will merely be "practising Emptiness within (the realm of) Emptiness" 空中行空.

[89.1.20] Someone might object: "In (the practice of) Emptiness there are no activities (possible), for activity is the opposite of Emptiness. Does activity not mean the loss of Emptiness?"

(To this I reply): "'Emptiness' is an expression for "having forgotten (all) feelings"; it is not a term for (a space to dwell in, like) an office or a house. "Non-being" is actually non-being (and no more): if one preserves (the notion of) non-being, then one is impeded and limited. (The same holds good for) "Being", which is actually being (and no more). But if one "forgets" both (being and non-being), then there is mystic understanding (or: "emancipation"? 玄解).

Thus (for the sage) "being and non-being" issue from the heart,[122] and he is not attached to the things of the outer world. Although the objects and images are displayed in his practical use (of the doctrine), as soon as the stimuli cease (to make him act), then the principles are effaced. How would he be one who first extinguishes "being" in order to attain to "non-being", or one who would gradually diminish (all activity) in order to reach total elimination?

From this point of view we may say that "being" (as such) does certainly not constitute an impediment; to regard "being" as an impediment militates against the basic principle. One must go against the current and return to the root; by relying on what is fundamental, the abundance (of Wisdom) is automatically attained.

Thus the profound course of the Bodhisattva[123] is "held together by one pervading principle":[124] he realizes how the myriad images (of the phenomenal world) are forever effaced; he mysteriously leads (all beings) availing himself of their situation.

He knows the primary emptiness of whatever principles he comes to face, and he continually grasps them by (understanding) their identical nature. He is aware of the fact that the four material elements are devoid of a self;[125] he harmonizes the (illusory) matter with the fundamental truth[126] and discards them both. Since he knows the spontaneous nature of all views, he leaves no traces although he is active.

[89.2.1] In the profound scriptures of the "extended" kind 方等 (*vaipulya*)[127] the three times (of past, present and future) are often merged into one, but the present is never said to belong to "being". From this we may infer the purport of (what I have called) "to practise Emptiness within (the realm of) Emptiness".[128]

APPENDIX C

ZHI DUN'S INTRODUCTION TO HIS "EULOGY ON AN IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ŚĀKYAMUNI"

Chinese text in *GHMJ* XV 195.3–196.2

(The Buddha's birth and early years).

The way "to establish others (in Virtue)[129] consists of Love 仁 and Righteousness 義; thus the foundation of Love and Righteousness is that what is meant by the Way 道 and its Virtue 德.

Anciently, at the end of the Zhou dynasty,[130] there was a great Saint named Buddha; he was the crown-prince of the Indian king Śuddhodana 白淨 of the Śākya (clan). As it was customary to adopt the name of the mother's clan, he was surnamed Gautama.[131]

He respectfully continued the spiritual lineage (of former Buddhas) in order to "undertake the great task",[132] and relied upon the inherited fragrance of superior wisdom;

he absorbed the great transforming influence of (the country of) "equilibrium and harmony".[133] and partook of (king) Śuddhodana's magnificence.[134]

He was born from (his mother's) right side: "when still a babe he could talk".[135]

Actually (one who is endowed with) "the nobility of Heaven"[136] will regard the absence of (worldly) ranks as honourable; truly, one who abandons official emoluments will find satisfaction in having no need of them—thus he occupied his high position, "being full of sorrows at night",[137] and regarding the purple court as a temporary lodging-house.[138]

Pining away[139] in his princely palace, he finally decided to stretch his wings in the beyond.[140]

(His departure and quest for Enlightenment).

Suddenly he went forth, in a lofty manner, to make a tour of inspection through the suburbs and the neighbouring fields.

Four times the imperial gates were opened; three times he perceived (the signs of) disease and pain.

[195.3.20] When the bard[141] sharpened his words to stimulate his mood, he willingly accepted (them) and did not oppose.

He sought for the "Great Plan"[142] among the adepts,[143] but sadly realized the useless waste of labour here performed.[144]

Then "the day dawned",[145] the long march was made; he dwelt in seclusion and tranquillity.

He abandoned the costly jewels of his princely rank in order by independence to rise to a higher state,[146] and he took off the full splendour of his dragon attire, bartering it for the coarse garment of the mountain caves.

The friends who had escorted him returned from the cliffs, but he, "more unyielding than the stone (that can be turned)",[147] rested in "the love which belongs to mountains".[148]

Spreading herbs he sat down upright; repressing (all worldly) thoughts he made the vow.[149]

He regulated the course of his respiration by practising *ānapāna*, and counted off (his in- and exhalations from one) to ten in order to control his mind;

he combined[150] the eight marks 八記 of the fourhold calculation 四籌, and applied the two (kinds of) "following" (the breath) 二隨, easily tracing its circuit;

he cut off the two moments of "speeding and welcoming" 送迎, and obtained the wonderful concentration by (fixing his thought upon) the point of his nose;

he discovered the hidden flowers of the three kinds of appeasement 三止, and penetrated into the four kinds of contemplation 四觀, blending them to one.[151]

The five dark elements[152] were dismissed and made to return to their place of origin;[153] the six emotions[154] became empty (idle) in the silent forest.

He cooled the burning desires of the five internal (organs)[155] and emptied his great mind (which belonged to) the Grand Element.[156]

He bathed in gnosis (*prajñā*) in order to advance in Virtue, and immersed himself into the
[196.1.1] seventh stage[157] to bale out its mysteries.

He caught the dark fish in the (ocean of the) Six Perfections,[158] "abandoning the fish-trap"[159] when he had reached maturity.[160]

(His Enlightenment).

(Thus) he effaced the accumulated habits[161] of a myriad eons, and equalled "the innate wisdom" (of the Saint)[162] at this very age,

closing up the five impurities[163] in order to grasp the light, he succeeded the six (previous) Buddhas[164] in order in a subtle way to transmit (the doctrine).[165]

(His glorified body) was sixteen feet tall,[166] and it bore a round halo; whilst instructing and converting those who (walk) in the dusk,[167] his complexion had the (shining) beauty of red gold.[168]

He moved around, rising up into the void, going far away like a "flash of lightning";[169] the eight tones (of his voice)[170] diffused their fragrance; easily and joyfully he displayed the brilliance (of his light).[171]

(His cosmic power).

In his mysterious vision (of events) even "before their first symptoms",[172] his greatness surpassed that of the Six Positions (in the symbols of the *Yijing*);[173] in displaying "the all-embracing completeness"[174] (of his teachings), his transforming influence was superior to that of the Three Sovereigns and the Five Emperors.[175]

The measure of his (inner) Emptiness was more capacious than the great void;[176] (the range) covered by his spirit was wider than Heaven and Earth.[177]

The "ease and simplicity" (of the operations of *yin* and *yang*)[178] rely upon (his power) to form their substances, the "great harmony" (of the dual powers)[179] adopt its excellence from (his nature).

The round achillea stalks (used in divination) symbolize the tranquillity of his spirit, whereas the square hexagrams (of the *Book of Changes*) express the universality of his wisdom.

(His teachings).

He demonstrated how happiness remains as the result of accumulated blessings (bestowed in the past), he traced (present events) back to (their causes in) former lives, in order to regulate the actions (of men):

[196.1.10] sometimes he bound them tightly by the (commandments) of virtuous conduct, sometimes he let them loose by means of the Way of Emptiness.

He made clear how the body is tossed around in its "daily renewal",[180] and fixed (the full realization) of the highest mystery in the endlessness (of *Nirvāṇa*).

His excellence, (itself) like blue, made blue the (inferior) indigo (of others);[181] he performed a hundredfold purification to lead them to stainless (virtue).

He guided all beings and made them return to the true principle, opening up the closed region beyond (the realm of) Yao and Confucius;

he compiled the eight hundred million (articles of the doctrine)[182] to express the highest truth, and caught thereby, as in a net, all (secular) scriptures to establish his canon.

He adopted the three kinds of non-being 三無 (as expounded) in the *Daoxing* (*jing*)[183] and (thereby) continued the teachings of (Lao) Dan (Laozi) and (Zhuang) Zhou (Zhuangzi), still increasing their abstruseness.[184]

His divine transforming influence was manifested in the Western Region, like the brightness of dawn rising from the Valley of Sunshine.[185]

The people, gazing from afar to his luminous (example), began to act (accordingly), like a melody attuned to (the notes) *gong* and *shang*.[186]

At that time, the scope of his (insight into) the invisible and inaudible reached farther than the teachings of (Fu) Xi;[187] the greatness of his supernatural power surpassed that of the August Xian.[188]

By the abundant splendour (of his wisdom) he soared far beyond (the Duke of Zhou) and (the mythical emperor) Tang (*i.e.*, Yao); by the flavour of his *gāthā*s he was superior to (the sages from) Zou and Lu.[189]

This may truly be called the highest form of divine transformation, the most venerable course of action for emperors and kings.

(**The** *Nirvāṇa*).

When he had passed the age of "following his heart's desires",[190] he effaced his traces in *Nirvāṇa*.

Now the Perfect Man is active or inactive in accordance with the (exigencies of the) times; he may vanish here to emerge there (wherever his presence is needed).

[196.1.20] (Thus the Buddha's) manifestation disappeared from the Realm of Forbearance,[191] and darkness returned to Kapilavastu.[192]

The profane, adhering to (the false notion of) permanence, were bewildered and amazed (at his death), but he firmly adjusted (their views) by means of (his words about the inexorable process of) preservation-and-decay.[193]

As to the nature of his supernatural enlightenment (the following fact must be remarked).

The Triple World was steeped in distress, desolate as if the rivers had been turned over, ruined as if (the vault of) heaven had fallen down.

The black-haired people shared the darkness with the eternal night; the-mystic river disappeared together with its dried-up ford; the six ferries[194] were torn away when the mountain-peak collapsed; the three Vehicles[195] lost their reins when the axle broke.[196]

The disciples wept blood and (almost) lost their minds; all animate creatures felt grief and agitation.

Now one whose way is exalted (necessarily provokes) a baser response, and (the Buddha's) followers had been (fettered by feelings of) love and praise (for their master). Therefore they weeped without being expected to do so: is that not because "it is easy to forget the whole world, but difficult to make the whole world forget oneself"?[197]

Chapter four

THE CENTRES AT XIANGYANG, JIANGLING AND LU SHAN AND THE INFLUENCE OF NORTHERN BUDDHISM.

After having followed the rise of gentry and court Buddhism in the eastern part of the Jin empire, we shall now close the historical part of our study by tracing the development in the three other main centres of Buddhism of Jin territory: the community led by Dao'an 道安 at Xiangyang 襄陽 (on the Han river, in northern Hubei) which flourished in the years 365–379 AD, the less spectacular but also important contemporary centre at Jiangling 江陵 (on the Yangzi, in southern Hubei) and the one at Mt. Lu 廬山 (N. Jiangxi) from its establishment in ca. 380 until the death of its founder, Huiyuan 慧遠 (337–417).

The most important fact concerning these centres is their northern origin. They have some characteristics in common by which they sharply contrast with the typically Southern *xuanxue* Buddhism described in the previous chapter. At Xiangyang and, somewhat later, at the two other centres which had close historical connections with Xiangyang, we find a marked devotional tendency combined with the use of icons, a stress on *dhyāna* which is practically absent in the gentry Buddhism of the South-East, and an heroic effort to become free from the entanglement of Chinese traditional thought in order to understand the real message of Buddhism. These peculiarities can largely be explained by the northern origin of the most prominent members of these communities and by the close relations they continued to maintain with the North. Together, these centres form a branch of Northern Buddhism transferred to central Chinese soil, and there grafted on the southern creed with its stress on literary studies, polite arts and philosophical speculation, both secular and Buddhist; their creed is essentially a fusion of Northern *dhyāna* and Southern *prajñāpāramitā*, sharply distinct from the by-products of the *qingtan* salons and the scholar's studio which flourished at Jiankang and Kuaiji.

In order to understand the background of the beliefs and practices current in these centres we must consequently pay some attention to the development of Northern Buddhism in the third and early fourth century, at the risk of breaking up the unity of this chapter and of confusing the reader by forcing him to divide his attention. However, Dao'an's activities at Xiangyang can only be understood if viewed in connection with the earlier phases of his life: his formative years at Ye and his peregrinations through the North. After the Xiangyang episode, when Dao'an was living at the Northern capital Chang'an, he took part in building up a school of translators and exegetes—a school which, after a short interval, would become the seat of Kumārajīva's unprecedented activity in these fields. In its turn this northern school continued to exert a profound influence on Huiyuan and his followers on Mt. Lu. Thus,

although our treatment of Northern Buddhism will be as concise as possible, we shall be obliged several times to leave our basic subject in order to investigate the contemporary development of the creed in the occupied northern provinces.

Our description of events in the North can be less detailed than that of the subject treated in the last chapter, as this was to a great extent *terra incognita*, to be carefully explored and mapped out. In the case of Dao'an and Huiyuan, we are on firmer ground. Arthur F. Wright's excellent study on Fotudeng[1] gives us an impression of the peculiar intellectual atmosphere in which Dao'an spent the early years of his religious career as a disciple of that master-thaumaturge at Ye. The biographical material about Dao'an, admirably treated by Tang Yongtong,[2] has recently become the subject of various important studies;[3] some aspects of Huiyuan's life have been adequately treated,[4] although the monograph which this great patriarch undoubtedly deserves has still to be written. After all that has been said on these fascinating but extremely complicated subjects by eminent specialists, we shall gladly follow them *non pari passu*, wherever possible refer the reader to their studies for questions of detail, and only treat more extensively those aspects or facts which have received insufficient stress or which seem to have escaped their attention.

Buddhism at Xiangguo and Ye, ca. 312–349.

In the first half of the fourth century we find, as might be expected, a great concentration of Buddhism at Xiangguo 襄國 (S.W. of Xingtai 邢臺, S. Hebei) and at Ye 鄴 (near Linzhang 臨漳, S. Hebei), the successive capitals of the powerful (Later) Zhao [後]趙, the empire of the Jie rulers Shi Le 石勒 (reigned 319–333) and Shi Hu 石虎 (333–349) (see p. 85). The most prominent priests of the early fourth century in the North like Zhu Faya 竺法雅, Zhu Fatai 竺法汰, Dao'an etc., had been disciples of the famous (probably Kuchean) master Fotudeng 佛圖澄 (died 349).

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the vicissitudes of the Church in the northern provinces, occupied by "barbarian" dynasties, is extremely fragmentary for the period 320–380. About the conditions at the once flourishing centres at Chang'an and Luoyang hardly anything is known; practically all available information refers to centres in Hebei, some of it to Shanxi and Shandong.

Fotudeng (died 349) was the court-chaplain of the two Jie rulers mentioned above, and one of the most interesting and bizarre personalities of early Chinese Buddhism. He had arrived at Luoyang in 310, just before the complete destruction of the city by the invading armies of Liu Cong (cf. above, p. 84), and had soon left this withered vine to join the powerful rebel and future monarch Shi Le. By a general—his first important devotee and protector—he was introduced to the "barbarian" warlord, an intelligent but completely illiterate man who had begun his career as a slave, and who was deeply impressed by Deng's magic and mantic arts, especially by his gift to predict the issue of his battles. He kept him with him, also after his final victory and usurpation of the imperial dignity in 330, and took actively part in the religious cult with all members of his family. Under Shi Hu (333–349), a psychopath whose reign was one of unprecedented terror, Deng's position

became higher and higher, especially after the transfer of the capital to Ye (335), when excessive honours were heaped upon him.[5] In these years he entertained close connections with the ruling family and many members of the court, and he was surrounded by several hundreds of disciples, some of whom are said to have come from Central Asia or even from India.[6]

The most conspicuous fact in all this is the rapidity of the spread of Buddhism in this world of half-sinicized "barbarians" and their Chinese personnel, the more remarkable if we compare it with the slow and painful progress of the Doctrine among the upper ten and at the court in the South. Here around 312 AD the first contact was made with Shi Le and some people in his nearest surroundings, and twenty years later or less it had come so far that "Shi Le had most of his young sons brought up in a Buddhist temple" and that "on the 8th day of the fourth month of every year he went to the temple, bathed the Buddha (cf. ch. II note 53) and made a vow on behalf of his foster son".[7] A few years later Fotudeng is proclaimed "great jewel of the State", several temples have been built already at Xiangguo;[8] at Ye hundreds of priests people the town, and at the emperor's order Buddha-statues are made in a gorgeous display of wealth.[9] The explanation appears clearly from the biographical data: on the one hand superstitious reverence and fear for the strange old man who could reveal both his past lives and the date of his own death, and who produced blue lotus flowers from his alms-bowl, dragons from dried-up sources and his own intestines from a hole in his chest; on the other hand the utilitarian motive, the practical value of a shaman who predicted the outcome of military operations, detected conspirations and cured diseases. Fotudeng was by no means the only person to perform this role; beside him we find other masters of this type. There was Shan Daokai 單 (var. 善) 道開, a Chinese master from Dunhuang,[10] an enthousiastic practitioner of Daoist arts such as abstention from food, moving at great speed and contact with spirits; like Fotudeng, he was an expert physician, being specialized in diseases of the eye. In 346 he appeared at Ye, and afterwards settled at the near-by Linzhang; he was much honoured by Shi Hu, and cured the ophthalmia of one of the emperor's sons. Shan Daokai went to the South shortly before the fall of the dynasty, to Xuchang 許昌 (central Henan), later (in 359 AD) to Jiankang, finally to the Luofu Shan 羅浮山 near Guangzhou where he spent the last years of his life as a hermit, thus having traversed the whole of China from the extreme North-West to the far South-East. Another thaumaturge of a purely Daoist type (in spite of his alleged Indian origin) was Zhu Fotiao 竺佛調,[11] one of Fotudeng's disciples at Ye, who is said to have exercised power over ferocious animals, and who after his death was seen as an Immortal roaming through the mountains of Changshan 常山 (W. Hebei) where he had settled. Upon investigation of his grave it appeared, after good Daoist fashion, that his mortal body had dissolved, leaving behind its garments and sandals.[12] In secular history we find the name of a certain *śramaṇa* Wujin 吳進, who seems also to have been a kind of oracle and political adviser in the service of Shi Hu; around 348 he warned the Hun ruler that the fortune of the barbarians was waning, and advised him "to make the people of Jin toil in order to repress their life-force".[13]

Thus, in view of the series of magic feats and miracles which forms his biography, we can only see in Fotudeng a great propagandist, who had

neither the opportunity nor the intention—nor, perhaps, the capacities—to engage in exegesis or in translation work. Although his biographer declares that Fotudeng, in his profound wisdom, refrained from speaking about the deeper matters of religion, using magic as a means to convert the ruler and thereby to relieve the misery of the suffering population, and although some modern authors seem to share this standpoint,[14] there is no indication at all that Fotudeng in his inner mind or in the inner circle of his disciples was another man, a great teacher expounding the principles of the *prajñāpāramitā*. His greatness is that of the indefatigable missionary, the practical propagator of the faith in its most elementary form by the most simple and adequate means which appealed to the mass of an illiterate population. His task was mass-conversion—the sources speak of the 893 temples and monasteries built at his instigation, of the wholesale conversion of the "Rong 戎 and Mo 貊 barbarians" who had never been in touch with the doctrine before, of the nearly 10.000 disciples instructed by him. Already at the beginning of his activities under Shi Le it is said that he made "almost all the barbarians and Chinese in Zhongzhou 中州 worship the Buddha". The enormous spread of the Doctrine among the population was no doubt the reason why the two palace writers Wang Du 王度 and Wang Bo 王波 in a famous memorial demanded the prohibition of the Buddhist cult (cf. next chapter), and their qualification of this cult as "lewd sacrifices" 淫祀 (often implying imprecations against the emperor and other treacherous designs) is understandable when we realize that one of the many leaders of rebellious movements against Shi Hu proclaimed himself to be "the Crown prince of the Buddha", and declared "to come from the country of the Great Qin (here vaguely = the extreme West) in order to be king of the Country of the Small Qin (China)".[15] Although we certainly cannot speak here of a revolt led by Buddhists, yet it is evident that the choice of this queer title was expected to appeal to the mass of the population.

It is furthermore probable that Fotudeng introduced a more complete set of monastic rules;[16] he seems also to have taken the initiative in establishing the order of nuns on Chinese soil.[17]

Only a few of Fotudeng's innumerable disciples are known to us by name. Among them we find some who later became the most prominent teachers and exegetes of their time; we have mentioned their names before (p. 181). They either came from cultured Chinese families (Dao'an is said to have belonged to a family of Confucian scholars),[18] or had in any case received a literary education. In view of what we said above, it is highly improbable that the exegetical methods and philosophical theories for which they later became famous had anything to do with Fotudeng's teachings, although Dao'an in his later works several times mentions his former master most affectionately.

We do not know what other sources of inspiration were available at Ye. It is very probable that there were some older elements from the school of Dharmarakṣa which had come to Ye, like the master himself, after the sack of the two capitals by the Hun armies. In fact, the biography of Fotudeng mentions as one of his followers the name of Fashou 法首, whereas a certain Zhu Fashou 竺法首 also figures as one of Dharmarakṣa's disciples in a colophon of the year 294,[19] and Dao'an himself states to have met at Ye the learned monk Bo Faju 帛法巨, whose name is also found in a colophon to Dharmarakṣa's version of the Lalitavistara, translated in 308 AD.

Geyi.

Very little is known about the activities and ideas of the clerical *intelligentsia* among Fotudeng's disciples at Ye. The main source is the biography of Zhu Faya 竺法雅 in *GSZ* IV, which contains the following famous and puzzling passage:

> "Zhu Faya was a man from Hejian 河間 (Hebei) . . .[20] In his youth he excelled in secular studies 外學, and when he grew up he became well-versed in the tenets of Buddhism; young members of gentry families 永冠社子 all adhered to him for information and instruction. Since at that time the disciples who followed (Fa)ya were all well-versed in the secular canons, but had not yet become conversant with the principles of Buddhism, (Fa)ya together with Kang Falang 康法朗[21] and others then took the numerical categories 事數 of the sūtras and matched these with (terms from) secular literature, as a method to make them understand; this was called "matching meanings" (*geyi* 格義) . . . (Thus) he alternately explained the secular canons and the Buddhist scriptures; together with Dao'an and Fatai he used to explain the doubtful points which they had assembled, and together they exhaustively (studied) the essentials of the sūtras".[22]

The problem is what kind of "matching the meanings" of Buddhist and secular scriptures is meant here. It cannot refer to equations like *bodhi* = *dao* 道, *arhat* = *zhenren* 真人, *nirvāṇa* = *wuwei* 無為 etc., translation devices which are already characteristic of the earliest Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures, and which could not even be recognized as "equations" by people like Zhu Faya who were unacquainted with the original texts. On the other hand, it can hardly refer to a more general method of expressing Buddhist ideas in terms of Chinese philosophy (primarily derived from *Laozi, Zhuangzi* and the *Yijing*), the usual interpretation of *geyi*. Dao'an himself later became opposed to *geyi* and is said to have abandoned it as "deviating from the principles (of Buddhism)";[23] Kumārajīva's disciple Huirui 慧叡 says that the adherents of his method "diluted" and "perverted" the doctrine,[24] and one century later the procedure known as *geyi* had so completely disappeared that Sengyou, the compiler of the *CSZJJ*, appears not to understand the meaning of the term any more.[25] But nevertheless, the practice which is commonly supposed to be *geyi, viz*. the presentation of Buddhist ideas in terms of *Laozi, Zhuangzi* and the *Yijing*, is abundantly attested not only in Dao'an's later works, but also in those of Huirui and other members of Kumārajīva's school. We can hardly assume that these authors did not know what they were talking about, and so we cannot but conclude that they refer to a *particular* method of exegesis. We must stress the fact that it was an explanation of *shishu*, numerical categories, probably those found in the archaic *dhyāna* and *abhidharma* treatises and scriptures which were so much en vogue in the North and which were so eagerly studied by Dao'an in the first phase of his career.

Dao'an and his followers in the North, 349–365 AD.

Shi Hu's death in 349 and the ensuing struggle for power led to a state of affairs which in Chinese sources is rightly called "the troubles of the Shi clan" 石氏之亂.

In 349 four emperors were successively enthroned and murdered. The next year (350), Shi Hu's Chinese adopted grandson Shi Min 石閔 (originally named Ran Liang 冉良) changed his name into Ran Min, and gave orders to

kill all members of the Jie people at Ye, including those belonging to the Shi family (cf. p. 111 above). After two years of incessant warfare, first with the remaining members of the Shi at Xiangguo, then with the state of Yan which had grasped the opportunity to extend its domain into north-western China, Ran Min and his dynasty were destroyed by the latter in 352, leaving behind a ruined and depopulated country.

During or shortly before these disastrous events which had been foretold by Fotudeng shortly before his death, the most prominent members of the clergy abandoned the doomed capital and its vicinity. As we have seen above (p. 182) Zhu Fotiao went to Changsha, Shan Daokai to Jiankang. Zhu Senglang 竺僧朗 (ca. 315–400) from Chang'an, who had also studied under Fotudeng,[28] went to Shandong and in 351 founded an important monastery at the Tai Shan 泰山, the establishment of which is commonly considered to mark the beginning of Buddhism in that region. He seems to have lived on the mountain for a period of at least fifty years.[27]

A number of the most important former disciples of Fotudeng became refugees and formed a community at Huoze 濩澤 (W. of Yangcheng 陽城 Xian, Shanxi). There we find ca. 350 AD the future leaders of the Church, Dao'an and Zhu Fatai (for whom see above, p. 148), Fahe 法和 who would later be the first to preach the Dharma in Sichuan; Zhu Sengfu 竺僧輔 (to be distinguished from the Zhu Sengfu 敷 mentioned above, p. 147) who was to introduce the practice of Dao'an's cult of Maitreya at Jingzhou, and, somewhat later and probably from different centres, the learned Zhi Tanjiang 支曇講 and Zhu Faji 竺法濟, perhaps identical with the author of the *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* (cf. above, p. 138).[28]

Dao'an soon became the undisputed leader of this group of monks. It was here, at Huoze, that he developed his extraordinary qualities in the field of religion, scholarship and monastic organization, thus laying the foundation of his later work at Xiangyang.

Huoze was only a temporary halting-place; it is unknown how long he stayed there after 349, the year in which he probably took up his abode at Huoze. We shall not discuss at any length the problem of dating the events in this phase of Dao'an's life. The account given in his biographies in *CSZJJ* and *GSZ* is highly confused, and various schemes have been proposed to define the chronology of Dao'an's peregrinations.[29] During the next sixteen years he went from one place to another, followed by an ever-increasing number of disciples and old companions from Ye. According to Tang Yongtong's chronology, which is still the most convincing, he went from Huoze to the near-by Wangwu 王屋 (North of Luoyang), then to Feilong Shan 飛龍山 (North of Macheng 麻城 Xian, Hubei) where he founded temples and monasteries and engaged in large-scale missionary activities.[30] From there to Heng Shan 恆山 (N. Shanxi) where in 354 a young Confucian scholar named Jia 賈 became deeply impressed by his preaching and subsequently joined the clergy as a *śramaṇa* together with his younger brother; under his religious name of Huiyuan 慧遠 he later became the leader of the Church in the South. From Heng Shan to Wuyi 武邑, (Hebei), invited by the governor of that commandery; then probably back to Ye (357) and to Qiankou Shan 牽口山 North-West of that city, and from there to Luhun 陸渾 (near the modern Song 嵩 Xian, N. Henan). Finally, when in 365 AD Luhun was menaced by

the invading armies of Yan, he fled with his followers to the South. At Xinye 新野, half-way to Xiangyang, he decided to send some of his companions away to various parts of China, entrusting a certain number of disciples (perhaps their personal followers) to their care, a fact which had important consequences for the spread of Buddhism in the South-East and the South-West. Zhu Fatai he sent with some forty men[31] to Yangzhou, the region of the Jin capital Jiankang, where he would become one of the great propagators of the faith (cf. above, p. 148). Fahe 法和 went to Shu[32] (Sichuan), and stayed there till after 379, when he came to Chang'an to take part in the huge translation projects carried out there under Dao'an's guidance (cf. below). Then Dao'an proceeded with his group of more than four hundred (*var.* five hundred) disciples to Xiangyang, his abode for the next fourteen years. Although he had already become famous as a Master of the Doctrine before his arrival, it was there that he was to build the flourishing centre of Buddhism which spread his fame in northern and southern China alike.

As we said above, the account of the events of the years 349–365 in Dao'an's biographies is short and muddled. There are, however, a few documents which inform us about his life "North of the River": prefaces composed by Dao'an during his stay at Huoze (and perhaps partly also at other places in the North) to a number of commentaries which he wrote during this period; with one exception, the commentaries themselves have been lost.[33] In view of Dao'an's later activities at Xiangyang, these early documents show three points of special interest, as to some extent they foreshadow these activities.

In the first place, Dao'an's intense interest in and study of the scriptures of the most archaic period, notably the short, primitive and often very obscure products of An Shigao and his school (second century AD). As has been said before (above, p. 33), these treatises and scriptures mainly describe the mental and bodily exercises serving as a preparation to the various stages of trance (禪, *dhyāna*), which were supposed to bring the monk in touch with higher states of existence, from the form-world (*rūpadhātu*) up to the "limit of existence" (*bhavāgra*). That Dao'an's interest in this period is focused on the study (and no doubt also the actual practice) of *dhyāna* appears from the choice of the works he commented: The *Daodi jing* 道地經 (An Shigao's translation of Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi*, T 607), the "Sūtra on *skandha, dhātu* and *āyatana*" 陰持入經 (T 603), the "Large" and the "Small" *Shi'ermen jing* 十二門經 (lost), the *Renben yusheng jing* 人本欲生經 (T 14) and the most popular work of this type, the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (T 602). These works mainly consist of classified and sub-classified lists of terms and concepts (the *dhyāna*-"numbers" 禪數) connected with these techniques, and the study and interpretation of these "numbers" had, at least in the North, been one of the basic tasks of the student since Han times. In the preface to one of his works, the *Shifa juyi* 十法句義,[34] which probably also dates from Dao'an's first "Northern" period, he recommends the study of the "numbers" as the most fundamental thing in Buddhist studies, and calls them "the very heart[35] of all sūtras, the very pivot of the religious life" 衆經之喉襟.為道之樞極. He furthermore displays his knowledge of these numerical categories in a bombastic verbosity which makes his prefaces, with the exception of a few simple and sincere autobiographic passages, the most unreadable products of early Chinese Buddhist literature.[36] Dao'an's interest

in *dhyāna* seems to have faded at Xiangyang, when the comparative study and the exegesis of the *Prajñāpāramitā* absorbed his attention. Yet, as Tang Yongtong has rightly pointed out,[37] Dao'an's interpretation of the *prajñāpāramitā* bears the traces of his previous occupation with *dhyāna*, whereas, on the other hand, Dao'an's description of *dhyāna* in earlier prefaces like those mentioned by Tang Yongtong (*ib.*) clearly shows the influence of the *prajñāpāramitā* (of course in *xuanxue* terminology).[38] There are, indeed, indications that Dao'an had already studied the *Prajñāpāramitā* in his early years.[39]

In the second place, the documents of this period testify of Dao'an's awakening genius as a bibliographer and collector of sacred texts. He is the first to give exact details about the origin and history of some scriptures, to mention the provenance of the manuscript and to reproduce a colophon,[40] and to use a certain reserve in attributing scriptures to certain translators.[41] It is, moreover, very probable that Dao'an in the years before 365 had already begun to collect the bibliographical information on Buddhist translations and translators, which would later result in the compilation of his famous catalogue.

Finally, it seems to have been the same scholarly spirit, the same urge to assemble facts and to define details, that stimulated him to write his numerous commentaries. If we may trust Dao'an's biographies, he was the first to give a detailed and careful exegesis of the Buddhist scriptures sentence by sentence, instead of limiting himself to a summary explanation of the general contents and to a mere recital of the text, as it was generally done at his time. "Once the sequence of the sections had been arranged in order, the principles of the text became fully understandable. That the meaning of the scriptures can be (fully) comprehended—this started with Dao'an". An orderly explanation of an early Buddhist text, each paragraph being duly defined and separated from the next by short explanatory and philological glosses seems to have been a novum at the time of Dao'an. The only still existing commentary of his hand (cf. note 33) answers to this description and may indeed be a good example of his method of exegesis, but we are not in a position to judge in how far it differed from the commentaries of contemporary Buddhist authors, none of which have been preserved.

Dao'an's constant fear, reported in his biography, that his commentaries would not exactly agree with the actual intention of the scriptures testifies of the same conscious desire to find the original meaning of the doctrine, obscured by the imperfect early translations and deformed by the influence of traditional Chinese thought. Although he of course could not completely free himself from the latter, yet the fact that he already at Feilong Shan emphatically rejected the *geyi* method of interpreting Buddhist texts, and the statement in one of his later prefaces that the extreme popularity of the *prajñāpāramitā* in China was due to its resemblance to Daoist philosophy[42] show a critical spirit which is quite unique in the history of early Chinese Buddhism.

Dao'an at Xiangyang.
Monastic life and organization.

Dao'an and his disciples first stayed at the Baima monastery 白馬寺 (one of the many monasteries of that name) but as this appeared to be too small for a community of its size, he very soon (probably in 365, the year of his

arrival)[43] moved to another place, originally the residence of a certain Zhang Yin 張殷 from Qinghe 清河 (Hebei). This donor may have been a local magistrate; his name does not occur elsewhere. The donation of private mansions to the clergy in order to use these as monasteries had become a regular practice; as we have seen (ch II note 57), it is attested in very early times. Dao'an named the new monastery the Tanqisi 檀溪寺, probably on account of the park which belonged to it.[44] It was subsequently enlarged and adorned with the approval and financial support of "those of great wealth and high standing", who enabled him to build a five-storied pagoda and four hundred living quarters for monks. It seems that Dao'an had charged his former companion Zhu Fatai, then at Jiangling 江陵 (Hubei) with the task of raising funds for a bronze "dew receptacle" 承露盤 (the flat discs at the top of a pagoda), for when the governor of Liangzhou (Gansu), Yang Hongzhong 楊弘忠 (not mentioned elsewhere) sent him ten thousand catties of bronze to be made into such an object, Dao'an referred to Fatai's mission, and proposed to use the metal for casting a "sixteen feet" large Buddha statue.[45] This was done, and the bronze Buddha of Tanqisi became one of the most famous and venerated images of the period. Huiyuan wrote an eulogy on it,[46] and not without reason, for it had miraculous powers of movement and levitation. Another statue surprised the congregation by containing a relic, discovered when the *uṣṇiṣa* on its head was removed at Dao'an's instigation. Other objects for the cult were donated by the ruler of the Former Qin residing at Chang'an, Fu Jian 苻堅 (357–387), the enumeration of which in Dao'an's biography presents some archaeological interest: "a foreign gilded reclining image (of the Buddha)[47] seven feet long, also a golden (?, 金) seated image, an image of Maitreya set with (or "formed out of"?) pearls (結珠), an icon of gold-thread embroidery (金縷繡像), and one woven of silk (織成像), of each one piece". At all religious ceremonies Dao'an used to arrange these images in a row, with a display of streamers and banners—a spectacle which deeply impressed all who attended the cult.

Already on his arrival at Xiangyang in 365 the number of Dao'an's disciples was considerable: 400 according to *GSZ*, 500 according to *CSZJJ*; contemporary documents show that there were in any case several hundreds.[48] The economical problem of feeding such a community had to be solved by large donations in kind. We read, in fact, how the *dānapati* Xi Chao (whom we have already met as a follower of Zhi Dun and as the author of the *Fengfa yao*) sent him a thousand *hu* 斛 (nominally 10.000 pecks 斗) of rice from the East, and emperor Xiaowu (373–379) provided him with an emolument "equivalent to that of kings and dukes, to be paid out in kind at his place of residence".[49]

The large number of monks gave also rise to other organizational problems. The rules for the monastic life (律, *Vinaya*) were still very imperfectly known, in spite of Dao'an's efforts to obtain more complete copies of these works. This seems to have been the reason why Dao'an formulated a number of rules and regulations, classified under three headings, a scheme of monastic discipline which is said to have been taken over by the monasteries throughout the country. The description of these three sets of rules in the *GSZ* biography is very short and somewhat obscure. The first two headings, embracing rules for burning incense, reciting the scriptures, circumambulation, meals, etc.,

seem to refer to the daily practice of preaching and worship, whereas the last section is primarily concerned with the fortnighty ceremonies of fasting and confession.[50] Dao'an maintained a strict discipline in his community, and he is said at one occasion to have even applied punishment to one of his former disciples after the latter had left Xiangyang.[51] Another custom introduced by Dao'an at Xiangyang was the use of *Shi* 釋 (Śākya) as a religious surname for monks, thereby replacing the former religious appellations based on *ethnika* like *Zhu* 竺, *Zhi* 支, *Kang* 康 etc. The ideological background of this measure of Dao'an which became universally accepted and which has remained the general practice to the present day will be treated in the next chapter.

Thus Xiangyang became in few years a flourishing and widely famous centre of Buddhism under the leadership of this extraordinary teacher, scholar and organizer. Owing to the rather detailed and concrete information mentioned above, Xiangyang is the earliest case where we can form a notion, however vague, of the daily life and activities in a Chinese Buddhist community. The admiration of the cultured lay devotees for this community and for its leader can be heard in a contemporary account, a letter written by Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 to the famous Xie An 謝安 (above, p. 112), probably after the latter's rise to power (373 AD). Interesting is the stress laid here on the great difference in activities and in general atmosphere between the centre at Xiangyang and other Buddhist monasteries with which Xi Zuochi no doubt was acquainted:

> "When I came here, I saw Shi Dao'an. He is certainly a man of far-reaching excellence, and not an ordinary priest. Teachers and pupils number several hundreds; they (engage in) fasting and explication (of the scriptures) without ever growing weary, and they do not practise such magic arts as could serve to delude the ears and eyes of the common people, nor do (the teachers display) such grave authority or great power as could serve to rectify the irregular (conduct) of the host of petty people. And yet, both teachers and pupils are full of reverence and naturally honour and respect each other, and that in such vast numbers—this is something which I have never seen before. This man (Dao'an) is widely experienced in ordering and refining (簡 "selecting") his inner feelings; he seems to have read almost all inner (Buddhist) and other (secular) literature, and he is well-versed in" (the arts of) *yin* and *yang*[52] and arithmetic, whereas the mysterious principles (contained in) the Buddhist scriptures have, of course, been completely mastered by him. In exegesis (作義) he resembles Falan 法蘭[53] or Fadao 法道.[54] It is a pity that you could not see him at the same day; he has also repeatedly expressed the desire to obtain a conversation with you.[55]

Contacts with gentry and court at Xiangyang.

As we have seen above, the penetration of Buddhism into the higher strata of society in the South-East (the capital Jiankang and the region of Wu and Kuaiji) had been a slow and gradual process. In the period 370–380, when Dao'an was living at Xiangyang, it had succeeded in gaining a firm position at the court; it was the time when emperor Jianwen listened to the sermons of Zhi Dun and Zhu Fatai, and when the *upāsaka*-emperor Xiaowu founded a chapel inside the palace (cf. above, p. 151 sqq.). On the other hand, Dao'an himself had spent several years of his formative period at Ye, in an atmosphere of court Buddhism and imperial patronage. He was firmly

convinced of the fact that in these stormy times the doctrine could only flourish if it was protected by the ruler and the higher classes. "We are now meeting years of calamity. If we do not rely on the ruler of a state, then the affairs of the Doctrine will be hard to establish", he is reported to have said when he sent away a number of his disciples in 365 AD. On the same occasion he told Zhu Fatai to go to the region of the capital, saying: "At that place are many noble gentlemen, who appreciate the refined manners 風流 (of the cultured priests)".[56]

Hence Dao'an doubtlessly encouraged the contact between the church and the magistracy both in and outside Xiangyang. We have seen how, immediately after his arrival, he managed to obtain from the local gentry the funds needed for enlarging his new monastery. Xi Zuochi, (died ca. 390) one of the most prominent people from Xiangyang, a famous historian and *qingtan* adept who had been one of the close collaborators of Huan Wen (above, p. 110) already in 365 sent him a letter[57] and soon afterwards made Dao'an's acquaintance, at which occasion the two men are said to have exchanged some famous *bons mots* in *qingtan* fashion.[58] Finally, Zhu Xu 朱序, since 377 governor of Liangzhou 涼州 stationed at Xiangyang, seems to have entertained close relations with Dao'an and to have esteemed his presence to such an extent, that he called him back from Jiangling in 377 (cf. below), and that two years later he forced Dao'an to remain at Xiangyang, when in 379 the city was about to be besieged by the army of the Former Qin.[59]

Dao'an entertained also contact with prominent magistrates outside Xiangyang: with the governor of Liangzhou who sent him bronze (probably in the form of *cash*) for his monastery (cf. above), with the general and governor of Jingzhou, Huan Huo 桓豁, to whose residence at Jiangling (Hubei) he was invited at some date between 373 and 377,[60] with the famous devotee Xi Chao at Jiankang, and with the prefect of Changsha 長沙 (Hunan) Teng Han 滕含, who made his mansion at Jiangling a monastery named Changshasi ("the monastery of [the prefect of] Changsha") and asked Dao'an to send him one of his disciples to be its abbot.[61] We have already mentioned Dao'an's contacts with the emperors of the Jin and of the Former Qin during his Xiangyang period.

In spite of all these contacts, it seems that Dao'an and his community remained outside the political intrigues and troubles of the time. Xiangyang was far from the capital, and, moreover, situated in a region which during most of this period was completely dominated by the dictator Huan Wen until the latter's death in 373. After that date, the territorial expansion of Fu Jian's empire demanded all attention, and the feuds between the various factions were temporarily forgotten in the face of the growing danger from the North.

Religious activities at Xiangyang.

At Xiangyang, Dao'an's attention seems to have shifted from *dhyāna* to *prajñāpāramitā, i.e.*, generally speaking, from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna, from Buddhist yoga with its admixture of Daoist practices to Buddhist gnosticism with its background of Chinese "Dark Learning". In this new orientation of Dao'an's interest we cannot fail to perceive the influence of the South with its *xuanxue*—Buddhist speculations and its contending "theories" 義.

There are, indeed, certain indications that there was a connection between the "exegetes" of the Southern capital and Dao'an, his former companion Zhu Fatai (320–287) acting as an intermediary. Above (p. 147) we have already said something about the life and the theories of the *Prajñāpāramitā*-specialist Zhu Sengfu 竺僧敷, the author of a (lost) essay on "The Formlessness of the Spirit" 神無形論. In that connection we have also mentioned the facts that (*a*) a certain monk Daosong 道嵩 (probably one of Dao'an's former disciples who had gone to the capital) wrote a letter to Dao'an about Zhu Sengfu's theories, one phrase of which is quoted in the *GSZ*, and (*b*) that Zhu Fatai himself was much impressed by Zhu Sengfu and is expressly stated to have expounded the latter's theories in several letters to Dao'an, none of which had been preserved at the time of the compilation of the *Gaoseng zhuan* (early sixth century). That Dao'an maintained a correspondence on doctrinal topics with Zhu Fatai when the latter had gone to the capital is furthermore proved by an entry in the list of Dao'an's works in *CSZJJ*: "Answer to the objections raised by Fatai" 答法汰難.[62] Moreover, when in or shortly after 365 Huiyuan, at that time already one of Dao'an's most brilliant disciples, had been sent from Xiangyang to Jiangling in order to attend to Zhu Fatai who had fallen ill on his way to the capital, Huiyuan is said to have taken part in a long and heated debate with an adherent of the "theory of the non-existence of (conscious) thought" 心無義 (cf. above, p. 148).

All this proves that Dao'an and his disciples were fully conversant with the current theories and speculations developed in the preceding decades in the South-East, all of which were primarily intended as explanations of the concept of Emptiness (無, 空) *versus* phenomenal existence, or, in other words, the relation between Absolute Truth and Worldly Truth, as expounded in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

In view of this it is only natural that the explanation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures played a very important rôle in Dao'an's activities. During fifteen years he expounded the *Fangguang jing* 放光經, Mokṣala's version of the 25.000 *p'p'*, going twice through the whole text every year, a custom which he continued after 379 at Chang'an.[63] He wrote numerous commentaries and exegetical treatises on the various versions of the *p'p'*[64] and succeeded in obtaining an (incomplete) copy of Dharmarakṣa's *Guangzan jing* 光讚經, which had been lost in China proper, but which was sent to him in 376 AD from Liangzhou (Gansu), where it was still in circulation.[65]

Dao'an belongs to those early Chinese masters who are credited with the establishment of particular exegetical "theories"; the one attributed to him is known in later scholastic literature as that of "Fundamental Non-being", *benwu* 本無.[66] As Tang Yongtong has demonstrated (*History*, p. 238 sqq.), this term actually has a much wider scope, denoting the *prajñāpāramitā* doctrine of Universal Emptiness in general. It serves to render *tathatā* (elsewhere 如,真如) in two of the earliest versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā*,[67] and it occurs several times in Zhi Dun's preface to a combined edition of these two versions (for which see above, p. 124). Although the use of the term "Fundamental Non-being" is attested for the first time in Buddhist scriptures, its very form seems to indicate a Daoist or *xuanxue* origin.[68]

As is usually the case with these early "schools", very little is known about

the contents of Dao'an's *benwu* theory. A passage from some treatise by him (quoted in various later sources, most extensively in *Mingseng zhuan chao* p. 9 B1) would seem to indicate that Dao'an assumed a temporal relationship between the (original) state of "Fundamental Non-being" and the (present) state of "Final Being" 末有: "Non-being is prior to the first evolution, and Emptiness is the beginning of the multitudinous shapes (of the phenomenal world)" 無在元化之先. 空為衆形之始. This original state is described as "Nature" 自然 which forms the "base" or "origin" 本 of the "provisional (process of phenomenal) transformation" 權化. Man's deliverance from the "impediments" 累, which consist of his being confined to the realm of "Final Being", can be realized by "letting one's mind dwell in Fundamental Non-being" 宅心本無.

The assumption of a cosmic degeneration from the original "formless" state into a diversified phenomenal world closely resembles certain concepts elaborated by Daoist philosophers,[69] and Dao'an's mental concentration on "Fundamental Non-being" prior to the world of visible shapes runs parallel to Daoist meditative practices such as the "Concentration on (original) Unity" 守一. It seems quite probable, as Tang Yongtong remarks (*History*, p. 247), that Dao'an's previous occupation with *dhyāna* influenced his interpretation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* doctrine.

On the other hand, we must not overstress this resemblance to Daoist notions; Dao'an's *benwu* is basically different from the Primeval Chaos of the Daoist thinkers in that it is the permanent substance underlying the world of change. As Dao'an himself says in the same passage: "It does not mean that there is a Void from which the myriad shapes can be born". *Benwu* is, in other words, the true nature of all phenomena, the absolute underlying the worldly truth. Later exegetes stress the fact that Dao'an's exegesis was the one which came nearest to the real meaning of the *p'p'* doctrine as revealed by Kumārajīva, and the same simultaneity of *benwu* and *moyou* appears from the words of Dao'an's disciple Huiyuan: "That what is existent at (the level of) causation is non-existent at (the level of) *benwu*" 因緣之所有. 本無之所無.[70] Dao'an's concept seems to be a mixture of the Daoist idealized *tohu-va-bohu* when "there was something in a state of fusion before Heaven and Earth were formed" (*Daode jing* 25) and the Mahāyāna concept of the "true nature of all *dharmas*" which is "empty" (無, *śūnya*) by its own nature (本, *svabhāvataḥ*). He still contrasts "Fundamental Non-being" with "Final Being", and seeks to reach the one by excluding the other from the mind, and in this he still fails to realize the absolute identity of emptiness and phenomena, of *Nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, a truth which only dawned upon the Chinese exegetes after the introduction of the Mādhyamika treatises by Kumārajiva and his school.

Dao'an's interpretation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* appears more clearly from his prefaces to the various versions, written at Xiangyang and at Chang'an. The most interesting document from a doctrinal point of view is no doubt the preface to his glosses on the combined text of Mokṣala's *Fangguang jing* and Dharmarakṣa's *Guangzan*, 合放光光讚略解序.[71] After having given an account of the transmission of both texts, he gives a description of the basic purport of the *Prajñāpāramitā* which forms a classical example of the hybridization of Mahāyāna Buddhism and *xuanxue*.

According to Dao'an, there are three aspects: Suchness (如, *tathatā*), the

(Buddha's transcendental) Body of the Doctrine (法身, *dharmakāya*), and the Absolute (真際 "the true state" = *bhūtakoṭi*); together they constitute the *prajñāpāramitā*, the Perfection of Wisdom, which is "the root of the realization of the Supreme and Perfect Way" (無上正真道, *anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*). What is the definition of these aspects?

> (1) "Suchness 如 is being such-as-it-is 爾也; it is that (state) which is being such-as-it-is from beginning to end, and nothing can cause it to be otherwise than it is. The Buddhas may arise and disappear, but this "remains (as it is) in all eternity" (*Daode jing* 6 and 32), everlasting and without support. Hence it is called Suchness.
>
> (2) The *dharmakāya* 法身 is the One (the principle of Unity, 一). It is eternally pure. (In it) being and non-being are together purified and it is never (touched by) "what has names" (*Daode jing* 1). Therefore, in observing the Rules there is neither rule nor transgression; in practising mental concentration (定, *samādhi*) there is neither concentration nor disturbance, and in dwelling in Wisdom there is neither wisdom nor foolishness. Deeply immersed, it has forgotten all (distinctions), and (in its unity) all "two" and "three" have been brought to rest. As it is brilliant, without any dark (spot), it is said to be "pure". It is "the eternal Way" 常道 (*Daode jing* 1).
>
> (3) The Absolute 真際 is (that state) which is free from all attachment. It is "unmoving like a moored boat" (*Daode jing* 20), profound in its "mysterious equality". It is "non-activity" (無為) and "universal activity" (無不為; *Daode jing* 37). The myriad *dharma* are all "active" 有為,[72] but this *dharma* is steeped in abysmal silence, hence it said to be exempt from being—it is the (one) *dharma* which is real".

Then, as usual, a distinction is made between expedient manifestation (of truth) and Truth itself, which, if applied to the scriptures, is the distinction between the wording of the text and its deepest meaning, or between the diversity of teachings and the basic absence of all diversity; if applied to the Bodhisattva's career, the distinction between his manifested knowledge ("his wisdom pertaining to the *dharma*(*s*)" 法慧) and his transcendental Wisdom. The latter opposition as described by Dao'an is most interesting, as it allows us a glimpse of the fourth century Buddhist interpretation of the famous opening lines of the *Daode jing*.

> "(All notions) from (the distinction of) the five *skandhas* up to (the realization of) Omniscience form the *dharma*-wisdom 法慧 manifested by the Bodhisattva as he moves (in his course); *this is the Way that can be spoken about* 可道之道. (The insight into) the one characteristic which (actually) is no characteristic (一相無相: the "characteristic" of Emptiness shared by all phenomena) forms the True Wisdom 真慧 manifested by the Bodhisattva as he moves (in his course): this is his understanding of *the eternal Way* 常道 . . . As to these two (kinds of insight), *together they are called Wisdom* (cf. *DDJ* 1: 同謂之玄), and the one cannot be without the other . . .".

After 379, Dao'an continued to explain the whole text of the *Fangguang jing* twice a year at Chang'an; in 382 he obtained another Sanskrit copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* from Turfan, the Chinese translation of which enabled him to complete and correct his understanding on many points. We may assume that Dao'an's exegesis of the *Prajñāpāramitā* remained authoritative at Chang'an until after 402, when Kumārajīva by means of his more exact translations and explanations tried to acquaint his disciples with the real message of these scriptures.

Devotionalism.

In his interpretation of the Doctrine of Emptiness, Dao'an followed rather traditional lines. More surprising is the other aspect of his religious pursuits at Xiangyang: his stress on the devotional aspect of Buddhism, particularly on the cult of the future Buddha, Maitreya. In Dao'an's case, this cult appears to have been closely connected with his exegetical activities, *i.e.*, his oral explanations and his numerous commentaries. We know from his biography that he was constantly pursued by the fear of having distorted the meaning of the scriptures, and that once he was reassured by a vision of the Arhat Piṇḍola.[73] Maitreya was supposed to reside in the Tuṣita heaven until the time comes when he shall be born in the Sahā-world to become Buddha. He was regarded as the divine patron of exegetes, the inspirator of Buddhist scholiasts, and several stories are told about famous ācāryas submitting their doctrinal problems to his judgment.[74] At Dao'an's time many scriptures wholly or partially devoted to Maitreya and his future Buddhahood had already been translated,[75] and the belief in his inspiring power was probably not restricted to Dao'an and his followers. However, Dao'an appears to have been the first to ritualize this belief.

According to his own biographies and the more detailed account in that of one of his disciples,[76] Dao'an assembled seven of his pupils before an image of Maitreya and made the collective vow to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven, in order permanently to obtain the guidance and inspiration of this superhuman exegete.

The connection between this curious ceremony and the vow performed about thirty years later (in 402 AD) by Huiyuan and more than a hundred laymen before a statue of Amitābha (cf. below) is unmistakable. It is the same type of collective ceremony before an image of a certain Buddha (or, in the case of Dao'an, a future Buddha), and the same type of vow, *viz.* to be born in the next life in a certain well-defined region of bliss. It may well be that the vow of Dao'an and his disciples was accompanied by some form of mental concentration intended to visualize Maitreya and his heaven even in this life; their vision of the Tuṣita heaven on February 22, 385, reported in *GSZ*,[77] may be an indication in this direction, although the story bears the mark of hagiography. In any case, Huiyuan's vow was closely connected with the practice of a form of *samādhi* by which he and other members of his community tried to evoke an apparition of the Buddha and to see him "face to face".

However, in one respect there is an important contrast between the eight Maitreya worshippers at Xiangyang and the host of Amidists on Mt. Lu, apart from the difference in the number of the participants. The vow of Dao'an was rather a private cult within the monastery, a purely clerical affair, whereas Huiyuan's group consisted of monks as well as laymen (including some important *literati*) who had gathered at the Lu Shan, and there at Huiyuan's instigation made a collective vow together with the master. In the latter case the seclusion of the monastery has been broken, the cultured laity being actively drawn into the religious life. The ceremony has become detached from its clerical scholastic background—where the inspiration of Maitreya was needed to solve the problems of exegesis—and was extended over a large and heterogeneous group including non-clerical persons. Huiyuan may have been one of the eight earlier devotees, but the texts do not mention his name in this

connection. In any case, it is typical of his independence and originality—features which he had in common with his master—that he was able to take over the form of the Maitreya-cult introduced by Dao'an, changing, however, its aim and its range of application to such an extent that it became one of the most impressive manifestations of lay Buddhism. At the same time we find another less original former disciple of Dao'an assiduously continuing the cult of Maitreya, and when other monks asked him why he did not pray Amitābha for a blissful rebirth, he could only reply that he did so before under Dao'an.[78]

Summarizing we may say that the religious activities of Dao'an during his stay at Xiangyang, *viz*. exegesis of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and worship of Maitreya, seem to have marked a distinct phase in his life, partly explainable by his contacts with the *xuanxue* Buddhism of the South-East, and partly by his former occupation with *dhyāna*. Both aspects exerted a profound influence on his disciples, notably on Huiyuan who in the following decades would become his successor as the leader of the Church in the South.

Scholarly activities at Xiangyang.

We must beg the reader to take this heading *cum grano salis*. It is true that Dao'an in his efforts to acquire good and complete texts of the scriptures and in compiling his outstanding bibliography of Buddhist translations displayed remarkable scholarly capacities. However, the basic motive behind these activities must certainly not be sought in any historical or philological interest as such. They are both inspired by the religious desire to obtain the Buddha-word in its most complete and unadulterated form, and to describe and classify the works of previous translators as a means to evaluate the individual scriptures of the sacred doctrine. Here again, a certain procedure is taken over, this time from secular literature, and given a new application and content. For it is beyond doubt that Dao'an in compiling his catalogue followed the example of secular bibliography, *i.e.*, very probably the Section on Literature 藝 of the *Hanshu*;[79] according to his biography, Dao'an came from a family of Confucian *literati*, and he was certainly acquainted with historical literature.

We have already said something about Dao'an's *Zongli zhong jing mulu* (cf. above, p. 30 and Ch. II, note 65) and we shall not repeat the details and references given there. This catalogue was completed in 374; it contained some six hundred titles. Older rudimentary lists of translations probably existed before Dao'an's time, and there was the catalogue(s) compiled by Zhi Mindu in the first half of the fourth century in the South (cf. above, p. 99), but this Dao'an certainly was never able to consult. In this way the mere fact that the *Zongli zhong jing mulu* was compiled is less surprising than the critical and scholarly method followed in compiling it. All entries were based on personal observation, hence the absence of a section "lost scriptures" which figures in most later catalogues; on the other hand, Dao'an noted down all scriptures which he had investigated even if they were incomplete. If the texts contained colophons indicating the date and circumstances of translation, Dao'an reproduced these data in his catalogue. The attribution of scriptures to certain translators was based either on colophons or titles containing the translator's name, or on criteria of style and vocabulary; however, unlike so many later and less critical bibliographers, he did not hesitate to label many translations

"anonymous" 失譯, to which he added three separate sections containing archaic anonymous versions, anonymous versions from Liangzhou (Gansu) and from "the region within the Passes" (Chang'an). Finally, he also collected the titles of scriptures which upon investigation appeared to be spurious, and devoted a special section to these.[80] He had to find his own methods of classification, different from those of secular catalogues, and in doing so he set a standard subsequently followed by all later Buddhist bibliographers.

All the while Dao'an did his utmost to obtain more and better texts of the scriptures, some of which had to be sent to him from distant Liangzhou. One of the most interesting documents in this respect is a long letter written at Xiangyang, obviously by Dao'an himself, although it figures as "anonymous" in the *CSZJJ*.[81] Here several aspects of Dao'an's activities and interests are clearly illustrated: the close attention he gave to discrepancies between the contents of various scriptures treating the same subject; his dissatisfaction with the incompleteness of the available texts and his desire to obtain better ones; his meticulous description of historical and bibliographical details concerning the translation and transmission of certain texts; his contacts with monks in different parts of China, and his stress on the primary importance of the *vinaya* for the religious life. In view of the length of the letter and the many incidental details contained in it we shall not give a full translation; the following summary may serve as well to give the reader an impression of its contents.

The letter opens with an enumeration of the ten stages (*bhūmi*) of the Bodhisattva career according to the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, of which Dao'an had obtained a copy in the translation of Dharmarakṣa (T 285, 漸備[一切智德]經), together with the Chinese translation of their names: (1) *Pramuditā*, "joyful" 悅豫, (2) *Vimalā*, "stainless" 離垢, (3) *Prabhākarī*, "light-giving" 興光, (4) *Arciṣmatī* "radiant" 輝耀, (5) (*Su*)*durjayā*, "difficult to conquer" 難勝, (6) *Abhimukhī*, ("before one's eye", *i.e.*) "face-to-face" 目前, (7) *Dūraṅgamā*, "far-going" (trsl. as "mysterious, wonderful" 玄妙), (8) *Acalā*, "unmoving" 不動, (9) *Sādhumatī* "of good thoughts" 善哉意 (10) *Dharmameghā*, "cloud of the Doctrine" (trsl. as "Rain of the Doctrine", 法雨).

Dao'an apparently noted down these names for the benefit or at the request of the recipient of the letter. The size of the sūtra is given as well as the date of translation; unfortunately the first *juan* was missing, but Dao'an hopes that one day this gap will be filled. He states that the description of the Ten Stages in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* is more extensive than, and moreover quite different from, that given in the *Benye jing* 本業經 (trsl. by Zhi Qian, T 281, or the 諳菩薩求佛本業經, trsl. by Nie Daozhen, T 282) and in the larger version of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. In view of the great value of this scripture, it is not clear to him why it remained so long in obscurity at Liangzhou (Gansu). Formerly there were several monks at Liangzhou like Shi Jiaodao 釋教道 and Zhu Fayan 竺法彥 who on account of their scholarship and devotion might have been expected to assemble copies of it, but they never mentioned its existence. Dao'an considers this the more remarkable because this *Daśabhūmika* is a large and extremely important scripture. Formerly, at Ye, he had often conversed with the learned monk Bo Faju 帛法巨, but even he was apparently unacquainted with it.

Dao'an then reproduces the translator's colophon of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, and praises Dharmarakṣa as one of the greatest translators of Mahāyāna

scriptures. But it is still a problem to him why Dharmarakṣa's version of the 25.000 *p'p'* (the *Guangzan jing* 光讚經, T 222) never became popular among earlier students, a lacuna which might now be filled to some extent by Dao'an's present efforts to understand this text. Another unfortunate fact is that the first *juan* of the *Daśabhūmika* is missing; Dao'an is trying to study this work thoroughly, for in its systematic arrangement of all the Bodhisattva's activities it contains much that is completely different from other scriptures; he feels handicapped, however, by the loss of the first part.

As to Dharmarakṣa's version of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Guangzan jing*, it has a long and complicated history. It was translated only eight or nine years before Mokṣala's version, the *Fangguang jing* 放光經 (T 221), and since that time (286 AD) it disappeared, only remaining in circulation in Liangzhou. Formerly when living in the North, Dao'an only saw one *juan* of this scripture, with a colophon containing the names of some of Dharmarakṣa's collaborators, all people from Chang'an, so that Dao'an believes he might conclude that the translation had taken place there. Probably Dharmarakṣa had taken the text of his translation to Liangzhou and spread it there before it could become more widely known at Chang'an. The data of the colophon mentioned above completely agree with those of the colophon on the text of the *Guangzan* which Huichang 慧常 and others had sent to Dao'an from Liangzhou.[82] Huichang sent four scriptures in all, *viz.* the *Guangzan*, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, the new version of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhi-sūtra* made lately at Liangzhou (cf. note 82), and Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Śurataparipṛcchā* 須賴; all these are considered to be important contributions to knowledge, as they are much more detailed than the versions hitherto known to Dao'an. The author gives a very detailed account of the vicissitudes of the scriptures on their way from Liangzhou to Xiangyang, carefully indicating the days on which they arrived at Xiangyang one after another. Three hundred monks were present when the *Guangzan jing* arrived; the monk Shi Sengxian 釋僧顯 was ordered to copy it out and to take this copy to the capital to give it to Zhu Fatai. Dao'an closes the letter by remarking that it was said that there must still be a complete text of the five hundred monastic rules 五百戒, which for unknown reasons had not yet arrived at Xiangyang. Yet this was the text which was most urgently needed. The practice of the doctrine will remain deficient as long as the rules for the four groups of the community (monks, nuns, male and female novices) are not complete. The monastic rules form the very roots of our conduct, on which eventually even the teachings of the *Prajñāpāramitā* are based. Dao'an declares always to be distressed by their incompleteness, and he will grasp every opportunity to procure them.

Thus the main activities and interests of Dao'an, his search for new scriptures, his bibliographical knowledge and acumen and his emphasis on monastic discipline all clearly appear from this simple and somewhat confused letter, much more clearly, in fact, than from the stylized phraseology of his biographies or from the rhetoric effusions of Xi Zuochi.

The fall of Xiangyang and the dispersion of the community.

In the North, Fu Jian, since 357 AD ruler of the "Tibetan" state of the Former Qin, and his closest Chinese collaborator Wang Meng 王猛 had in the

meantime built up a centralized government apparatus after Chinese model and a formidable army, partly consisting of soldiers recruited from the Chinese population and partly of the armies of allied non-Chinese chieftains. In 370, after more than ten years of internal organization and consolidation, Fu Jian suddenly started a policy of territorial expansion in all directions, as a result of which after a few years he dominated the whole of northern China and much of the south-western parts of the empire. The campaigns followed each other in rapid succession; in 370 the state of Former Yan (comprising the whole North-east from Shanxi/Henan to Liaoning) was conquered, three years later northern Sichuan was overrun and Chengdu taken, in 376 the Qin armies broke the power of Zhang Tianxi 張天錫, satrap of Liangzhou (Gansu), and thereby came to control the caravan routes to Central Asia, and in the same year they annihilated the Xianbi state of Dai 代, the first attempt of the Tuoba clan to form an independent kingdom.

After these impressive military feats, Fu Jian prepared the decisive offensive against the Jin in the South, the last step to the total unification of the realm. We have already seen (above, p. 112) how this policy unexpectedly ended in a catastrophe for Fu Jian and in the sudden collapse of his empire, when in 383 his armies were routed at the Feishui 淝水.

In March/April 378, four huge armies under the supreme command of Fu Jian's son Fu Pi 苻丕 were sent southward along different routes to march against Xiangyang, which on account of its strategical position on the Han river was chosen as the first point of attack.

The siege of Xiangyang is one of the heroic episodes of these stormy years. As a result of the negligence of Zhu Xu 朱序, the commander in charge of the defense, the Qin armies were able to cross the Han, to break through the outer wall and to lay siege to the inner city, blocking all approaches by water and land. Thus isolated and abandoned by other Jin generals who hesitated to attack Fu Pi in spite of their order to relieve the city, Xiangyang withstood the siege for a full year. At last, on April 7, 379 AD, it fell by treason. The commander Zhu Xu was taken prisoner and transferred to Chang'an, where he immediately entered the service of Fu Jian.

Early in 378, when the alarming news of the approach of the Qin armies towards Xiangyang became known, Dao'an planned to resume his former peregrinations with his numerous disciples. His escape was, however, prevented by Zhu Xu who forced him to stay at Xiangyang (cf. above, note 59). Zhu Xu's reasons for doing so are not specified; it is not improbable that he wanted to use the presence of the great Buddhist master as a magical protection of the city against the enemy.

It is characteristic of Dao'an's feeling of responsibility that in this moment of imminent danger his first thought was for the fate of his disciples. When he realized that he had to stay, he assembled his followers and sent them away. "He then divided his numerous disciples into groups, and let them go their ways. Shortly before their departure, all prominent (monks) obtained from him some instruction (as to where to go), only Huiyuan did not receive a single word. Huiyuan then knelt and said: 'I am the only one who has not obtained your advice and help—I am afraid that I am not equal to the others', to which Dao'an replied, 'Should I still worry about one like you?'."[83] Before the enemy arrived, most of the disciples had dispersed, following their respective

leaders. We know only the names of some ten prominent disciples, practically all people from the North who had spent many years under Dao'an.

The centre at Jiangling.

We have already mentioned the relations which Dao'an entertained with Jiangling, at that time the residence of the governor of Jingzhou (cf. above, p. 190). Tanyi 曇翼 [84] one of Dao'an's disciples who was of "Tibetan" (羌) origin, had become an abbot of the important Changsha 長沙 monastery at Jiangling, and this may have been the reason why several of Dao'an's followers sought refuge at this centre after their departure from Xiangyang.

Zhu Sengfu 竺僧輔[85] from Ye, one of Dao'an's oldest companions, went to the Shangming 上明 monastery at Jiangling, where he continued the cult of Maitreya initiated by Dao'an. He was much venerated by the prefect Wang Chen 王忱, who asked him to become his spiritual sponsor and who was converted by Sengfu together with his whole household.

Shi Fayu 釋法遇 (cf. note 51 above), who at Xiangyang had already been especially honoured by Ruan Bao 阮保, prefect of Yiyang 義陽 (southern Henan), after the fall of Xiangyang went to the Changsha monastery at Jiangling, where his former companion Tanyi was abbot. There he became famous for his explanations of the scriptures and assembled more than four hundred disciples. He was at one occasion subjected to a disciplinary punishment administered by Dao'an himself, who at Chang'an had heard about his failure to maintain the monastic discipline, and he appears to have maintained correspondence with Huiyuan at the Lu Shan.[86] Like the other monks mentioned here he remained at Jiangling for the rest of his life.

The fourth disciple who is known to have gone to Jiangling in 378 is Tanhui 曇徽,[87] probably one of Dao'an's first followers.[88] Like Zhu Sengfu, he settled at the Shangmingsi where he probably took part in the Maitreya cult. In any case this monastery became centre of "Dao'an worship", as Tanhui used to pay homage to a portrait of the master which he had placed in the temple, and "subsequently all gentlemen and ladies of Jiangling (bowed) to the West and paid homage to the "Bodhisattva with the sealed hand (*i.e.*, Dao'an)".[89] Tanhui was an able scholar, well-versed in secular literature, and his biography mentions the titles of some scholastic treatises written by him.[90] He died at Jiangling in 395 AD at the age of seventy-two.

Other disciples went further to the East. Huiyong 慧永[91] had originally agreed with Huiyuan and his brother Huichi 慧持 to settle at the Luofu Shan 羅浮山 near Guangzhou, and when Huiyuan "was kept back by Dao'an" (probably some time before 367) he went alone. At Xunyang 潯陽 (the modern Jiujiang 九江 in N. Jiangxi) he was asked by an admirer to stay, and so he settled at a small monastery, the Xilinsi 西林寺 on Mt. Lu, where he died in 414 AD. Huiyuan and his brother first stayed for some time at the Shangmingsi at Jiangling and then went to join Huiyong at the Luofu Shan. They were struck by the beauty of the Lu Shan when they passed through Xunyang on their way to the South-East, and there they met their former companion Huiyong who urged the governor to build a new monastery for them and their disciples.

Other disciples.

Some disciples stayed with the master at Xiangyang and followed him to Chang'an with their personal pupils. Shi Daoli 釋道立,[92] famous for his knowledge of the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* and of the "Three Mysteries" (三玄: *Laozi, Zhuangzi* and the *Yijing*), is said to have gone to Chang'an with Dao'an. On the other hand he is reported to have practised *dhyāna* with his disciples on the Fuzhou Shan 覆舟山, a mountain North-East of Jiankang, and unless the name here denotes a place near Chang'an not mentioned in other sources, we must assume that he later (after the fall of the Former Qin?) returned to the South and settled near the capital. Another disciple, Shi Tanjie 釋曇戒 (cf. note 76), certainly remained at Chang'an till after Dao'an's death. He originally came from Nanyang 南陽 (S. Henan) and was a younger brother of a local magistrate named Zhuo Qian 桌潛 and a protegee of the King of Linchuan 臨川, Sima Bao 司馬寶 (reigned ca. 373–420).[93] Here, we find again the stress on "good works" and devotion connected with the cult of Maitreya: Tanjie bowed every day five hundred times before the Buddha, and never stopped repeating the name of Maitreya. He died at the age of sixty-nine and was buried at the side of Dao'an's grave at Chang'an.

Thus the dispersion of the community at Xiangyang in 378/379 AD gave rise to or stimulated the growth of three important centres of Buddhism in the late fourth and early fifth century outside the southern Capital, *viz*. Jiangling (about which not much is known apart from the facts mentioned above), Chang'an and the Lu Shan. Of these, Jiangling and Chang'an had been Buddhist centres since early times. Huiyong is the first monk known to have lived at Mt. Lu, and the monastery where he stayed is said to have been especially built for him in 367 AD,[94] so that no Buddhist community seems to have existed there before that date.

Dao'an at Chang'an (379–385).

The last phase of Dao'an's life, his activities at the northern capital Chang'an under the "Tibetan" ruler Fu Jian, falls, strictly speaking, outside the scope of this study of Southern Buddhism. We shall only mention the main events of this period of his life.

The fundamental changes in Dao'an's life after his transfer to Chang'an may be explained by the nature of his new environment. In the first place, Chang'an, unlike Xiangyang, was an imperial residence, the seat of the Former Qin court. From now on, Dao'an came to live in the immediate vicinity of his imperial patron, and as a result his position changed from that of a more or less independent Buddhist master to that of an excessively venerated "jewel of the State", just like his own master Fotudeng once had been: he now lived under the protection and supervision of a powerful ruler with whom he entertained close personal relations. In the second place, Chang'an was the capital of the most powerful state of Eastern Asia. In space it extended its influence over the oasis kingdoms of Central Asia, and in time it was roughly contemporary with the great flourishing of Buddhism in North-Western India under the last Kuṣāṇas and in the Gupta empire, the sacred land of Buddhism, where shortly afterwards the famous centre at Nālandā

was founded. Hence this period is marked by international relations, campaigns to the West, a renewed influx of foreign Buddhist missionaries from Central Asia and Northern India, and consequently by extensive translation activities, now for the first time sponsored by the court, and for the first time directed by a Chinese master.

Connections with the court at Chang'an.

Dao'an's relations with the court were very close. His biography states that Fu Jian himself ordered Fu Pi to bring Dao'an with him to Chang'an once he had taken Xiangyang, and that he expressed his great satisfaction when at last Dao'an and Xi Zuochi had fallen into his hands.[95] This may be an invention of the Buddhist biographer.

However, another passage from his biography describes how Dao'an had the special privilege of sharing the imperial chariot with Fu Jian, and how the ruler, when the minister Quan Yi 權翼 protested against granting such an honour to a monk, compelled the unfortunate dignitary to support Dao'an when he mounted the vehicle. This episode occurs also in the history of the Jin empire, the *Jinshu*,[96] and here Fu Jian's words as well as Quan Yi's remonstrance are quoted much more extensively; it is obvious that the *Jinshu* account is not based on the *Gaoseng zhuan*.[97] The same holds good for the scene described in *GSZ* and again much more extensively in the secular *JS*, where Dao'an, at the request of some courtiers who were opposed to Fu Jian's policy of territorial expansion, tried to persuade the emperor not to undertake his fatal campaign against the South.[98] Moreover, the *JS* mentions the participation of Dao'an in a political discussion in the palace, also in 383 and on the same subject, a detail which does not occur in the *GSZ*.[99] We may therefore accept as a historical fact that Dao'an beside his religious activities had become one of Fu Jian's trusted advisors in political matters. The fact that he repeatedly opposed the ruler's plan to conquer the South can hardly be ascribed to his "patriotism" (as is done by Tang Yongtong). Like many other politicians at Fu Jian's court (most of whom were of foreign origin) he foresaw that the time was not yet ripe for such an undertaking. His own proposal temporarily to move the capital to Luoyang, to work out the strategy there, to send from there an ultimatum to Jiankang and then to attack the Jin if it did not surrender,[100] can hardly be interpreted as proof of his ardent patriotism.

Dao'an was much esteemed for his literary talents and his knowledge of history and epigraphy. Under Fu Jian and his Chinese collaborator Wang Meng, the State of Qin had become thoroughly "confucianized". Schools had been founded within the palace where "Scholars of wide Learning" instructed their pupils in the classics; a curious tendency towards Confucian orthodoxy coexistent with the stimulation of Buddhism (closely resembling the attitude of the Mongol emperors in the early fourteenth century!) led to a prohibition of the study of *Laozi, Zhuangzi*, and (partly Daoist) charts and prognostication texts (圖讖).[101] In this revival of secular studies Dao'an seems to have played an important role. According to his biography, "at Chang'an the young members of the higher classes (衣冠子弟) who composed poetry all relied on his (advice) to enhance their reputation",[102] and Fu Jian officially ordered all scholars to submit their problems concerning Buddhist or

secular literature to Dao'an.[103] The *GSZ* contains also some anecdotes about his great knowledge of ancient inscriptions and antiquities,[104] and quotes a contemporary doggerel about Dao'an's unsurpassed erudition which, to judge from these examples, may indeed have become proverbial at the court and among the intelligentsia at Chang'an.

Translation activities.

As we said above, the period 380–385 was characterized by the influx of foreign missionaries and the translation of several important scriptures. Some of these foreigners came directly from Kashmir, the stronghold of the Sarvāstivāda school of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The vast scholastic systematizations in the field of Abhidharma for which this school was famous were still unknown in China; among the first missionaries who opened this literature to the Chinese we find the Abhidharma specialists Saṅghadeva 僧伽提婆 and Saṅghabhadra 僧伽跋澄[105] who arrived at Chang'an around 381 AD. Others, coming from the Buddhist kingdoms of Central Asia, were the Vinaya master Tanmoshi 曇摩侍 (Dharmadhī?) from "the Western Region", the *āgama* specialist Dharmanandin 曇摩難提 from Tukhāra, the *ābhidharmika* Kumārabodhi 鳩摩羅菩提 who had been the *purohita* 國師 of Midi 彌第, king of Turfan, and who in 382 was sent to Chang'an as a member of a tribute mission to the court. Most of these masters knew no or little Chinese when they arrived; they merely recited the Sanskrit text of the scriptures which they knew by heart or of which they possessed manuscripts, and several of the versions made in this way in the first years by the Chinese translation team had to be revised and corrected afterwards. It was, as far as we know, for the first time that the main work of translation was not done by a more or less sinicized foreigner, but by a Chinese polyglot. The man who for many years was the central figure in this team was Zhu Fonian 竺佛念.[106] a monk from Liangzhou whose family had been living in this frontier region for generations, and who thereby and by his travels had become well-versed in Sanskrit and in several Central Asian languages. In the field of exegesis (義學) his capacities are said to have been mediocre, but his knowledge of foreign languages—extremely rare among the Chinese clergy at all times—made him invaluable. Practically all translations of this period were actually made by him, the foreign missionaries mainly acting as informants "producing" 出 (*i.e.*, reciting or writing out) the original texts. In view of the great problems connected with the translation of these difficult and extremely technical scholastic scriptures, and in view of the size of his œuvre—more than two hundred *juan*—Zhu Fonian may certainly be regarded as one of the great early translators, a worthy precursor of Kumārajīva whose arrival in 402 AD he probably still lived to see.

Dao'an's role in the activities of this translation team was that of a "general manager" and adviser. He asked the foreign masters to recite whatever texts they could "produce", discussed translation problems with his collaborators, disapproved some obviously faulty translations, revised the Chinese versions after they had been "noted down" (筆受), and wrote the prefaces which still form the most valuable source of information for the history of the Buddhist church in the North at this period. In all this he was enthousiastically assisted not only by clerical collaborators like his old companion Fahe 法和 and

his gifted disciple Huirui 慧叡 but also by a prominent layman, the magistrate Zhao Zheng 趙整. The latter was one of Fu Jian's trusted advisors, a fervent Buddhist who wanted to become a monk but did not obtain Fu Jian's permission to do so. After the latter's violent death in 385 he carried out his original plan, taking the religious name of Daozheng 道整 and joining the order. The documents testify of his religious zeal, as his name figures among the members of translation teams in four colophons and prefaces, and a short account of his life is inserted in Dharmanandin's biography in the *GSZ*.[107]

Although Dao'an did not and could not take part in the work of translation itself, he appears to have been well aware of the problems connected with rendering the Sanskrit texts into Chinese. In his prefaces he mentions the opinions of himself, of Zhao Zheng and of Huichang 慧常 concerning the dilemma which ever faced Buddhist translators: whether to make a free, polished and shortened version adapted to the taste of the Chinese public, or a faithful, literal, repetitious and therefore unreadable translation.[108] Moreover, his preface to a new version of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (dated 382 AD) contains a highly interesting passage in which he formulates some rules stating on what points the translator should be allowed to deviate from the original (five points, the 無失本) and where he should faithfully render the Sanskrit text (three points, the 三不易).[109] These rules seem to have become authoritative at Chang'an, for we find them mentioned in a contemporary anonymous colophon, in which the author refers to Dao'an's preface containing these rules;[110] they continued to be influential in the school of Kumārajīva during the first years of the fifth century.[111]

In the last years of his life Dao'an was confronted with a profusion of information revealed to him by the newly translated scriptures. We shall not treat these various sūtras and treatises one by one; the nature, origin and textual history of these works as well as their way of translation and their Chinese interpretation pose problems which require a separate study. In general, we may say that they disclosed three important sections of Buddhist canonical and semi-canonical literature.

In the first place, Dao'an at last obtained more satisfactory texts on monastic discipline (*vinaya*), especially pertaining to the liturgy of the *bhikṣu-* and *bhikṣunī-prātimokṣa* according to the recension of the Sarvāstivādins. None of these texts was longer than four *juan*—no complete *Vinaya* of any school was known in China before the early fifth century. Yet, Dao'an in his prefaces expresses his great joy and satisfaction; it had always been his great desire to regularize the monastic life in accordance with the canonical rules, and the necessity to have a more detailed organization may have been even more urgent at Chang'an with its thousands of monks[112] than at Xiangyang, where they only had been counted by hundreds.

In the second place, there was the disclosure of the rich Abhidharma literature of the Small Vehicle, again exclusively that of the Sarvāstivāda school, a fact of primary importance from a doctrinal point of view. There were Saṅghabhadra's version of the "*Vibhāṣa*" 毘婆沙 in 12 (var. 14) *juan*,[113] Saṅghadeva's version of the (?) *Abhidharma-hṛdaya*[114] 阿毘曇心 and other small works. Most important, however, was the translation of the basic Abhidharma text of that school, the *Jñānaprasthāna* 阿毘曇八犍度論.[115] The study of the

"numbers" 數, the numerical groups and categories of concepts found throughout the Buddhist canon, had always been popular, especially in the North, but these studies had always been based on the short and rather elementary texts, sometimes no more than a mere enumeration of terms, and often incomplete and obscure. Now Dao'an was confronted with one of the monumental works of Indian scholasticism which by its stupendous systematization and rubrication of the whole Buddhist world-view formed a *summa theologiae*, far superior to any Buddhist text known before, and, indeed, to any comparable work in Chinese secular literature.

In the third place, we must mention the translation of the integral texts of two of the *āgamas* (lit. "the tradition"—the four collections of Hīnayāna sūtras roughly corresponding to the Pāli *nikāya*): the *Madhyamāgama* 中阿含 and the *Ekottarāgama* 增一阿含, both by Dharmanandin. The versions which now figure in the canon[116] seem to be a later redaction of Dharmanandin's translation, executed by Saṅghadeva at the very end of the fourth century.

No wonder that the aged master (Dao'an was 70 years old in 382) was overwhelmed by these discoveries. Again and again he speaks in his prefaces about the importance of these scriptures and proudly enumerates the number of *juan* translated in one year, and he repeatedly expresses his regret that he had only become acquainted with these works when the end of his life was drawing near: "I am only sorry that I have seen this sūtra at the age of seventy-two . . .",[117] or, with an allusion to a well-known *Lunyu* passage: "Alas that it is at such a late date that I have 'peeped through the door (of the wall which is) several fathoms high', and I fear that I shall not be able to know 'the beauty of the ancestral temple, and the rich array of the hundred officials'."[118]

No wonder, too, that his attention was absorbed by all these activities, so that his former preoccupation with the exegesis of the *Prajñāpāramitā* became less conspicuous. He upheld the custom of going through the text of the *Fangguang jing* twice a year, and when in 382 a new Chinese version of the *Prajñāpāramitā* was made,[119] he compared it with the existing versions and wrote a preface to it, but the extensive discussion of the general problems of translation (cf. above, p. 203) in this same preface shows how much his attention was focused on this aspect of Buddhist life at Chang'an.

When in the year 384/385, after the disastrous battle at the Feishui, the region of Chang'an was ravaged by war and the Xianbei armies stood before the city, the translation team remained active, and so did Dao'an. Early in 385 AD,[120] the master died at the age of seventy-three, six months before his imperial patron, after having contributed more to the growth of Chinese Buddhism than any person before him.

SHI HUIYUAN 釋慧遠 (334–417 AD)[121]

It is not without reason that we close our historical survey with an account of Huiyuan and his community in the late fourth and early fifth century. Huiyuan's life and that of his clerical and lay followers are representative of early Chinese gentry Buddhism in its fully developed form—a final phase in the process of assimilation which we have attempted to trace from its very beginning. In the course of our investigation we have met several types of partial absorbtion of Buddhism: Daoist practices with a Buddhist tinge,

xuanxue speculations with Buddhist admixtures, retired *literati* fascinated by the monastic ideal, Confucian moralists attracted by the purity and the beneficial influence of Buddhist ethics. This piecemeal digestion of certain elements from the Buddhist doctrine and way of life, which was going on in the South without basically changing the world-view of the Chinese intelligentsia, had been interrupted by the establishment of an enclave of Northern Buddhism under Dao'an at Xiangyang, from where it extended its invigorating influence to various regions of the empire. We can hardly speak of any definite "creed" propagated by Dao'an, for his interests and beliefs must have been as restless as his life, going through one phase after another: sheer shamanism at Ye, *dhyāna* in Hebei, gnostic speculations and the cult of Maitreya at Xiangyang, *abhidharma*-studies at Chang'an. The most important point, however, is that Dao'an's great and original mind had recognized the fundamental difference between the foreign doctrine and the Chinese cultural heritage which was his own by birth and education, and that he, after having recognized this, had entered upon a life-long quest for the real message of this doctrine. The awareness of the difference between Buddhism and traditional Chinese thought coupled with the urge to make the doctrine accessible to the cultured Chinese public characterizes even more Dao'an's most gifted disciple Huiyuan. At his centre on the Lu Shan, which comprised both monks and laymen, we find not only all elements of southern gentry Buddhism in their most characteristic form, but also the appearance of a well-defined devotional creed which, though practised by cultured Chinese laymen, is basically "Buddhist", *i.e.*, not directly connected with or superimposed upon existing Chinese ideas and practices. This is a new and highly important phenomenon which seems to foreshadow the later development of one of the most famous Chinese Buddhist sects.

In another field, Huiyuan's activities also prove that the Church was entering a new era. Whereas formerly the disputes about the status and *raison-d'être* of the clergy had taken place among the members of the ruling bureaucracy or at the court, now the Master of the Doctrine Huiyuan was on two occasions invited by the dictator Huan Xuan to take part in discussions about these subjects, and in doing so he became the greatest defender of the faith in the history of early Chinese Buddhism. The fact that Huan Xuan during his short reign as self-styled "emperor of Chu" in an edict officially confirmed the independence of the Buddhist clergy—*i.e.*, their right "not to pay homage to the ruler"—testifies of the immense influence and prestige of Huiyuan as well as of the privileged position which the Church had gained around the beginning of the fifth century.

Finally, Huiyuan's activities on Mt. Lu partly coincide with those of the great translator and exegete Kumārajīva and his Chinese disciples at Chang'an, and the new ideas and scriptures revealed there virtually led to a reorientation of Chinese Buddhism. The first stage of this reorientation was witnessed by Huiyuan himself, who by his close contacts with Kumārajīva and by studying and expounding his translations was the first to spread this newly disclosed knowledge in southern China.

Thus Huiyuan's life forms in several respects a key to the next phase of Chinese Buddhism, and at the same time, the final and most complete expression of the earlier phase which has been the subject of our study.

Huiyuan's youth and early years at Xiangyang (334–378).

Huiyuan's original surname was Jia 賈; he was born in 334 AD at Yanmen 鴈門 (N. Shanxi) in a family of "poor" *literati*.[122] The years of his childhood coincided with the unification of the northern and central provinces under the Later Zhao (319–352) and the revival of classical studies under Shi Hu. Hence the promising boy in 345 or 346 accompanied his uncle to Xuchang and Luoyang and became a Confucian student at the Academy 太學 at these ancient centres of learning. No Buddhist interests are mentioned in the account of his early years of secular study, but in a letter in which he much later describes the various phases of his ideological development[123] he states that he first regarded the Confucian scriptures as "the (most beautiful) pleasaunce of our times", but that upon reading *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* he realized that "Confucianism was no more than empty talk". This shift of interest must have taken place in his early youth, and his eager acceptance of *xuanxue* (which at that time was perhaps still hardly known in the northern frontier region where he came from) must have paved the way to his later conversion to Buddhism, as must have been the case with so many of his contemporaries. Although the study of *xuanxue* may have prepared him intellectually for the mysteries of the *prajñāpāramitā*, it was the misery and the chaos of the years 349–354 which made him ripe for the "retired life". Shi Hu had died, the Later Zhao had been annihilated. The central region was ravaged by several wars: in 352 the Jin general Zhang Yu 張遇 revolted and a violent battle took place at Xuchang between him and Yao Xiang.[124] In November 353 Yin Hao made his unsuccessful campaign to the North and was routed by Yao Xiang.[125] In February/March 354 the general Zhou Cheng 周成 laid siege to Luoyang[126] and on March 22 of the same year, Huan Wen launched his great offensive against the North (cf. above, p. 111). Under such circumstances it must have been impossible to continue any scholarly activities in this region.

In 354, when he was twenty years old, he decided to cross the Yangzi and to cultivate the "retired life" at Yuzhang 豫章 (Jiangxi) in company with Fan Xuan 范宣, an orthodox Confucianist who lived there as a "hermit" in a little farm and who, in spite of his youth (he can hardly have been older than Huiyuan) seems at that time already to have been rather famous.[127] However, the political disturbances of 354 AD prevented Huiyuan from doing so, and he went back to the North, probably to his native Yanmen. The decisive moment in his life came when on his way through western Hebei he met Dao'an who at that time had founded his monastery on Mt. Heng and there propagated the doctrine on a large scale. According to his biography, the young scholar was immediately impressed by Dao'an's personality, and shortly afterwards "when he heard him explain the *Prajñāpāramitā*" he became Dao'an's disciple and accepted the tonsure together with his younger brother; they obtained the religious names of Huiyuan and Huichi 慧持.[128] Huiyuan, whom Dao'an soon regarded as his most brilliant disciple,[129] and his brother remained with the master for twenty-four years, following him on his later peregrinations to Qiankou Shan, Luhun and Xiangyang.

Practically nothing is known about Huiyuan's life in the thirteen years which he spent at the Tanqisi 檀溪寺 at Xiangyang—the only episode

mentioned in his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* took place outside this city. In 365, Dao'an's old companion Zhu Fatai 竺法汰 and his disciples had been sent by Dao'an to the South-East, but at Jiangling, the provincial capital of Jingzhou and an important Buddhist centre, Fatai had fallen ill. Dao'an thereupon sent Huiyuan from Xiangyang to Jiangling in order to take care of the patient. Elsewhere (above, p. 148) we have already mentioned the debate between Daoheng—an adherent of the "non-existence of (conscious) thought" 心無義—and a disciple of Zhu Fatai, in which Huiyuan also took part. This incident shows that Huiyuan was conversant with the various theories of exegesis current at that time in the South, the *xuanxue—prajñāpāramitā* speculations in which both Dao'an and Zhu Fatai themselves were actively engaged and which at that time seem to have had Huiyuan's full attention. It must be remarked that Huiyuan's interest in the debating "schools" of Buddhist Dark Learning seems to have faded later on—it is a noteworthy fact that he does not figure among the founders of such early exegetical theories.

Masters and mountains.

It may well be that the urban Buddhist community at this large town (the commandery of Xiangyang comprised in Jin times 22.700 ratable families)[130] did not agree with Huiyuan's conception of the "retired life". He had become acquainted with Buddhism at Dao'an's monastery in the Taihang mountains, and the ideal of the religious life remained for him probably associated with the mountain hermitage far from the bustle and the impurities of the world. In any case, shortly after his arrival at Xiangyang (365) he seems to have made an agreement with another disciple of Dao'an, Huiyong 慧永, to leave Dao'an and to travel to the far South in order to live at the famous Buddho-Daoist centre of Luofu Shan (near Guangzhou). At that time Huiyuan was "held back" by Dao'an, and Huiyong went alone.[131] It must be noted that the strong association between Buddhist monasteries and mountains—especially "sacred" mountains—is a typically Chinese phenomenon. In our records we find mention of mountain-dwelling Buddhist masters since the middle of the third century, and in the historical account in the previous chapters we have met several typical examples. The background of this custom is no doubt Daoist, also in the case of Dao'an. In *Baopuzi*[132] we find a list of twenty-seven mountains which "according to the scriptures of the Immortals" 仙經 were considered especially suited to mental concentration and the preparation of drugs of immortality. Now the mountains on which Dao'an successively lived before he came to Xiangyang, *viz.* Wangwu Shan 王屋山, Nüji Shan 女几山 and Heng Shan 恆山, all figure in this list.[133] Other examples are the Luofu Shan where Huiyuan and Huiyong originally intended to settle and which had already become the abode of the Buddho-Daoist thaumaturge Shan Daokai (cf. above, p. 182), the Emei Shan 峨眉山 in Sichuan where Huichi later wanted to cultivate the retired life,[134] and of course the venerated Tai Shan in Shandong, where Zhu Senglang spent more than fifty years (cf. above, p. 185). The custom was sometimes given a Buddhist motivation by referring to alleged Indian prototypes: thus Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433) in one of his eulogies compares the beneficial influence of Huiyuan's monastery on Mt. Lu to that of the "Vulture

Peak" near Rājagṛha where many sūtras are said to have been spoken by the Buddha.[135] In fact, several mountains all over China have been called Lingjiu Shan 靈鷲山, the traditional translation of Gṛdhrakūṭa;[136] one of these is already attested at the beginning of the fifth century.[137]

When Huiyong reached Xunyang (the modern Jiujiang 九江 in N. Jiangxi) and at the request of a local magistrate settled at a *vihāra* built for him on the western side of the Lu Shan 廬山, probably in 367 AD (cf. above, p. 199), it was again a mountain haunted by the memory of famous Daoist hermits of antiquity that was chosen to become a centre of Buddhism. That Huiyuan, who around 380 AD came to live on Lu Shan, was fully aware of the "magical" atmosphere of this mountain appears clearly from the remaining fragment of his "Short description of the Lu Shan" 廬山記 in which he describes the remarkable spots of the mountain and some more or less miraculous events connected with them.[138] On the one hand the ecstatic enjoyment of nature, typical of gentry culture since the early fourth century, is apparent from Huiyuan's description of the beauty and "purity" of the mountain scenery. But on the other hand he states that the mountain had been inhabited by an Immortal in hoary antiquity, whose dwelling-place was still shown. In Han times there had been on the mountain a great healer, who had ascended to the realm of the Immortals when he was three hundred years old; at that time his face still looked not older than thirty years. Yet, here the Daoist tradition had again been given a Buddhist hue: "Formerly, (I), the man of the wilds (野夫), saw a person (on this spot) who wore the garb of a *śramaṇera*. He rose straight up above the clouds, and when he had reached (the top of) this peak, he squatted down on it. After a rather long time he merged with the clouds and disappeared. This seems to be one who has obtained the Way 得道者. At that time the gentlemen of literary abilities (who were with me on the mountain) were all amazed about it". An early legend, also reported in *GSZ*,[139] said that An Shigao during his alleged travels in the South had converted a monstrous snake—the reincarnation of one of his friends from a former life—at the Lu Shan, where this snake had been living as the god of a local temple or chapel. This legend existed already in the fourth century AD, and the popular cult of the mountain spirit who under Buddhist influence had been re-baptized as "An Shigao" was apparently still practised when Huiyuan was living on the mountain. In his *Lu Shan ji* he mentions a chapel 神廟 on the southern range of the Lu Shan, called *Gongting* 宮亭,[140] and "the spirit to which it is (devoted) is the Marquis An", *i.e.*, An Shigao. Thus the Lu Shan was a mountain hallowed by Daoist and Buddhist tradition alike, a place where the sacred and the supernatural gave an additional flavour to the beauty of the landscape. Finally the proximity of an important city, Xunyang 潯陽, where an uncle of Huiyuan held a high official position,[141] may have been an additional stimulus for Huiyuan to settle at Lu Shan. We must keep all this in mind when we read the deceptively simple statement in Huiyuan's biography that he decided to stay at Lu Shan "seeing that Mt. Lu was pure and tranquil, and a place worthy to appease the mind".

Huiyuan's community: colleagues, disciples and lay followers.

It is not known when Huiyuan first arrived at Xunyang. As we have told

in another connection (above, p. 199), he left Xiangyang with his brother Huichi and "several tens" of disciples in 378, when the Qin armies were about to invest the city, and spent some time at the important Shangming 上明 monastery at Jiangling.

In accordance with Huiyuan's original intention, the two brothers afterwards continued their journey to the South-East (Luofu Shan), but when they had reached Xunyang, they were attracted by the marvellous scenery of the Lu Shan, and founded there, probably at Huiyong's request, the "Dragon Source *vihāra*" 龍泉精舍 where they settled with their disciples. The *GSZ* records here two stories about the miracles performed by Huiyuan soon after his arrival, both of which obviously serve to explain the name of the *vihāra*. However, a most reasonable explanation of the name is given in Huiyuan's own account of the Lu Shan: there was near the *vihāra* a curious dragon-shaped rock with a little brook coming out of the "dragon's" mouth.

Apart from these legends no information can be found about the activities of Huiyuan and his followers at the Longquan retreat. After some time, probably several years, Huiyong, who was still living at the Xilinsi 西林寺 and who apparently entertained relations with the highest provincial magistrates at Xunyang, persuaded the governor of Jiangzhou, Huan Yi 桓伊, to build a new and larger monastery for Huiyuan. This was the origin of the Donglin 東林 -si which under Huiyuan would become the most famous centre of Buddhism in Southern China and which also during several centuries after his death would continue to play an important role. The exact date of foundation is not mentioned in early sources, but in view of the dates of Huan Yi (who was governor of Jingzhou from 384 till his death ca. 392)[142] there may be some truth in the very late tradition according to which it was built in 384 AD,[143] one year after Dao'an had died at Chang'an. In fact, Huiyuan's position soon became comparable to that of Dao'an at Xiangyang as the unofficial head of the southern clergy, entertaining relations with several other centres of Buddhism, with the highest officialdom and with the court at Jiankang as well as with that at Chang'an.

The early sources do not yield many factual details pertaining to the size of the clergy, its organization, the number of monasteries etc. The few contemporary descriptions of life at the Donglin monastery are hardly informative in this respect, being mainly eulogistic statements about Huiyuan's great wisdom and zeal, and about the pure *mores* and the inspiring atmosphere prevailing in his community.[144]

Huiyuan seems to have introduced a new way of preaching or explaining the doctrine, which is said to have become the general practice in later times. Unfortunately, the only source which mentions this innovation is rather vague about it. According to Huijiao's concluding remarks in the section "preachers" 唱導 of his *Gaoseng zhuan* (ch. XIII p. 417.3.7), it had not been customary to hold actual sermons at religious gatherings during the earlier phases of Chinese Buddhism. At that time, the liturgy had mainly consisted of repeating or invoking the Buddha's name(s) and of a recital of the scriptures accompanied by ritual prosternations. Finally, when all celebrants had become exhausted, some elder monks were asked to ascend the pulpit 高座 and to speak about the *dharma*, illustrating their exposition by means of edifying tales. Huiyuan changed this state of affairs:

> "Whenever there was a fasting ceremony, he himself would ascend the high seat and personally take the lead in preaching, first elucidating the (working of) causation in the three times, and then discussing the general meaning of the ceremonial meeting (in question). Later generations have transmitted (this way of preaching), which subsequently became a standard for all times".

Other documents are silent about this fact; the source of Huijiao's statement is unknown, and it remains obscure how far and in what respect Huiyuan's sermons deviated from the common practice.

Huiyuan's personal disciples at the Donglinsi were less numerous than those of Dao'an at Xiangyang; their number seems never to have been much more than one hundred.[145] On the other hand, many people are known to have stayed only a few years on Mt. Lu before moving to other centres, in accordance with the practice known as 遊學 "travelling for study" which was quite common among monks; the total number of those who took part in this *va-et-vient* at the Donglinsi is estimated at ca. three thousand.[146]

The Xilinsi and the Donglinsi were not the only religious centres on the Lu Shan; even during Huiyuan's lifetime other Buddhist settlements had been established there. At the Lingyunsi 凌雲寺 the learned Hui'an 慧安 lived with a large number of followers around the beginning of the fifth century,[147] and the *GSZ* speaks also of the *vihāra* established by the unfortunate Tanyong 曇邕, a former commander of Fu Jian's army who already ca. 386 AD had become Huiyuan's disciple. A man of great physical endurance and courage, he had been frequently used by Huiyuan as a courier, going to and from between Lu Shan and Chang'an with Huiyuan's letters to Kumārajīva and with the latter's answers. After having thus served the interests of the community for several years, he was dispelled by Huiyuan on account of some small offense, but he continued to live on the Lu Shan with some disciples in a small *vihāra* where he practised *dhyāna* and followed from afar the happenings at the Donglinsi.[148] Another disciple, the *dhyāna*-specialist and exorcist Fa'an 法安, went to live at a near-by *vihāra* at Xinyang 訢陽 which had originally been a chapel devoted to a local divinity, changed into a Buddhist sanctuary after Fa'an had successfully exorcised the tigers which infested this region. It was here that Fa'an dug up two ancient bronze bells, one of which he sent to Huiyuan to be melted down and made into a Buddhist statue.[149]

Some prominent monks from Lu Shan occasionally visited other places in order temporarily to take part in the religious life there. An interesting example is recorded in the biography of Huiyuan's younger brother Huichi, who in or shortly before 397 AD brought his aunt, the nun Daoyi 道儀, from Jiangxia to the capital. Daoyi, apparently a much younger sister of Huichi's and Huiyuan's father, had been the wife of a prefect of Xunyang who had died when she was only twenty-one. The young widow then "threw off all worldly fetters" and entered the Order (very probably stimulated by the example of her two famous nephews).[150] When hearing that the Buddhist creed was flourishing at Jiankang she wanted to go to the capital in order "to witness the transforming influence (of the Doctrine)" 觀化 there. In this connection we must remember the prominent position of several nuns at the capital at this very period—it was the time when the famous Miaoyin 妙音 played an important role in the intrigues at court, as described above (p. 153).

Huichi took her to Jiankang where she remained for the rest of her life; he himself stayed for some time in the Dongan 東安 monastery at the capital. There he had close contacts with Wang Xun 王珣 (350–401, a grandson of Wang Dao), one of the most prominent *dānapatis* of this period.[151] In 397/398 when Saṅgharakṣa and Saṅghadeva were translating the *Madhyamāgama* 中阿含 at Wang Xun's request, Huichi revised the text of the translation, after which he returned to the Lu Shan.[152] This episode no doubt contributed to Huichi's popularity among the highest gentry, who in true *qingtan* fashion used to compare him with his more famous brother in order to define their respective merits.[153] Two years later (399 AD), Huichi again left the Lu Shan, this time in a westerly direction. He settled at Chengdu (Sichuan) where he was much venerated by the governor and by leaders of the newly founded Buddhist community in this region; there he died, at the Longyuan 龍淵 monastery, in 412 AD.[154]

Unlike his brother and his other more restless companions and disciples, Huiyuan himself never left the Lu Shan for one moment during the last decades of his life, "making the Tiger Brook 虎溪 the border beyond which he would not go"—a peculiarity emphasized in all his biographies. Even in 399, when the powerful Huan Xuan visited the mountain, and in 404, when emperor An passed through Xunyang, he refused to break this rule.[155] Huiyuan's self-imposed confinement is not motivated in his biography, nor do we find parallels in the lives of other Buddhist masters of this period. We may, however, assume that it was a symbolic act expressing one important aspect of the monastic life, *viz.* the preservation of one's "purity" by avoiding all contact with the outside, or, as Huiyuan himself described the *śramaṇa*'s ideal: "to be a stranger (living) beyond the world (of men)".[156]

Contacts with court and gentry.

Although Huiyuan never left his mountain and did not take the initiative in establishing relations with the world, yet the world came to him, and there is every reason to suppose that he welcomed it. Among his own disciples we find, beside many monks of unknown origin, some members of the highest gentry families: Sengche 僧徹 (383–452), who originally belonged to the Wang clan from Taiyuan,[157] and the able musician and calligrapher Daowen 道溫 (ca. 397–465), who was a descendant of the famous scholar Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–282 AD).[158] Both had become pupils of Huiyuan at the age of fifteen, and there are some indications that Huiyuan consciously attracted young people from noble families to become monks.

Like Dao'an, he entertained contacts with both the Chinese court at Jiankang and the court of the "barbarian" empire in Northern China at Chang'an. Immediately after the fall of Fu Jian and the collapse of his state, the Former Qin, in 384, the "Tibetan" general Yao Xiang 姚襄 had established his own dynasty at Chang'an, the Later Qin 後秦 (384–417); from there he had succeeded in uniting the central part of the Former Qin territory under his rule. The whole North-east (roughly the region of present-day Shanxi, Hebei and Shandong) remained in the hands of the Xianbei, whereas the North-west (Gansu) was occupied until 403 by the state of (Later) Liang 後涼, ruled by Fu Jian's former general and conqueror of the West, Lü Guang 呂光. Several members of the ruling clan of Yao 姚 had strong Buddhist sympathies,

probably as a result of the close ties which had existed between the metropolitan clergy and the court of Fu Jian. The imperial sponsorship of Buddhism reached its climax under Yao Xiang's successor Yao Xing 姚興 (ruled 394–416) who in 401 AD summoned Kumārajīva, until that date held captive by Lü Guang at Liangzhou, and under whose auspices and personal supervision this famous master and his Chinese collaborators carried out their work of translation and exegesis.

The members of the Tibetan ruling family held Huiyuan in high esteem. It was Yao Xing's brother, "The Commander of the Army of the Left", Yao Song 姚嵩, who by a letter informed Huiyuan of Kumārajīva's arrival at Chang'an,[159] and the emperor himself honoured Huiyuan with "a letter in which he exhorted him, and his letters and presents in kind (came) without interruption". The Tibetan rulers are furthermore said to have sent to Huiyuan the same peculiar kind of religious objects which Fu Jian had presented to Dao'an, and which seem to have been common in the North at this period: "(Yao Xing) gave him various scenes from scriptures executed in fine embroidery from Kuchā in order to express his feelings of sincerity, and he also ordered Yao Song to present him with a statue set with pearls".[160] Yao Xing's great admiration for Huiyuan appears also from the fact that he personally requested him to compose an introduction to the *Da zhidu lun*, the monumental Mādhyamika treatise attributed to Nāgārjuna (who certainly did not compose it), the translation of which was finished in 406 AD. Huiyuan's influence on this ruler is attested on the other hand by the fact that he personally appealed to Yao Xing, asking him to revoke the verdict of the unjust expulsion of the *dhyāna* master Buddhabhadra in 410 AD (cf. below).

At the southern capital, Buddhism was flourishing like never before (cf. above, p. 153 sqq.). It was sponsored by the dictator Sima Daozi and other members of the imperial family, as well as by several leading personalities among the metropolitan gentry. Here it was again the Wang clan from Langye which acted as the great patron of the Church; two generations after Wang Dao we find among his grandsons no less than five sponsors of the *saṅgha*, some of whom appear to have been deeply interested in the doctrinal aspects of Buddhism.[161]

However, in spite of the personal contacts which existed between individual monks at the Lu Shan and the metropolitan gentry,[162] Huiyuan himself does not appear to have had any direct relations with the Jin court and with the prominent *dānapatis* at Jiankang before the year 402 AD, when Huan Xuan marched to the capital and established himself as dictator. This was no doubt a result of the political situation. As we have said before (p. 113), the authority of the court in the late fourth century did not reach farther than the "Eastern Region": the capital and the territory East of it. The central provinces of the Jin empire formed at that time the stronghold of the opposition led by Huan Xuan and his allies. Huiyuan, voluntarily marooned on his mountain, had to entertain relations above all with these powerful generals and satraps on whose favourable attitude the fate of the community depended, and, as we shall see below, these relations were not always of a friendly nature.

This situation is clearly reflected in Huiyuan's biography (translated in the Appendix at the end of this chapter). On the one hand, no contacts with the court before 404, no complimentary letters from the emperor, nor gifts or

emoluments in kind such as Dao'an had received at Xiangyang. On the other hand, frequent contacts with the local potentates. It had been a Huan who had built the Donglinsi for Huiyuan (cf. above, p. 209); at Lu Shan he was visited by Huan Xuan's ally Yin Zhongkan (cf. above, p. 113) shortly before the latter was treacherously attacked and killed by Huan Xuan (399 AD); in 399 Huan Xuan himself paid him a visit, and both are said to have greatly admired Huiyuan's brother Huichi and to have attempted to persuade him not to continue his planned journey to Sichuan and to stay with them at Jiangling.[163] Wang Gong 王恭 (?–398 AD), one of the leaders of the military junta, appears to have entertained relations with Huiyuan and Huichi,[164] and Huiyuan exchanged letters with Huan Xuan's most trusted helper Wang Mi 王謐 who some years later (in 402) was to play such an important role in defending the privileges of the Church.[165]

These contacts were, of course, of varying intensity. Yin Zhongkan, who visited Huiyuan in 398 when he had been appointed governor of Jingzhou, was a famous *qingtan* and *xuanxue* adept who used to demonstrate his interest in this field by saying that "his tongue felt stiff if he for three days had not read the *Daode jing*".[166] The subject of his conversation with Huiyuan was "the basic purport of the *Yijing*" 易體, a typical *xuanxue* theme, and the few phrases from their debate which we find in *SSXY* [167] do not contain any trace of Buddhist influence. For him, and no doubt also for many others, Huiyuan remained the great *xuanxue* expert and gentleman-scholar, admired for the wit or the abstruseness of his answers and for his stylish behaviour, just as Zhi Dun had been at the capital one generation earlier.

Wang Mi (360–407), on the other hand, was one of the most prominent *upāsaka*s of his time. He came from a Buddhist *milieu*: his father, the general Wang Shao 王劭 was probably the founder of the Zhiyuan 枳園 monastery at Jiankang,[168] and his cousins Wang Min 王珉 and Wang Xun 王珣 were famous devotees.[169] Apart from Wang Mi's letter to Huiyuan quoted in the latter's biography nothing specific is known about his contacts with the Lu Shan; in view of his later efforts to protect the clergy against Huan Xuan's restrictive measures it is very probable that he was one of Huiyuan's personal followers. In any case, Wang Mi was profoundly interested in the Buddhist doctrine—in fact, we do not know of any other lay devotee in Southern China who took so much pains to obtain the answer to his religious problems. When Kumārajīva had arrived at Chang'an (early in 402 AD), Wang Mi swamped him with letters on a great number of doctrinal questions, no less than twenty-seven of which are listed in the table of contents of the *Falun*[170] together with Kumārajīva's replies. None of these letters has been preserved, but the mere titles (indicating the subject on which Wang Mi asked for an explanation) are already highly informative, as they allow us to define the range and nature of Wang Mi's interest and knowledge of Buddhism.[171]

As many other contemporary gentry devotees, Wang Mi appears to have been mainly interested in the nature of Transcendent Wisdom (*prajñā*). However, the reorientation of Buddhist thought resulting from Kumārajīva's activities is already clearly perceptible in the titles of these letters. Unlike authors like Xi Chao, Sun Chuo and Zhi Dun, who explained *prajnā* in *xuanxue* terms and sought for parallels in secular philosophy, Wang Mi

tries to define the function of this concept in the whole of the new doctrine revealed by Kumārajīva. Thus we find him inquiring about the method (?) of *prajñā*, about the meaning of this term and about its relation to Expediency (*upāya*), Omniscience (*sarvajñatā*), the Bodhisattva's "equanimity towards the non-origination of dharmas" (*anutpattika-dharmakṣānti*) and the realization of the true nature (of *dharmas*, *dharmatā*) (letters 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, cf. note 171). Other subjects closely resemble some topics treated in Huiyuan's correspondence with Kumārajīva (cf. below): about the means by which the Bodhisattva realizes Buddhahood, about the *dharmakāya*, about the relation between the three Vehicles (letters 5, 16, 17, 18, 20), whereas one title seems to refer to the visualization of the Buddhas as practised on Mt. Lu (*buddhānusmṛti*; letter 23). Finally we find three letters devoted to the well-known topic of the (immortal) Spirit 神, here, however, associated with Buddhist concepts like *nirvāṇa, manas, citta* and *vijñāna* (letters 2, 25, 27). Thus, although the letters themselves have unfortunately been lost, the mere titles allow us a glimpse of Kumārajīva's enormous influence (even during his lifetime) at the Southern capital, and, more in particular, of the impact of the new knowledge upon a prominent cultured layman at the very beginning of a new age in Chinese Buddhism.

Huan Xuan, Huiyuan's antagonist in the years 399–402, was not indifferent towards Buddhism as a doctrine. Like his partisan and victim Yin Zhongkan, he was a man of culture in spite of his predominantly military career, an enthusiastic collector of paintings and calligraphy and a *xuanxue* scholar. The sources mention, beside his collected literary works in twenty *juan*, a commentary he wrote on the *Xici* appendix of the *Yijing*.[172] He appears to have been interested in the *xuanxue*-Buddhist exegetical "theories" current in his time;[173] in fact, a *SSXY* passage shows him discussing the *Daode jing* together with a certain Daoyao 道曜, a further unknown person who, to judge from his name, seems to have been a Buddhist priest.[174] At the purely doctrinal level his admiration for monks like Huiyuan, Huichi and Daozu 道祖 (347–419), reported in their respective biographies,[175] may have been sincere. But on the other hand, the *Realpolitiker* Huan Xuan was only too well aware of the dubious role played by the clergy in the political intrigues and struggles at the court during the preceding decades, and, as we have seen (cf. above, p. 154), he himself had not hesitated to make use of the influence of the metropolitan clergy in government circles to further his own aspirations. When his star was rapidly rising—first as the most powerful satrap in the central provinces (399–402), then as dictator at Gushu (402–404)—his anti-clerical attitude manifested itself in the form of various measures he proposed or promulgated: attempts to secularize some prominent Buddhist monks in order to use them as officials in his own service,[176] a drastic "selection" 沙汰 of the *saṅgha*, a renewed discussion of the old problem whether the monks should "pay homage to the ruler", and perhaps also a registration of all monks in the province of Yangzhou.[177] Huiyuan played an important role in the defense of the clergy against these measures, and, as we have remarked before, it is significant of the growing power and prestige of the *saṅgha* that now the ruler (*c.q.* Huan Xuan) himself invited Huiyuan to voice his opinion as a spokesman of the Church. These discussions about the status of the clergy in its relation to the temporal government will be treated below.

After Huan Xuan's fall, the restoration of the Jin dynasty (404 AD) meant not only new rulers, but also new *dānapatis*. For obvious reasons, Huiyuan and his associates welcomed the restoration of the Sima, as their precarious position under Huan Xuan had no doubt enhanced their feelings of loyalty to the throne.[178] For the first time we hear about contacts between Huiyuan and the Jin emperor, when the latter early in 405 passed the Lu Shan on his way back to the capital. However, the contact was restricted to an exchange of complimentary letters (text reproduced in his biography, see the Appendix to this chapter). Huiyuan firmly maintained his role of "stranger beyond the world" by refusing to leave his monastery and to appear before the emperor, although he was urged to do so by one of the partisans of the new dictator Liu Yu. We hear about contacts with some leaders of the new *régime*: the famous poet and Buddhist devotee Xie Lingyun 謝靈運[179] and the young but very prominent Liu Zun 劉遵.[180]

Liu Yu himself, whose Buddhist sympathies were not very outspoken (cf. above, p. 158), is said to have sent messengers to Huiyuan with presents of money and rice when he came near the Lu Shan during his last campaign against the rebel leader Lu Xun in 410 AD. This incident, recorded in Huiyuan's biography, is very interesting, as it throws light on one aspect of the activities of Huiyuan and his community which had been overlooked so far.

Contrary to what one might expect of a leader of "pirates", Lu Xun belonged to an excellent family. He was a direct descendant of Lu Zhi 盧植 (died 192 AD, a high official under the Later Han), and a great-grandson of Lu Chen 盧諶 (284–350), a *xuanxue* scholar and magistrate who had been Minister of Works under Shi Hu.[181] Lu Xun himself was an able calligrapher. He had married a sister of the "magician" and rebel chieftain Sun En (cf. above, p. 154) and subsequently became Sun En's successor. In 410 he was routed by Liu Yu and committed suicide after having poisoned his whole family. According to Huiyuan's biography in *GSZ*, Huiyuan in his early years had studied together with Lu Xun's father Lu Gu 盧嘏.[182] He must have known the future rebel when the latter was still a youth, for we read in Lu Xun's biography in *JS* that "The *śramaṇa* Huiyuan, who had a clear insight (in the human character), saw him and said: 'although you are (basically) a man of pure and simple disposition, yet your ambition is fixed upon illegal matters'." A fragment has been preserved of a "letter to Lu Xun" by Huiyuan, in which he thanks him for a present of food which Lu Xun had sent to him,[183] and this also indicates that Huiyuan entertained cordial relations with one of the most dangerous enemies of the central government. In the course of his great offensive against the North, when Lu Xun was encamped at Xunyang, he paid a visit to Huiyuan and had a long conversation with him. For Huiyuan this was no doubt a risky affair; any kind of assistance rendered to a criminal or a fugitive from justice was a punishable offence from Han to Tang times and later.[184] Moreover, at that time Lu Xun had several times been beaten by the government armies, his attack on the capital had failed and his downfall could be expected. Some monks warned him: "Xun is a state criminal 國冠; would it not be suspect if you have such friendly relations with him?", to which Huiyuan replied: "I hold that inside the Buddhist doctrine our feelings do neither choose nor reject (anybody) in particular: should that not be realized by those who know

(about these relations)? There is no need to be afraid". And indeed, when shortly afterwards Liu Yu came near Xunyang and his advisors warned him that Huiyuan had entertained contacts with the enemy, Liu Yu is reported to have said: "Master Yuan is a man from beyond this world 世表之人—he is certainly not a partisan (of anyone)", and he sent him a letter and the presents mentioned above.

This is not an isolated case. Huan Xuan is said to have paid homage to Huiyuan when he visited him in 399 AD, in spite of the fact that his enemy Yin Zhongkan had been Huiyuan's guest, as was pointed out to him by his counsellors before he went. Liu Yu's partisans honoured Huiyuan in spite of his contacts with Huan Xuan. Finally, Huiyuan entertained a personal correspondence with Yao Xing at the very time when Liu Yu in the South was preparing a war against this ruler.[185]

Such an impartial and non-committal attitude Huiyuan maintained throughout his life, and this is a point of considerable importance. At this time of constant war and chaos, when the members of the higher gentry were tossed about and decimated due to internal conflicts between their cliques and factions, the community on Mt. Lu stood or pretended to stand outside and above the political struggles of the day. Judging from the facts mentioned above, it was indeed regarded as "neutral" and as not involved in secular affairs. This is, in fact, repeatedly stressed by Huiyuan in his apologetic writings, and this was probably also the reason why Huan Xuan exempted the Lu Shan from the "selection" which he applied to all other monasteries, potential gathering-places of discontented and rebellious elements (cf. below, ch. V).

The official life had become a hazardous affair. Joining the wrong party could mean disgrace and even death, and one's fate largely depended on one's ability in changing sides at the right moment—an opportunism idealized in Confucianism as the gentleman's intuitive insight into the course of destiny. A non-committal, "neutral" attitude, the best guarantee to save one's skin, was to some extent possible outside the official career, *i.e.*, by leading the "retired life" of the gentleman without employment. It is not without reason that it was in these early medieval times that "retirement" became the gentry ideal *par excellence*, absorbing a whole set of different elements. The unworldliness of *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, detached from its ancient magico-religious background and translated into gentry terms, came to form its philosophical base; "purity", "integrity" and arcadic "poverty" provided its moral justification; literary studies and artistic pursuits like poetry, painting, music and calligraphy were drawn within its sphere. We have seen how, from the early fourth century onward, this complex becomes associated with the monastic ideal, and how, as a result, all these elements find their way into the monastery, where the life of the gentleman-in-hiding, now practised collectively, obtained a new religious significance and a deeper ideological justification, retaining, however, all the elements of the secular ideal which had merged with it.

All these elements were found among the monks of the Lu Shan in a most developed form: Buddhist philosophy and *xuanxue, dhyāna* and the cult of the supernatural, the beauty of nature and the ascetic life, *qingtan*, scholarship and artistic activities, unworldliness and political neutrality. To many members of the cultured classes who in some way had become acquainted with Buddhism and who were inclined to abandon the official career, the Lu

Shan must have appealed as an ideal hide-away, a place not only of wisdom but also of rest and safety. Many of them came to live on the Lu Shan as Huiyuan's lay disciples to take part in the religious life, and this remarkable influx of cultured laymen, in Huiyuan's biography piously attributed to the influence of a miraculous statue, becomes fully understandable if we keep in mind the role of the Lu Shan as a combination of a religious centre and a collective hide-away for Buddhist-minded *literati*.

Huiyuan's lay followers at Lu Shan.

The number of *upāsaka*s who came to settle on Mt. Lu is not known; in early sources[186] eight of them are mentioned by name, and about five of these some historical information can be gathered from various sources. We shall here pay no attention to later traditions of very questionable value, such as we find reported in the anonymous *Shiba xian zhuan* 十八賢傳, a little anonymous work of unknown date which has been incorporated in the eleventh century *Lu Shan ji* 廬山記 by Chen Shunyu 陳舜俞.[187]

Liu Chengzhi 劉程之 (354–410 AD), commonly known as "Liu the recluse" 劉遺民, was a member of a family which claimed to descend from a younger brother of the founder of the Han dynasty—the Liu clan from Pengcheng 彭城. He has no biography in *JS*, but some information is found in an undated but probably very early document in *GHMJ* which contains a letter from Huiyuan to his lay followers on Mt. Lu, preceded and followed by a descriptive account mainly devoted to Liu Chengzhi's life.[188] He had successively been prefect of Yichang 宜昌 (S. Hubei) and of Chaisang 柴桑 (South of the modern Jiujiang, in the immediate vicinity of Mt. Lu); but here his official career had ended. He gave up his post, built a "*dhyāna* cell" 禪坊 near the Xilin monastery (where Huiyong was living) and devoted himself to the religious life, "cherishing his ideals whilst dwelling at ease, and resting in poverty without striving for material profit". He would spend the remaining fifteen years of his life on the Lu Shan. The text seems to imply that he was the first gentry-"recluse" to arrive on the mountain; if he indeed died in 410 AD (the date is only found in late sources)[189] he must have arrived in 396 AD. About Liu Chengzhi's religious zeal we shall speak below, in connection with the cult of Amitābha practised on Mt. Lu. He was, as far as we can deduce from the scanty information, a sincere believer, a real devotee who, as he once wrote to Kumārajīva's famous disciple Sengzhao 僧肇, had found at Mt. Lu the fulfilment of all his wishes.[190] Beside the letter, some other documents of his hand have been preserved; he was also the composer of the text of the collective vow made by Huiyuan and the members of his community in 402 AD (preserved in Huiyuan's biography in *CSZJJ* and *GSZ*).

The other known lay associates of Huiyuan all belong to the so-called "hermits" 隱逸 (it is, indeed, in this section of the official history that we find their biographies): gentry *literati* who shunned the official career during their whole life, and who spent some years of their youth at the Lu Shan. We must note the remarkable fact that some of them were hardly more than boys: in 402, the year when the vow before *Amitābha* took place, Zhou Xuzhi was twenty-five years old, Zong Bing twenty-seven, and Lei Cizong sixteen. But the "retired life" of the gentry recluse seems normally to have

begun at an early age—Huiyuan himself was, after all, twenty years old when he planned to join the Confucian hermit Fan Xuan.

Lei Cizong 雷次宗 (386–448)[191] already as a boy felt the desire to withdraw from the world, as he himself states in a letter to his family,[192] and, as we said above, he must have joined Huiyuan at a very early age. Unlike Liu Chengzhi and Zong Bing, he seems to have devoted himself to secular (Confucian) studies on Mt. Lu—a fact which is demonstrated by a curious passage in Huiyuan's biography (trsl. below in the Appendix to this chapter).

As a result of Huiyuan's exposition of the Rites which he noted down (and later published under his own name, if we may believe the biography), he became a famous specialist in this field, and remained so for the rest of his life. After Huiyuan's death he established a private school which was visited by more than a hundred disciples, and near the end of his life he was accorded the honour of instructing the heir-apparent in the ritual rules concerning mourning garments 喪服. This was the same subject which once had been explained to him by Huiyuan; his interpretation (which perhaps was still that of Huiyuan) may be gathered from a few fragments which have been preserved.[193] More interesting, however, is the text of the letter mentioned above, one passage of which refers to his early years on Mt. Lu and which clearly demonstrates the aspects of the life at that centre which fascinated the young Confucian student.

> . . . "Then I served the *upādhyāya* Shi (Huiyuan). At that time our master and friend, like a deep source, applied himself to instruct (us) and to propagate the Way. Outwardly I admired the (atmosphere of) mutual equality 等夷 (prevailing there), inwardly I cherished (the hope) to be assisted in my efforts to make myself understood.[194] Thus I cleaned my spirit and joyfully studied the canonical scriptures (of Confucianism, 墳典); I exerted myself and worked diligently, day and night. And then there were the beauty of the landscape and the joys of conversation (which) surely sufficed to (endow me with) understanding of (true) principles and to assist the (development of my) nature . . .".[195]

Zhou Xuzhi 周續之 (377–423)[196] was another prominent Confucian scholar, widely read in "the five classics as well as the apocrypha 緯候, *Laozi* and the *Yijing*". Some fragments of his works testify of the same peculiar interest in the "Rites concerning the mourning garments" which we found in those of Lei Cizong; this may again be an echo of Huiyuan's teachings.[197] But on the other hand, the ascetic, *c.q.* Buddhist aspect is far more developed than in the case of Lei Cizong. He never married, wore simple garments and observed a strict vegetarian regimen—clear examples of the influence of the Buddhist monastic rules upon the way of life of the gentry "recluse". It is not known how long he lived on Mt. Lu, but he seems to have spent at least six years there between 396[198] and 402, the year in which he took part in the vow before Amitābha.

Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443)[199] represents the artistic aspect. A scholar and a member of a family of high officials, he was known as one of the greatest painters and calligraphers of his time, as an able musician and as a *qingtan* adept. Like the other devotees mentioned here, he never took office, first living on the Lu Shan with Huiyuan, afterwards (at his brothers' instigation who "urged him to return") at Jiangling where he still maintained relations

with the local clergy. It is not known how long Zong Bing lived on Mt. Lu. In any case, he became a devout Buddhist and, in the later part of his life, one of the most eloquent defenders of the creed, as is testified by the remaining fragments of his works. His essay *Mingfo lun* 明佛論, written ca. 433 AD, is one of the most valuable documents of early gentry Buddhism.[200]

About the other lay followers mentioned in early sources very little is known. Zhang Ye 張野 (lived 350–418, according to a very late source)[201] is said to have been an impoverished scholar and poet who lived at Xunyang. Some fragments of his works have been preserved, of which his "Inscription" 銘 on Huiyuan is the most important, being the earliest source for Huiyuan's life.[202] Even less is known about Zhang Quan 張詮 (mentioned in the same eleventh century source as a relative of Zhang Ye) who also shunned the official life, living on his farm in arcadic poverty,[203] and about Bi Yingzhi 畢穎之 from Xincai 新蔡 who is mentioned in *CSZJJ* and *GSZ* as one of Huiyuan's associates, but who does not even figure in later accounts of the so-called "Lotus Society". He belonged no doubt to a cultured family: in *JS* we find the biography of another member of this family, Bi Zhuo 畢桌 from Xincai, who in the late third and early fourth century was one of the famous drinkers and eccentric *literati* of his time.[204] Finally we may mention a certain Wang Qizhi 王齊之, a member of the Wang clan from Langye, who at the Lu Shan composed some interesting Buddhist poems which have been preserved in *GHMJ*;[205] about the author practically nothing is known.

"Dhyāna" and the cult of Amitābha.

On September 11, 402 AD, Huiyuan assembled the monks and laymen of his community before an image of the Buddha Amitābha in a *vihāra* on the northern side of the mountain, and together with them made the vow to be reborn in Sukhāvatī, the realm of bliss in the Western part of the universe where this Buddha was supposed to reside. This happening is described in Huiyuan's biographies in *CSZJJ* and *GSZ*, which also contain the text of the vow, composed at Huiyuan's request by Liu Chengzhi.

The "vow before Amitābha" has been taken in later times to mark the beginning of the Pure Land sect 淨土宗, considered as a continuation of the "White Lotus Society" 白蓮社 founded on this occasion by Huiyuan, who thereby became the first patriarch of this school. Although this view is certainly not justified, as there is no direct relation, in the sense of a "filiation of masters", between Huiyuan and the later patriarchs of the Pure Land sect, yet this ceremony forms an important landmark in the history of early Chinese Buddhism. It is a manifestation of the particular devotional creed practised by both monks and laymen on Mt. Lu, and obviously adapted to the latter's needs and way of life; a creed which forms the most interesting aspect of Huiyuan's religious activities.

The earliest source for this cult is of course the formulary of the vow itself, and although the wording of this document with its curious mixture of Buddhist and Daoist notions is rather obscure, yet, if we try to distill the essential contents from the mass of rhetorical verbosity, it yields some useful information. The number of participants is said to have been 123, and in view of the size of Huiyuan's community as described in other sources (cf. note 145),

this number seems to indicate that all disciples took part in it. The vow was made before an icon of Amitābha and accompanied by an offering of incense and flowers (or "fragrant flowers" 香華). The participants express their desire to be reborn in "the West" (*i.e.*, Sukhāvatī) and their intention to reach this goal together. However, the course of karmic retribution is different for every individual, and the next life may separate all those who now as companions are together. This consideration led to the collective vow which is not a *praṇidhāna* (the vow made by the Bodhisattva in which he proclaims his intention to follow the Bodhisattva career), but a solemn covenant concluded *between the participants* to help each other to reach Sukhāvatī. If one of the participants will enter the Western Paradise earlier than the others, he shall not "solitary enjoy his bliss on supernatural mountain-peaks, forgetting to share his salvation with (those who are lagging behind) in the dark valley. If both those who have entered first and those who ascend later exert themselves to be mindful of the principle of 'marching together', then (in the end, all) will miraculously behold the great appearance (of Amitābha) and open their hearts in (his) pure brightness". A metaphysical association to help each other into Paradise, a spiritualized "mutual help group", a religious counterpart of the cliques of gentry politicians who monopolized the top functions in the bureaucratic hierarchy—peculiar as this covenant may seem to us, it is a highly interesting phenomenon, and characteristic of the very simple and concrete nature of the creed propagated by Huiyuan and his followers, notably by his lay associates.

This urge to have a concrete object of worship, perceptible by the senses, characterizes the Buddhism of the Lu Shan. Everywhere, in the biographical records as well as in Huiyuan's own writings, we find the same stress on visual representation: the use of icons in meditation, visualization of Amitābha, his hymns to the "shadow of the Buddha", the *dharmakāya* (transcendent body) of the Buddha and that of the Bodhisattva etc. This curious feature, though perhaps partly a result of Huiyuan's northern origin and the lingering influence of Dao'an's Maitreya-cult (cf. above, p. 194), is largely explainable by the lay element in Huiyuan's community, people who needed something simpler and more "practical" than the laborious procedures of mental concentration and trance of the Hīnayānistic type—a "method for practising *samādhi* whilst staying in the family" 在家習定法 (as was the subject of an anonymous letter mentioned by Lu Cheng).[206]

This method was found in the practice of the "remembrance" (念, *anusmṛti*) of the Buddha Amitābha as described in the *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經.[207] The subject of this important sūtra is a form of mental concentration which enables the devotee to behold all Buddhas "as if they were standing before his eyes" (現在佛悉在前立三昧, *pratyutpanna-buddhasaṃmukhā-vasthita-samādhi*). Although such a feat can normally only be performed by persons endowed with supernatural faculties, it is expressly stated that in this case the vision is not realized by the "divine eye" (天眼, *divyacakṣus*) or the "divine ear" (天耳 *divyaśrotra*), nor by rebirth in Amitābha's realm after death, but here and now, being a result of the Buddha's "divine majesty" (威神 = *adhiṣṭhāna*, "grace") and of the power of his *samādhi* and accumulated merit.[208] Hence this "simple way" does not require any complicated preparatory exercises; the devotee must keep his mind completely pure for a period of three months, during which he must not even for a single moment

think of food, garments and material comfort, and this will create conditions favourable for acquiring the power of vision.[209] In the second section of the sūtra we find a description of the method of concentration. The monk, or nun *or male or female laic* must faithfully observe all rules of the religious life; then he must go to a secluded spot and there concentrate his mind upon the Buddha Amitābha, for one day and one night, or for a whole week, day and night. After that week the Buddha will manifest himself before his eyes and preach the Doctrine to him, like an image in a dream or a shape reflected in a mirror.[210]

The excellence of this *samādhi* is extolled by Huiyuan himself in *xuanxue* terms in his "Preface to a collection of poems on *buddhānusmṛti-samādhi*" 念佛三昧詩集序, where he also states that, although there are many different kinds of mental concentration, "the 'remembrance of the Buddha' is the first by the high (quality) of its results and by its easiness to enter" 功高易進, 念佛為先.[211] Yet, the real nature of these apparitions, especially since they were compared to dreams, was not clear, and Huiyuan himself in one of his letters to Kumārajīva (cf. below) asked what was the source of these visions and whether they were not mere products of the mind.

The early biographical sources contain various interesting passages concerning the cult of Amitābha as practised by Huiyuan's followers. Liu Chengzhi displayed an exceptional zeal in this respect:

> "When he had spent just a year concentrating his thought and sitting in dhyāna, he saw in *samādhi* the Buddha. Whenever he met an icon on his ways, the Buddha would manifest himself in the air, his halo illuminating heaven and earth which all assumed a golden colour, and again (he would see himself) wearing a *kāṣāya* and bathing in the jewel pond (of Sukhāvatī). When he had come (out of) *samādhi*, he asked the monks to recite the sūtra;[212] he wanted to abandon his (present) life (as) soon (as possible)… He knew (beforehand) the date of his own death. When he has said good-bye to the monks, he had still no disease or suffering at all. But when the (predicted) time had come he sat upright, facing the West, and folding his hands he expired, at the age of fifty-seven".[213]

The words about Liu Chengzhi's death suggest that he was supposed to obtain a vision of Amitābha in his last moments, and this is confirmed by some other text dealing with the decease of some of Huiyuan's followers. The source of this belief is not the *Banzhou sanmei jing* but one of the early Chinese versions of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (無量壽經 or 阿彌陀經), very probably the one made by Zhi Qian in the early third century.[214] In this famous sūtra, mainly an account of the vows made by the *bhikṣu* Dharmākara (the future Amitābha) to create a perfect realm of bliss and of the glories of that Buddha-country, we read that the devotee of Amitābha, when the time of his death has approached, will behold this Tathāgata, surrounded by a large company, after which vision he will certainly be born in Sukhāvati, or else Amitābha will appear in a dream which will lead to the same result.[215] Such a vision *in extremis* and the religious ceremonial connected with it is described in the following curious passage dealing with the death of Huiyuan's disciple Sengji 僧濟 on Mt. Lu.

> "Shortly afterwards, he was affected by a grave disease, and then he devoutly wanted (to be reborn) in the Western Country, and made a mental representation 想像 of Amitābha. Huiyuan gave him a candle, saying: 'You must let your mind

> move to Sukhāvatī;[216] measure the (time of your meditation) on the clepsydra'. Sengji held the candle, leaned on his bench and appeased his thoughts so that they became undisturbed, and he furthermore asked the monks to gather at night and to recite the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* 無量壽經 for his sake. During the fifth watch, Ji handed the candle to his fellow-students and requested them to go (around) with it among the monks. Then he lay down for a moment, and in his dream he saw himself proceed through the void, (still) holding the candle, and he beheld the Buddha Amitābha, who took him up and placed him (or: the candle?) on the palm of his hand, and (in this position) he went through the whole (universe) in all directions (or: its light spread everywhere in all directions?). Suddenly he woke up and told everything about his dream to those who nursed him, who were grieved (at this sign of approaching death) and yet consoled (by his vision). When he examined his own body,[217] there were no (signs of) disease and suffering whatsoever. The following night he suddenly sought for his sandals and stood up, his eyes (looking into) the void in anticipation, as if he was seeing something. A moment later he lay down again, with a joyful expression on his face. Then he said to those who stood at the side (of his bed): 'I must go', and, when he had turned over on his right side, his life-breath and his words become simultaneously extinguished".[218]

An analogous description of the death of Huiyong (cf. above, p. 199) in 414 is found in his biography in *GSZ*:

> "Although his disease was very grave, he (still) assiduously observed the monastic rules . . . Shortly afterwards, he suddenly asked for his clothes,[219] folded his hands, sought for his sandals and wanted to stand up, as if he was seeing something. When the monks, all startled, asked him (what he saw), he replied: 'The Buddha is coming!' When he had finished speaking he died, at the age of eighty-three".[220]

It is remarkable that at least in early sources nothing of this kind is reported about Huiyuan's own death, the circumstances of which are described in some detail in his biography (see the Appendix to this chapter).

Thus both laymen and monks engaged in the cult of Amitābha and the visualization of the Buddha which secured their rebirth in a western fairyland: "You gentlemen all are worthy disciples of the Tathāgata", says Huiyuan in a letter to his lay followers, "and it is already long ago that your names were inscribed on the divine tablets". For these laymen, the practice of the *buddhānusmṛti* at Mt. Lu meant probably no more than the assurance of a happy rebirth and a means to anticipate their future bliss by meeting the Tathāgata "face to face" in their dreams and ecstatic visions.

To Huiyuan, "*dhyāna*" was much more than that. In one of his later prefaces he describes *dhyāna* as the counterpart of transcendent Wisdom, *prajñā* (智). *Dhyāna* is "appeasement", "tranquillity" 寂, absence of all mental commotion, which needs *prajñā* to become fully effective; *prajñā* is (intuitive) "reflection" 照, the non-discursive realization of Truth, which needs *dhyāna* to become profound. Real Wisdom is only achieved if "reflection is not separated from appeasement, nor appeasement from reflection".[221] And elsewhere: "*Samādhi* is an expression for concentration of thought and mental appeasement. By concentration, the will becomes one and undivided; by appeasement the vital fluid is empty, Wisdom tranquillizes its reflection; once the Spirit is bright, there is no mystery which is not penetrated".[222] Trance and concentration serve to pacify the dangerous and elusive activity of the mind—a common theme in early Chinese Buddhism[223]—and hence to purify the "Spirit" 神,

the eternal principle of Wisdom and Enlightenment which is burdened by the material body and which therefore must be "emancipated" from the fetters of birth and death. *Samādhi* is "dwelling (motionless) like a corpse and sitting down in forgetfulness, and darkening 冥 one's feelings in the Highest Summit (of Truth)"[224]—a means temporarily to experience the final emancipation, the stage in which "the Spirit is not burdened by life"[225] any more. Huiyuan was also interested in *dhyāna* disciplines other than the rudimentary, "popularized" techniques connected with the cult of Amitābha and the commemoration of the Buddha. When he sent some of his disciples to the West in search of scriptures, he did so, according to his biography, because of the incompleteness of the extant *dhyāna* and *vinaya* texts, and in one of his prefaces he himself complains of the scarcity of *dhyāna* scriptures and expresses his joy at the translations made by Kumārajīva in this field.[226]

The study of the strictly monastic *dhyāna* of the Small Vehicle at Mt. Lu was no doubt much stimulated by the arrival of Buddhabhadra in 410 AD. Like most of the foreign missionaries of the late fourth and early fifth century, Buddhabhadra belonged to the Sarvāstivādin school which flourished at his native Kashmir and in various Serindian centres. He had been a disciple of the famous *dhyāna*-master Buddhasena, whose ideas he continued to propagate after his arrival at Chang'an ca. 409 AD. Shortly afterwards he came into conflict with the "official" monks of Kumārajīva's school who were sponsored by the Later Qin court, and he was expelled from Chang'an. In 410 he arrived with some forty disciples at the Lu Shan, where Huiyuan asked him to "bring out" one of the scriptures in which he was specialized, a short Hīnayānistic *dhyāna*-treatise (with a slight Mahāyānistic admixture), commonly ascribed to Dharmatrāta.[227] In 412 Buddhabhadra went to Jiankang where he continued his activities until his death in 429. It is difficult to say in how far the *dhyāna* discipline revealed by Buddhabhadra was understood and accepted by Huiyuan and his followers. In any case, as we said above, it was a strictly clerical affair, a system of *yoga* intended to be practised by the adept in the seclusion of the monastery and completely beyond the reach of the laymen who stayed "within the family". In spite of their great interest from a doctrinal point of view, these techniques and the scriptures dealing with them are of much less importance for our present subject than the devotional beliefs and practices mentioned above, which by their very concreteness and simplicity could become an integral part of medieval gentry culture.

"The body of the Buddha"

One of the most conspicuous elements of the religious life at Mt. Lu is the frequent use of icons and the importance attached to these. Here again the influence of Dao'an is perceptible—we may think of his vow before a Maitreya image, of the display of the whole iconographic inventory of his monastery and of the miraculous statue at Xiangyang on which Huiyuan wrote an eulogy (cf. above, p. 188). At Lu Shan we find the miraculous statue to the beneficial influence of which Huiyuan's biography seems to ascribe the great flourishing of Buddhism at the Donglinsi, an image of Amitābha before which the vow of 402 AD was made, one of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita (which subject was no doubt associated with the "visualization"

of the Buddha),[228] and the painting of the "shadow of the Buddha" about we shall speak presently.

There can be little doubt as to the function of such images; at least some of them must have been objects for meditation. The eulogies written on them by Huiyuan and the layman Wang Qizhi 王齊之 (cf. note 228) contain some indications in this direction, but it appears most clearly from the passage describing Liu Chengzhi's zeal (quoted above, p. 221), where the Buddha is said to have appeared to him "whenever he met an icon on his ways".

The episode of the "shadow of the Buddha" is the last datable event in Huiyuan's life (412 AD). When still a disciple of Dao'an, Huiyuan had heard about this famous relic which is mentioned in various canonical works, described by the pilgrims Faxian, Songyun and Xuanzang who saw it ca. 399, 520 and 630 AD respectively, and rediscovered by modern archeological investigations:[229] the mountain cave South of Nagarahāra (the modern Jelālābād) where the Buddha after having converted the *nāga*-king Gopāla left at the latter's request his "shadow" 影 (or rather: a reflection of his whole body, complete with *lakṣaṇa*, *anuvyañjana* and halo) on the wall. All descriptions emphasize the remarkable phenomenon that the image was clearly distinct if seen from some distance, fading away and eventually disappearing when one approached the wall—a fact which seems also to be alluded to in its description in Huiyuan's biography. It is not clear how Dao'an knew about this relic, as no scripture describing it can have been ascessible to him, but he is known to have assembled oral information on the Western Region—no doubt mainly from itinerant priests and foreign missionaries—and thus it may have been included in his lost *Xiyu zhi* 西域志.[230]

Huiyuan himself states in his preface to the eulogy on the Buddha-shadow that he had the good fortune to meet "a *dhyāna*-master from Kashmir and a monk from the South, well-versed in the *vinaya*" who were able to give a detailed description of the shadow, whereupon he had it painted after their indications.[231] According to the epilogue to these hymns, the solemn inauguration of the chapel in which the image had been placed (it seems to have been a painting on silk and not a mural)[232] took place on May 27, 412 AD. This date shows that the "*vinaya*-master from Kashmir" was no one else than Budhabhadra who ca. 411 stayed at Lu Shan, a fact which throws an interesting light upon the real function of this painting.

Buddhabhadra was *inter alia* the translator of the *Guanfo sanmei (hai) jing* 觀佛三昧[海]經 (T 643), a sūtra which, as the title indicates, is mainly devoted to the "contemplation of the Buddha" (*buddhānusmṛti-samādhi*), precisely the kind of mental concentration which was so much *en vogue* among Huiyuan's followers. According to a rather late and very unreliable source[233] this scripture was translated during the Song, hence after 420 AD, but even if this is true, Buddhabhadra may have orally transmitted some of its contents to Huiyuan during his stay on Mt. Lu. Now we find in the seventh *juan* of the *Guanfo sanmei jing*[234] a long passage dealing with the miracle of the shadow, followed by a highly interesting description of the "contemplation of the Buddha's shadow" 觀佛影 intended for the use of those disciples of the Buddha who "after the Buddha's decease… desire to know (the appearance of) the Buddha in a sitting posture". Detailed rules are given how to effect this visualization of the Buddha-body with all its marks and tokens of super-

natural power—a form of concentration which "eliminates the sins committed during the lives of a hundred thousand *kalpas*".[235] An additional fact of some importance is that according to one tradition Buddhabhadra himself came from Nagarahāra,[236] so that he must have been well-acquainted with local traditions concerning the original image and the way in which it was adored or used as an object of contemplation *in situ*. We may conclude that the replica made at Huiyuan's order in 412 AD, far from being a mere pictorial representation of the Buddha (as it may have been to Xie Lingyun, who in 413 wrote a text conceived as an "inscription" on it,)[237] had a very concrete function, closely connected with the practice of *buddhānusmṛti*.

If Huiyuan was interested in the "shadow" of the Buddha's manifested (illusory) body (*nirmāṇakāya*), even greater was his urge to sound the mysteries of the Buddha's real body, the "Body of the Dharma" (*dharmakāya*), *i.e.*, the eternal Buddha as the embodiment or personification of transcendent Truth (*dharmatā*), a basic concept of Mahāyāna "Buddhology", eventually elaborated into the well-known formula of the three bodies (*trikāya*) of the Buddha. This is not the place to trace the development of this concept from the Hīnayānistic *dharmakāya* in the sense of "body" ("corpus", collection) of the doctrine (as contained in the canon), via the relatively simple Mādhyamika scheme of *nirmāṇakāya* versus *dharmakāya* as found, *e.g.*, in the *Da zhidu lun* (Huiyuan's and Kumārajīva's main source on this subject) to the appalling constructions of the Three Bodies with their divisions and sub-divisions which figure in later Mahāyāna scholasticism.

Speculations about the *dharmakāya* are not found in early Chinese Buddhism before the late fourth century; Dao'an is the first to devote a few words to it in one of his prefaces (quoted above, p. 193), but nothing more can be said about his own interpretation of this concept. The sudden interest in this aspect of Mahāyāna doctrine was no doubt the result of Kumārajīva's activities at Chang'an: the subject essentially belongs to scholastic literature, the systematization and orderly elaboration of ideas and concepts which are found floating in suspense throughout the canonical scriptures. Kumārajīva's greatest contribution to Chinese Buddhism was the introduction of this Mahāyāna scholastic literature, notably that of the Mādhyamika (Śūnyavāda) "school which is supposed to go back to the semi-legendary Nāgārjuna 龍樹. In his translation of the immense commentary on the 25.000 *p'p'*, the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (cf. below, App. note 95), the most comprehensive exposition of Mādhyamika doctrine and one of the most important works of Buddhist literature, the Chinese found for the first time a detailed discussion of the nature of the *dharmakāya* and the whole Buddhology connected with it. On the other hand, the *Da zhidu lun* made them acquainted with another concept which perhaps even more stimulated their interest and curiosity: the speculations about the glorified body of the Bodhisattva (also called *dharmakāya* 法身 in the *Da zhidu lun*) which the latter assumes at the eighth stage (*bhūmi*) of his career when the attainment of the final goal has become certain and all worldly fetters and desires have been abandoned.

If these theories are already difficult to grasp for the Western student backed by the resources of modern scholarship, for the early fifth century Chinese public they must have been hardly understandable at all. At every step they met with ideas that gave rise to misunderstanding and confusion. The Bodhi-

sattva's "*dharmakāya*" versus the glorified body of the Daoist Saint, the *xuanxue* Sage who "embodies the Way" 體道 and who is one with the course of Nature, *i.e.*, with the whole universe, the old ideas about the "immortal spirit" 神 and the conception of *Nirvāṇa* as the final, completely "purified" state of this spirit—all these pseudo-Buddhist or half understood Buddhist notions combined to bar the way to an understanding of the doctrine presented to them. Moreover, the high level of abstraction which characterizes these products of a subtle dialectical philosophy remained foreign to their traditionally rather concrete and empiric ways of thought. If we keep this in mind, we should not blame Huiyuan for his lack of understanding; on the contrary, his letters to Kumārajīva testify of a knowledge of doctrinal problems and, above all, a critical spirit and an acute power of observation which are quite remarkable.

The main source for Huiyuan's ideas in this field is the series of eighteen letters which Huiyuan wrote to Kumārajīva between ca. 405 and 409 AD, and which at some date between the late fifth and the late sixth century were collected into the present *Dasheng da yizhang* 大乘大義章,[238] together with Kumārajīva's answers.

Kumārajīva had been born in Kuchā in 350 AD from noble parents (on his mother's side he was related to the ruling family of Kuchā). As a boy he studied at Kashmir where he became well-acquainted with the Sarvāstivāda doctrine; three years later he was converted to Mahāyāna at Kashgar 沙勒 by the same Buddhayaśas who would later join him at Chang'an. His great fame as a Buddhist master and as a scholar in several fields (including vedic literature and mantic arts) spread to China, and when in 384 AD Fu Jian's general Lü Guang 吕光 conquered Kuchā, he took the unfortunate *ācārya* with him as a valuable piece of booty, using his advice during his further campaigns and making him at the same time the object of his not very delicate jokes. Nothing is known about the seventeen years of Kumārajīva's life at Liangzhou (Gansu) where Lü Guang had founded an independent state; in 401 the "Tibetan" ruler Yao Xing conquered this "Later Liang" and Kumārajīva changed masters. Early in 402 he arrived at Chang'an and became there the *purohita* of the Later Qin, excessively venerated by the members of the ruling family, and the leader of several thousands of disciples from all quarters of the empire.[239]

According to his biography, Huiyuan had been notified of Kumarājīva's arrival by a younger brother of the Qin ruler, Yao Song 姚嵩 (cf. below, App. note 75), and the first exchange of complimentary letters and *gāthās* between Huiyuan and Kumārajīva took place one year later, probably in 405 or 406 AD.[240] In his second letter, Huiyuan says that he has heard the alarming rumour of Kumārajīva's plan to return to his native country; hence he takes the liberty "to submit some summary questions about several tens of subjects, and I hope that you will have some spare time to explain these one by one. Although they do not pertain to the great problems as (we find) in the sūtras, I should like to have them solved by you".

This was the beginning of the correspondence mentioned above. Most of "these letters have been preserved; the mid. fifth century *Falun mulu* mentions only one which is not found in the present *Dasheng da yizhang*.[241] They are invaluable documents not only for the history of early Chinese Buddhism,

but also and even more for the study of Indian Buddhism and of Mādhyamika doctrine in particular. As we said above, Kumārajīva used to base his explanations on the *Da zhidu lun*, and his answers (which form the bulk of the correspondence) may well be used as a commentary to this work. On some subjects, such as the difficult problem of the Bodhisattva's so-called "*dharmakāya*" (or rather **dharmadhātujakāya*, "body born from the *dharmadhātu*"), he offers much information which to my knowledge is not found anywhere else. Unfortunately we cannot give here an analysis of the contents of the correspondence—a highly "technical" subject which would require a separate study, and which would fall outside the scope of our present investigations.[242] It may, however, be interesting to have a look at Huiyuan's problems, for these clearly demonstrate the range of his interest and both the strong and the weak points of his insight into the Buddhist doctrine. We therefore give a short summary of Huiyuan's letters to Kumārajīva in the order in which we find them in the present *Dasheng da yizhang*; as we are here especially dealing with Huiyuan's conception of the *dharmakāya* (of Buddha and Bodhisattva, which he continually seems to confuse), we have marked with an asterisk those letters who are partially or wholly devoted to this topic.

*(1) The Buddha is said to preach to the Bodhisattvas in his *dharmakāya*,[243] hence it must be visible and audible. On the other hand it is described as eternal, unchangeable and identical with *Nirvāṇa*. How is this possible?

*(2) Enlightenment implies the annihilation of all impure "habits" (習, *vāsanā*) inherited from the past; it is the end of the karmic process. This takes place at the eighth stage of the Bodhisattva's career, and here he is endowed with the "body born from the *dharmadhātu*". But how can this body come into being if all causation has ended, and if the role of the four material elements is finished? Could there still be another kind of "transformation" 化 which goes "beyond *yin* and *yang*" 陰陽之表? The comparison (suggested by Kumārajīva in his previous answer) between this body and a reflected image does not hold good, for every reflection has a material cause.

*(3) The Buddha's manifested body has thirty-two "characteristics" in accordance with the body of the *cakravartin*; this is just an expedient means to guide the profane. Why then does he show the same *lakṣaṇa* when expounding the Doctrine to the Bodhisattvas of the highest stages, who do not need it any longer?

*(4) About the age or the duration of the "*dharmakāya*" of the Bodhisattva, especially at the tenth and last stage. What is the motive force behind the last births, and how can the statement that the Bodhisattva at this stage will be born no more than a thousand times be harmonized with the Bodhisattva's vow *never* to realize *Nirvāṇa*?

*(5) Do the thirty-two marks appear on the material body (which is still subject to karmic retribution) or on the *dharmakāya*? If the first case is true, there is the problem that these marks are just not obtained at the lower stages; in the second case, how can these *lakṣaṇas* be the karmic result of past merit, since for the *dharmakāya* the whole karmic process has ended?

*(6) A question about the prediction of future Buddhahood (受記, *vyākaraṇa*)

obtained by the Bodhisattva: what is the merit of reaching the final goal, if this has been promised by the Buddha anyhow?

*(7) The use of the supernatural powers (神通, *abhijñā*), being connected with the sensory faculties ("the divine eye" etc.), must have some material base, which is said to be absent in the *dharmakāya*. Hence this body must somehow be material in order to manifest itself. This matter may be very subtle, and that may be the reason why the lower Bodhisattvas cannot see it, their power of perception being not yet fully developed.

*(8) What is the difference between the lingering traces of defilement (*vāsanā*) of the Bodhisattva and those of the Arhat? For if the doctrine of the *Lotus sūtra* is correct, there is actually no difference between Arhat and Bodhisattva. And how must we imagine that the "Buddha endowed with the true *dharmakāya*" 真法身佛 eliminates the last traces of the *kleśas* at the moment of *Nirvāṇa*?

(9) Again about the reflected image: is it "matter" (*rūpa*)? It must be a special form of "derived matter" (造色, *bhautika rūpa*), as it relies upon the four primary elements. This is a "logical" principle: since all *rūpa* has form (象, *varṇa*?), all form must have *rūpa*.[244]

(10) About the future Buddhahood of the Arhats as expounded in the *Lotus sūtra*. How is this possible, since they have completely annihilated all causation and thereby have become like withered seeds which cannot produce any more. This is unbelievable: "Although it is said that we (must) have faith, yet understanding must result from rational principles 理. If these principles are not yet understood, how can one have faith?"

(11) When practising the "remembrance of the Buddha" (cf. above, p. 220 sqq.), the vision of the Buddha is often associated with dreams, *e.g.*, in the *Banzhou sanmei jing*. Are these then not just a product of our mind? On the other hand, if the vision comes from without as a response to our wishes, does it not result from the supernatural powers (*abhijñā*) of the devotee?

(12) A long exposition on the nature of the four characteristics of all *dharma*s (birth, stay, change, and extinction) and the problems connected with this theory (rejected by Mādhyamika doctrine).

*(13) In the first place: why the stereotyped different definitions of the actually identical concepts of *dharmatā* 法性, *tathatā* 如 and *bhūtakoṭi* 真際? (cf. Dao'an's definitions quoted above, p. 193!). Secondly: it is said that the *dharmakāya* is of "eternal duration" 常住. How must we interpret this "duration"—does it refer to existence or to non-existence? In both cases we are guilty of heresy ("eternalism" 常見 and "nihilism" 斷見). There must be a third way, different from "being" and "non-being".

(14) A question about the relation between the four basic aspects of matter (visibility, odour, taste and tangibility) and those of derived matter.

(15) How can the theory of the atoms (極微, *paramāṇu*) be harmonized with the "emptiness" of all phenomena: how can one ever reach utter non-existence by an endless division of existing entities? "Where is then the border-line between being and non-being?"

(16) Criticism of the "momentariness" of all *dharma*s. If indeed the "moments of thought" would follow each other like disparate flashes without

continuity, how could it then be possible to remember something?[245]

(17) Various informative questions about the Bodhisattva career and its relation to other *yānas*.

(18) Does the so-called long duration of life of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, up to "innumerable *kalpas*", refer to the *dharmakāya* or to the manifested "body of transformation" 變化身? In the first case one cannot speak about a "long life", since it is eternal; in the second case the duration of life is always adapted to worldly conditions, so that it does not exceed a normal lifetime. Perhaps a wrong translation of an Indian term? Finally a question about the nature of the "suspended animation" during the *nirodhasamāpatti* 滅盡定 which can last a whole *kalpa*.

Of these eighteen letters no less than ten are partly or wholly devoted to the *dharmakāya*. It is interesting to note how the two partners continually misunderstand each other. Kumārajīva does not see the real point of Huiyuan's problems and answers him by a profusion of quotations and, *more indico*, by a bewildering enumeration of conflicting theories and scholastic opinions. But Huiyuan, not satisfied by abstractions, goes on asking: the *dharmakāya* must, after all, be made of some "stuff", however subtle it may be; you can see it and hear it, it must have sensory faculties and so on. Still the same urge, typical of Huiyuan and of the creed propagated by him, to have something concrete to hold on to, and this is perhaps the most fundamental difference between this branch of Southern Chinese Buddhism and the intellectualized pseudo-Buddhist speculations which had flourished at the capital and in the South-East. Our summary of Huiyuan's letters had to be short, and only a detailed study of these documents can bring out their real significance. In the meanwhile it may serve to give the reader an impression of the nature and scope of Huiyuan's doctrine as well as of the extraordinary brightness of the then more than seventy years old seeker.

Other religious activities: Vinaya and Abhidharma.

About Huiyuan's activities in the field of monastic discipline not much can be said. From his biography we know that he was distressed by the incompleteness of the existing collections of rules, and that he sent out his disciples to the West in order to procure *vinaya* and *dhyāna* texts. Perhaps he still used the three sets of monastic rules inaugurated by Dao'an at Xiangyang (cf. above, p. 188); in any case he appears to have paid much attention to the rudimentary *vinaya* current in his days in southern China, unidentifiable treatises like "the Regulations" 節度, "The Regulations for the Monks of the Outer Monastery" (?) 外寺僧節度, "the Regulations for the Religious Society" 法社節度 and "Regulations for Nuns" 比丘尼節度. Unfortunately the prefaces which he wrote to these works have all been lost since early times.[246] He seems to have maintained a strict discipline, requiring the utmost exertion from his followers when they gathered to recite the scriptures;[247] his own meticulous observation of the rules is illustrated by the story of his death as told in his biography (trsl. below in the Appendix to this chapter). As in many other cases, the translation projects carried out at Chang'an led to the fulfilment of his desire to obtain better disciplinary treatises when at

his request the translation of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* 十誦律, interrupted by the death of one of the reciters, was resumed and completed.

The study of Abhidharma at the Lu Shan was much stimulated by the arrival of the great Abhidharma-master Saṅghadeva (cf. above, p. 202) who first at Chang'an had made the Chinese public acquainted with the great scholastic literature of the Sarvāstivādins. After the fall of Fu Jian (385) he roamed around, spending the remaining years of his life in visiting the most important Buddhist centres: Luoyang (385–391), the Lu Shan (391–397) and Jiankang (397–?); it is not known where and when he died. During his stay at Mt. Lu (where he had his own *vihāra* on the southern side of the mountain)[248] he translated, *inter alia*, an extract of the ? *Abhidharmahṛdaya* 阿毘曇心 in four *juan*. This work and probably also Saṅghadeva's oral teachings seem to have been very influential at that time among the monks on Mt. Lu. Huiyuan in his later treatise on the "Three Kinds of Karmic Retribution" 三報論[249] expounds ideas which he no doubt derived from the "Heart of the Abhidharma". There are even indications that some of his disciples went farther in their admiration for Sarvāstivādin scholasticism than their master and that they consequently turned away from the "devilish books" 魔書 of Mahāyāna.[250] Later, probably under Kumārajīva's influence, Huiyuan abandoned the study of Abhidharma, to which he does not refer in any of his later treatises and letters.

Scholarly activities.

Huiyuan's literary work, or rather the few fragments which have been preserved—has the same tendency which characterizes much of his purely religious activities: what we would call "popularization"—which, of course, here means popularization of Buddhism for the cultured gentry. Unlike Dao'an, he did not write commentaries "for internal use", but a great number of propagandistic or apologetic treatises and letters. The attempt at popularization and presentation of the Doctrine in a "digestible" form is no doubt consciously made, as it witnessed by the complete difference in contents, vocabulary and style between these products and his purely "Buddhist" correspondence with Kumārajīva (for this problem cf. above, p. 12). In these treatises he elucidates those concepts which were most controversial and hotly debated in gentry circles, *viz*. at the ideological level: the inseparable triad of rebirth—the "immortality of the soul"—karmic retribution; at the social level: the privilege of the *saṅgha* not to be subjected to the power of secular authorities, a subject which we shall treat below in more detail.

Remarkable is the prominent role of secular studies and scholarship, no doubt again connected with the important role of the cultured laity at the Lu Shan and with Huiyuan's efforts to attract these elements. It is, in fact, in his contact with lay *literati* that we see him engage in non-Buddhist studies. As a youth he had already been regarded as an expert on *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, and, as we have seen, he had been allowed by Dao'an to use the latter work in elucidating the meaning of Buddhist concepts (above, p. 12). The language of his treatises teems with expressions adopted from these basic scriptures of *xuanxue*, the third of which, the *Yijing*, he appears to have discussed with Yin Zhongkan in 399 AD (above, p. 213).

But on the other hand, Confucianism plays a very important rôle in his

scholarly activities; in this connection we should not forget how in his early youth it had been his original intention to withdraw from the world in order to devote himself to the study of the Confucian Rites with Fan Xuan. It was actually the "Ritual of the Mourning Garments" (a part of the *Liji*) which he explained to his lay disciple Lei Cizong—the same subject in which Fan Xuan is said to have excelled. Furthermore he seems to have explained the Odes to Zhou Xuzhi and Lei Cizong.[251]

In this combination of Buddhist devotion and secular scholarship he was a worthy successor of Dao'an, and it is only natural that Dao'an's other typical literary activity, bibliography, also flourished at Mt. Lu. An important catalogue of translated scriptures, actually a series of catalogues devoted to various periods or regions (Wei, Wu, Jin and Hexi 河西 = Gansu), was begun by Huiyuan's pupil Daoliu 道流 and, after his premature death, finished by the disciple Daozu 道祖. The work, now lost but often quoted or referred to in early catalogues, was completed in 419 AD, shortly after Huiyuan's death.[252]

The controversy of 402 *AD about the status of the saṅgha.*

Huan Xuan's anti-clerical policy (cf. above, p. 214) reached its peak in the period when he was living at Gushu 姑熟 (E. Anhui) as a dictator, *i.e.*, from April/May 402 until his final usurpation of the throne on January 2, 404 AD. The years 399–402 had witnessed various preliminary measures: attempts at secularization of some prominent monks and at registration of the clergy, and a thorough investigation and selection of the *saṅgha*. Early in 402 this was followed by his proposal to carry out the old plan of the regent Yu Bing (340 AD, cf. above, p. 106 sqq.) to let the *śramaṇas* "bow before the ruler", *i.e.*, to submit them to secular authority. This proposal led to a controversy between Huan Xuan and some of his partisans (notably Wang Mi) on the one hand, and between him and Huiyuan on the other. About the course of these debates we are rather well informed, no less than twenty-two documents having been preserved.[253] It was a continuation of the debates of 340, but this time the scope of the subject has widened, the arguments *pro* and *contra* are more varied and interesting, and the participation of Huiyuan, who in 404 AD elaborated his conclusions in his famous *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* 沙門不敬王者論, gives an additional flavour to this controversy. Again, we shall pay no attention here to the general problem of the relation between the *saṅgha* and secular government, which will be treated in the next chapter, and only summarize the contents of the main documents, which may suffice to bring out the most interesting points of the discussion. As we shall see, this discussion, like the one of 340 AD, is not restricted to the purely social aspects of the problem but often deviates from its immediate subject and by doing so occasionally changes into a *qingtan*-like conversation on purely theoretical and doctrinal topics.

Huan Xuan attached great importance to this question, "a great matter of our time" as he calls it in one of his letters, and-this appears also from the fact that he opened the discussion immediately after he had established himself at Gushu; the first nine documents all appear to date from the spring of 402 AD.[254] His first step was a letter which he wrote to the eight ministers 八座 (the heads of the six Departments and the president and vice-president of the

Palace Secretariat, cf. below, App. note 106). In this letter he refers to the controversy of 340 AD between the pro-Buddhist minister He Chong and the regent Yu Bing, but he says himself about those contending parties that "Yu Bing's ideas were inspired by respect for the ruler, but his argumentation was not complete, whereas He Chong started from a one-sided (religious) conviction which led him to confuse (idle) names and reality".[255] Huan then argues that the Buddhist doctrine, great and comprehensive as it may be, "has respect 敬 as its base", and therefore it cannot possibly imply that respect and veneration are to be abandoned altogether. Now the royal dignity is the highest principle on earth; Laozi has included the Ruler together with *Dao*, Heaven and Earth into the Four Great Ones 四大.[256] The reason is that "whereas the great Virtue of Heaven and Earth is that of 'giving life'" 生, it is the ruler's task to "regulate beings by communicating (this) life-giving (power)" 誦生理物. Hence he concludes that the monk for his very existence has to rely on the ruler's beneficial activities: "how then could they receive (the fruits of) his Virtue but neglect the Rites, be blessed by his favour but abstain from reverence?" For this reason the discussion is to be reopened, and the gentlemen are requested to voice their opinion.

The answer,[257] a letter by "the General of the Army of the Interior, the Intendant of the Masters of Writing, the *kaiguo* marquis of Yiyang", Huan Qian 桓謙,[258] who here apparently acts as the spokesman for the ministers, is as ambiguous as it was no doubt intended to be. Yet the writer in very cautious terms emphasizes the fact that Buddhism is different from and even opposed to normal codes of behaviour, and that therefore one might argue that the monks could be allowed to deviate from the common customs also in this particular point. "Buddhism goes along ways different from Laozi and Confucius; the teachings of (secular) Rites is quite deviating (from their ideals). (Normal) people regard their hairs and skin as something valuable, but they do not hesitate to shave and cut these; they leave their families and abandon their kin without regarding the care for their parents as filial piety; they make their bodies to be like earth or wood, cutting off their desires and putting an end to (all) strife; their final aim is not (to be reached in this) one life, but they expect to obtain happiness in the course of a myriad eons. All that is highly valued by the world has been dropped by them; all that is stressed by the teachings of the Rites is what they want to abstain from. To sustain one's father and to serve the ruler—these are indeed the most perfect of the natural relationships. But as they (on the one hand) abandon their affection towards their (own) family, how could they (on the other hand) pay homage to the Lord of a Myriad Carriages?" Yet the writer does not want to commit himself: we are just small officials who do not know anything about Buddhism, and our opinion has no value. There are others who are better qualified to answer: Wang Mi 王謐 (cf. above, p. 213) will send you his reply separately, and Kong Guo 孔國[259] and Zhang Chang 張敞[260] will orally inform you of their views. There are furthermore Daobao 道寶[261] and the other monks who can do the same.

The bulk of our documentation consists of the correspondence between Huan Xuan and Wang Mi (seven letters). In one letter several arguments are given (ABCDE) which are all refuted in the next letter (A'B'C'D'E'), whereas the third letter contains again the counter-refutation of these points

(A",B",C",) etc. For clarity's sake we shall not follow this procedure which makes very tiresome reading, and in our present summary we shall therefore join the separate arguments to their respective counter-arguments, thus giving a topical review of the contents of this correspondence.

First, however, we may mention the five main arguments of Wang Mi which form the starting-point of the discussion, as they are stated in his first letter to Huan Xuan:[262]

(a) "Although the monks' (inner) intention is one of profound reverence (towards the ruler), they do not have (the custom of) bowing down as their ritual. In their manifested activities they may fully agree with all other subjects,[263] but in their aspirations they transcend what is in the world (of men)".

(b) Rulers of foreign countries all pay homage to the monk, for "where the Way is, there is nobility".

(c) Buddhism has been in China for more than four centuries,[264] and it has flourished under three successive dynasties without ever having been subjected to restrictive measures.

(d) The reason for this is that Buddhism, the doctrine of Purity, has a beneficial influence on the *mores* and does no harm to the peace and prosperity of the State.

(e) Finally, "in a case of supreme accomplishment, no reward is given (because no reward can do justice to it); in a case of immense favour one forgets to thank for it: even if the monks would just make a mere *kotow*, how would that adequately requite the (ruler's) Virtue of universal help (and guidance)?"

(a) In his first answer to Wang Mi,[265] Huan Xuan refutes the idea that the priest on account of his inner spirituality abstains from all outer tokens of reverence. Bowing and kneeling forms part of all religious ceremonies, *inter alia* as a token of repentance, and the monks commonly pay this kind of homage to their own teachers. Why the manifestation of reverence there and the neglect of Rites here? Moreover, the Buddhist teacher derives his venerable status from the fact that he helps people to reach understanding, but the Ruler's work of "communicating the life-giving (power)" is far more basic. The concept of Kingship as one of the Four Great Ones (cf. above, note 256) is the highest principle of all.

Wang Mi[266] admits that "reverence" 敬 is indeed the main principle of the monastic life. But the ways trodden by the monks are completely different from those of the world, and therefore they should not comply with secular codes of reverence. The reason why homage is paid to the Buddhist masters and elders is, in fact, an "internal affair" of the clergy: they form a group of like-minded individuals who all share the same aspiration towards "the highest principle" 宗至, and it is only natural that within such a group differences of age and experience become apparent. As to the Virtue of the secular ruler: since the sovereign is able "to communicate the life-giving (power)", his function is identical with that of the creative power (in nature) 造化, which is also good and great. Why do we not express our feelings of gratitude to this creative power which is "the base of (all natural) principles"? It is because "this dark base (of creation) is hidden and inaccessible, and not to be expressed by any concrete images"; its mysterious operations cannot be answered on

our part by "coarse acts" (of gratitude and reverence). This is what Confucius meant when he said that "people may be made to follow it (*viz.* the course of Nature), but they cannot be made to know it".[267]

Huan Xuan[268] uses Wang Mi's argument: if the ruler's position is like that of the creative force in nature, and if this is indeed "the most mysterious achievement and the most profound principle of all, then in what does the transforming (power) of the Buddha surpass this"? It is furthermore not true that the Buddhist master and teacher must be revered by his disciples on account of the "highest principle" 宗至 in which they all take part. For what is this "highest principle"? It is not identical with the (Buddhist) "study" 學業 as such: the student merely develops his innate capacities, and the master does nothing but the final work of "polishing" the jewels that have been there all the time. Why then do the monks revere these masters and not the source and sustaining power (which is the ruler as *pontifex maximus* between Man and Heaven)?

Wang Mi[269] agrees with the distinction made between the practice of the religious life and the highest principle underlying it. Nevertheless, "study" is necessary as the only means to reach the Truth in a gradual way.

Finally Huan Xuan[270], summarizing his conclusions on this topic in his last letter: Buddhism exclusively values the "spirit" 神; spiritual qualities from the base of mutual reverence within the clergy. However, every individual has his "basic share" 本分 of understanding, and this in turn has its base in Nature (which allots these "shares"; cf. above, p. 90). The Buddhist master can only work upon the material which Nature has provided—he may polish as long as he will, if the stone is of inferior quality, all his labour will be in vain. Much more important is the role of the Ruler who is concerned with the task of sustaining all beings: "the Way of the Ruler includes that of the (Buddhist) teacher, whereas (the way of) the teacher does not include that of the Ruler. To develop them by instruction and to equalize them by means of the laws[271]—that is the Way of the Ruler".

(b) The second subject is more concrete. Wang Mi's argument that the clergy is venerated by foreign rulers is rejected by Huan Xuan:[272] "Rulers of foreign countries must not be adduced (as an example)". The real nature of Buddhism is quite different; it is, in fact, a religion adapted to the needs of primitive barbarians who could not be converted and "tamed" by less drastic means. Hence Buddhism is a gross superstition, based on the fear of spirits and the hope for happiness in a future life. To Wang's argument that the monk is venerable because "where the Way is, there is nobility", Huan replies that the monk's cloak alone does not guarantee that "the Way is indeed there". And, in any case, "the Way of the Saint (Confucius) is the highest Way".

Wang Mi[273] indignantly protests: the things which Huan has qualified as gross superstition constitute, in fact, the very essence of Buddhism. If one calls the principle of rebirth in the three times (past, present and future) "empty bragging" and the tenet of the retribution of sins "intimidation", then the whole Buddhist doctrine would lose its base. But it is not without reason that such elements are lacking in secular teaching. Confucianism was preached by the Sage in order to eliminate the gravest evils of his time, and hence he had to restrict himself to the secular affairs of this one life. Yet, in his teachings there

are certain indications that he was aware of the higher Truth. Hence we may indeed say that the Ruler's position is the supreme one, but within his own domain, the world. The principle of reverence due to the ruler is restricted to Confucianism, and the monks must be allowed to abstain from all tokens of respect.

Huan Xuan[274] maintains his former standpoint. It is not true that Confucianism forms an easier way, a kind of simplified doctrine for the immediate use of the world. On the contrary: "if one uses strange and supernatural matters in order to convert people, then one's teaching is easily put into practice; this is quite different in the case of (Confucianism which) leads the people by means of (the ideals of) altruism and sense of duty, and which is exclusively concerned with human affairs. That is why in the case of the Yellow Turbans, who seduced (people) by means of magical tricks, the multitudes of adherents gathered like clouds. If (such a supernatural doctrine) would indeed constitute the Truth—a doctrine which, moreover, is easily put into practice—why then did the Saint (Confucius) reject the "true" doctrine which is easy (to propagate) and occupy himself with secondary matters which are difficult to put into practice?" It is wrong to suppose that the principle of reverence exclusively belongs to Confucianism; the respect towards the sovereign is an inborn natural feeling in man, not belonging to any doctrine in particular.

Wang Mi:[275] there is indeed a great difference between the manifested doctrines of Buddhism and Confucianism, but if we regard the basic intention 宗 behind these doctrines there appears to be some similarity, *e.g.*, between the Confucian practice of altruism and goodness and the Buddhist commandment of not killing. But Huan is mistaken if he says that Buddhism is easy to accept on account of its supernatural features. On the contrary, according to Confucianism, "good" and "evil" are concepts which belong to this world; the consequences of good and evil deeds are to be expected in this present life, and yet most people commit transgressions. How much more difficult is it to believe in the Buddhist doctrine which teaches that the results of our deeds will manifest themselves in the far future, and that the consequences of our present ephemeral life will last till the very end of time! "To accept this and to be able to believe—is that not difficult?" (This remark about the "struggle with faith" as the result of a conflict between Confucian rationalism and the religious "will to believe" is highly interesting; it very rarely appears in the writings of early gentry devotees). "This is why only few people have understood (Buddhism) ever since its transforming influence reached China".

(c) To Wang Mi's statement that Buddhism had already flourished in China for four centuries without being hampered by any measures, Huan objects[276] that circumstances have changed. Formerly there were not many Chinese who worshipped the Buddha, most believers being barbarians, with whom the ruler did not have any contacts. Now even the emperor serves the Buddha and personally takes part in religious affairs; matters are not as they were in the past.

Wang agrees.[277] Barbarians had no contact with the court, "and would that not be the reason why (*literati* of) former generations have never discussed it?"—an historical observation which exactly hits the mark!

(d) Wang has stressed the beneficial influence of Buddhism for the state,

but Huan[278] distinguishes between doctrine and church. If this "pure" doctrine indeed "helps (the ruler) in his work of instruction", this is the merit of the Buddha's *dharma* as such, and has nothing to do with the "big talk" 傲誕 of the monks. If these now intensify their feelings of respect to the ruler, would then the "assistance" they are said to lend not become even more effective?

Wang Mi protests:[279] the way of the *śramaṇa* may be called remarkable, but it is not "big talk". It is only natural that after a thousand years the original purity of the Buddhist *mores* has deteriorated and that many monks are not worthy of the cloak they wear, but we must not pay attention to the individual monk but to the doctrine, the principle.

(e) Huan[280] of course recognizes the sophistry of Wang's last argument that "in a case of immense favour one forgets to thank for it" and that that is the reason of the monk's lack of respect towards the sovereign. In the first place, gratitude and reverence are spontaneous emotions which are not consciously measured. In the second place: what about the Buddha's favours? If they are small, there is no need to deviate on his account from the great human relations (comprising that between ruler and subject); if they are great (like those of the secular ruler), why then do the monks pay homage to the one and overlook the other?

Wang[281] explains that the monk's adoration of the Buddha is necessary, being a means to amass the highest "merit", the highest form of "good works" 行功, which will have its consequences in the future.

Huan[282] objects: veneration of the Buddha and his doctrine cannot possibly be considered as "good works", for the merit of good works is measured according to the amount of exertion and toil 勞 needed to perform them; how can mere veneration of Śākyamuni be regarded as the highest form of meritorious work? Moreover, the respect of the subject for the sovereign is not a question of gratitude for certain favours, but, as stated before, a result of natural feelings.

Wang[283] admits that veneration of the Buddha is only one of the many means to amass *puṇya*, and not the highest one. The subject's attitude towards the ruler is indeed based on natural emotions, but for that very reason the outer manifestation of these feelings may be dispensed with. In the ideal society of highest antiquity, the ruler and his subjects naturally loved each other, but there were no rules for paying homage. Formal tokens of reverence do not correspond to inner feelings, and the ritual rules have been created by later sages in response to the needs of a degenerate age.

At this point Huan Xuan, not satisfied by Wang Mi's somewhat confused and wavering arguments, decided to submit the whole affair to the judgment of Huiyuan, and sent him his correspondence with the "eight ministers" together with a letter in which he requested the master to give his opinion, and to send him his answer *via* the governor of Jiangzhou.[284]

Shortly before, Huiyuan had already interfered when Huan Xuan decided to "select" the *saṅgha*, and he had succeeded in somewhat mitigating the severe procedure of selection. Huan Xuan seems to have highly esteemed Huiyuan and his community, as appears from the fact that the Lu Shan had

officially been exempted from investigation and selection; Huiyuan on the other hand must by this time have become fully aware of the dictator's anticlerical policy. The letter which he wrote back to Huan Xuan has been preserved in *HMJ*,[285] and a shorter and considerably different version of it is found in his biography. It contains arguments which were further developed and elaborated by Huiyuan in his somewhat later treatise *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* about which we shall say more below. In both documents the starting-point is the statement that the Buddhist creed comprises two completely different classes of individuals: (a) the lay devotee who lives in the world and who remains subject to temporal law and authority; everything said by Huan Xuan is correct by itself, but it holds only good for this class of individuals. (b) Those who have "left the household", who dwell in the world like strangers and whose aspirations are directed towards unworldly ends, *viz.* the cessation of rebirth and the realization of the highest principle 宗. This second class is not to be subjected to the authority of the world with which it has severed all connections. The monk lives apart from the world, and yet he benefits the world. His virtuous example will pervade the realm, and in this his actions agree with the ideal of perfect government.

According to his biography in *CSZJJ*[286] Huiyuan "feared that the great Doctrine would come to fall, and so he answered with an urgent plea (for the sake of the *saṅgha*)". This is indeed the character of Huiyuan's letter in which he makes an unusually personal appeal to Huan Xuan. You, "*dānapati*" (!), have lately purified and selected the *saṅgha*, so that now all monks are more sincere and assiduous than ever. By doing so you have already greatly contributed to the flourishing of Buddhism. But the Buddhist customs which form, so to speak, the Rites 禮 of the Church, must also be preserved intact. "As I, poor monk, during the sunset of my years avail myself of the (remaining) days and months to await the end, how could it be that my feelings of regret are concerned with my single self; how could I merely be anxious about my own possessions? It is only because I desire that the Three Jewels (of Buddhism) may be made to flourish anew in the course of this glorious era, and that their bright Virtue may spread its fragrance till the end of a hundred generations. From the very moment that this (plan of yours) would be realized, the Buddhist teachings would forever be ruined, and the great Doctrine of the Tathāgata would thereupon sink down and become extinguished, so that gods and men would sigh in regret and the (people of) the world would change their (good) intentions. And where would then be the support of the expectation (of the renewed glory of Buddhism) which I, poor monk, cherish with profound sincerity? In view of the abundance of your affectionate treatment, I (dare) completely to set forth my feelings (in this letter), and as I hold the brush (to write this) I feel sad and depressed, and unawares tears run across my face".

It is not clear why Huan Xuan eventually gave in. According to Huiyuan's biography, he "hesitated and did not decide" after having obtained Huiyuan's answer. It may be that the force of Huiyuan's arguments together with the protests of Wang Mi, Huan's most valuable collaborator, finally brought about a change in his plans. In any case, as soon as he ascended the imperial throne, or perhaps even a few days before that date,[287] *i.e.*, around the beginning of January 404, he promulgated an edict in which he granted the *saṅgha* the privilege not to pay homage to the secular ruler.[288]

Two courtiers, the palace attendants Bian Sizhi 卞嗣之 and Yuan Kezhi 袁恪之, remonstrated against this sudden change of policy in a series of memorials, in spite of Huan Xuan's rescripts which stated with ever-increasing emphasis that the matter was closed and that they should obey without more.[289] This exchange of memorials and imperial answers lasted from January 1 to January 22, 404 AD.

The names of these remonstrating courtiers do not occur in other sources. However, one of Huan Xuan's partisans (the only who remained loyal to him till the moment of Huan's death) was Bian Fanzhi 卞範之,[290] and in view of the form of the personal name and of the comparative rarity of the surname Bian, it is practically certain that Bian Sizhi was a brother (or cousin) of this prominent magistrate and warrior. The same is the case with Yuan Kezhi. One of Sima Daozi's partisans was Yuan Yuezhi 袁悅之, whom we have already mentioned in connection with the nun Miaoyin and her court intrigues (cf. above, p. 154). He had been killed before Huan Xuan's rise to power, but on account of the similarity between the characters 悅 and 恪 (both in orthography and in meaning) we may safely conclude that this is again a case of "generation nomenclature" and that the two Yuan were brothers or cousins. The resistance which Huan Xuan met first from the trusted Wang Mi against his proposed measure and then from other important partisans against its revocation demonstrates how the opinions were divided on this important issue even within one gentry faction at the capital.

It was during the three months of Huan Xuan's reign as "emperor of Chu" (cf. above, p. 156), when emperor An was in exile at Xunyang, that Huiyuan wrote his most important apologetical treatise "About the *śramaṇa* not paying homage to the ruler" 沙門不敬王者論. For a detailed study on this treatise we may refer the reader to the excellent translation recently published by Mr. Leon Hurvitz;[291] as we shall repeatedly revert to it or quote from it in the next chapter, we shall here only indicate the general line of the argument. The treatise consists of five parts (cf. also Huiyuan's biography in the Appendix to this chapter). The first two of these have essentially the same contents as Huiyuan's letter to Huan Xuan paraphrased above, treating the difference in aspirations, way of life and social status between the lay devotees (在家) and the monks (出家). The other three parts are devoted to more theoretical topics, the discussion of which is represented, as usual, in the form of a debate between imaginary opponents. The third section is a refutation of Huan Xuan's words about the supreme and all-including authority and venerability of the Ruler, who as the mediator between Man and Heaven embodies the course of Nature to which all individuals have to obey. Huiyuan, as the "host" 主 in the imaginary dialogue, replies with a highly interesting description of the process of purification and emancipation of the Spirit 神 from the fetters of lust and emotion, by which it finally reaches *Nirvāṇa*. This is something the worldly ruler cannot bring about, nor even Heaven and Earth, which "can give life to the beings, but which cannot cause living beings not to die". The subject of the fourth section logically follows from the preceding one, for the "opponent" remarks that there is actually no proof that all these mysterious karmic happenings really exist: there is, in fact, nothing to be understood outside that which the intellect can under-

stand, and there is no truth beyond that which has been revealed by the Chinese sages of the past. In reply to this, Huiyuan unfolds his curious theory about the actual identity of these same sages and the Buddha, of whom they are expedient manifestations (a theory which we shall treat more extensively in the next chapter). Still, this theory presupposes the existence of rebirth and of what the Chinese Buddhists used to call "the immortality of the Spirit", and this forms the subject of the last and doctrinally the most interesting part of the treatise. Huiyuan defines the Spirit as an extremely subtle, immaterial and everlasting principle in man. It cannot be defined; speaking about it means "speaking about the unspeakable". It has the quality of "responding" 應 to the things of the outer world, and this is at the same time the proof of its subtlety and the cause of its being fettered by the "emotions" 情 which are rooted in the spirit and keep it bound to the process of "Change", *i.e.*, *saṃsāra*. Yet it cannot be eliminated, for "though responding to things it is no thing, and therefore, though the things are subject to change, it does not perish". As long as the emotions keep it bound to existence, it will move from one body to another, like the flame in firewood leaping from one piece of wood to another. The treatise ends with an epilogue in which the author again emphasizes the great achievement of those who lead the religious life, and their right to be supported by the world.

The episode of the "Shadow of the Buddha" (412/413 AD) is the last datable event of Huiyuan's life. Kumārajīva had already died three years before (409 AD), his devout follower Wang Mi still earlier (407 AD). Huiyuan's death, in early sources variously dated in 416 or 417,[292] is described in his biography in *GSZ* without any hagiographic embellishment—a gap which later biographers have hastened to fill.[293] He was buried near the Donglinsi on Mt. Lu, where he had spent the last decades of his life, in the grave which is still marked by a *caitya*.

His death precedes by only a few years the end of the Eastern Jin (420 AD) which we have chosen as the terminal date of the period treated here. But it is not on account of this chronological coincidence that we end this part of our study with Huiyuan. His life (rather than his death) marks the beginning of a new era in Chinese Buddhism, as we have explained in the introductory remarks to this section, an era in which Buddhism had finally taken hold of all strata of Chinese society, from the imperial devotees of the Liu-Song dynasty and their Buddhist courtiers down to the illiterate masses of the population, and in which it had become an integral part of Chinese culture. A period also during which in the field of doctrinal studies the ancient Chinese concepts lose much of their force, a period of specialized studies and better translations, of more knowledge and less phantasy. Huiyuan is the last Buddhist master who unites in his person and in his teachings all the characteristic elements of gentry Buddhism in its formative phase. Therefore this much too summary sketch of his life may serve to conclude our historical survey of the process which we have followed through four centuries—the strange and fascinating phenomenon of the conquest of a great culture by a great religion.

APPENDIX

TRANSLATION OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF SHI HUIYUAN (334–416)

Chinese text: *GSZ* VI 357.3–361.2.
The parts between square brackets [. . .] do not occur in the biography of Huiyuan in *CSZJJ* XV 109.2–110.3.

Shi Huiyuan 釋慧遠, whose original surname was Jia 賈, was a man from Loufan 樓煩 in (the commandery of) Yanmen 鴈門.[1] In his early youth he loved to study, and the prominent qualities (of his intellect) became abundantly manifested. At the age of thirteen[2] he accompanied his maternal uncle, a member of the Linghu 令狐 family, to study at Xu(-chang)[3] and Luo(-yang), so that he became a student (at the Academy 太學) at an early age. (There) he gained a comprehensive knowledge of the Six Classics, and especially excelled in (the study of) *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. As his natural capacities were very great and his insight was brilliant and extraordinary, even the most prominent among the experienced *literati* all stood in awe of him.

At the age of twenty-one,[4] he wanted to go over to Jiangdong 江東 [5] to join Fan Xuanzi[6] in order to live in retirement together with him.[7] But it happened that, after Shi Hu had died (349 AD), the Central Plain (中原: Central China) was ravaged by banditry and chaos, and the roads to the South were obstructed, so that his desire could not be fulfilled.[8]

[At that time, the *śramaṇa* Shi[9] Dao'an had founded a monastery at the Heng Shan 恆山 in the Taihang 太行 mountains;[10] he widely preached and extolled
[358.1.1] the formal doctrine,[11] and enjoyed great fame.] Huiyuan thereupon went to join him, and as soon as he had seen him, he was all filled with reverence and thought, "he is truly my master". [Later, when he heard (Dao')an explain the *Prajñāpāramitā*, he became suddenly awakened (to the Truth) and said, with a sigh: "Confucianism, Daoism and (the other of) the Nine Schools (of philosophy) are all no more than chaff!"[12] Then, together with his younger brother Huichi 慧持,] he "threw away the hair-pin and dropped his hair-lace",[13] entrusted his life (to the Buddha)[14] and became a disciple.

Once he had entered the Way, he towered above the crowd (of disciples). He always wanted to gather and comprehend the general principles (of the creed), and made the Great Doctrine his task. With concentrated thought he recited (the scriptures) and kept them (constantly) in his hands, at night (by means of candles) continuing the light of day. Although the two brothers who came from a poor family[15] had no resources, and their quilted garments were always incomplete, yet they respectfully attended to their duties from beginning to end, without flagging. There was a monk Tanyi 曇翼 who used to give them the money they needed for candles (to study at night), and when Master (Dao')an heard about this, he was pleased and said, "This monk really knows men" (*i.e.*, he knows whom he must support).

(Hui-)yuan relied upon a wisdom and understanding which (resulted) from causes in previous (lives) and so he applied his powerful mind in the present which had
[358.1.10] never seen his like. Therefore his spiritual intelligence could be extraordinary, and his natural insight far-reaching and deep. Dao'an often sighed (in admiration) and said, "Should Huiyuan not be the one who will cause the Way to spread over the Eastern country?"

[When he was twenty-four (357 AD), he once attended a sermon where a guest who listened to the explanation (of the scripture) raised objection against the concept of transcendent Truth 實相[17] (as explained by Dao'an). The debate lasted some time, but the (opponent's) doubt and lack of understanding still increased. Then Huiyuan mentioned a (corresponding) concept taken from *Zhuangzi* by way of analogy, whereupon the deluded (opponent) reached a clear understanding (of the truth). Dao'an henceforward especially allowed Huiyuan to keep the secular literature (for this purpose).[18] Dao'an had two disciples, Fayu 法遇 and Tanhui 曇徽,[19] who both were persons of noble deportment and brilliant talents, pure and diligent in their ambitions and works, and who yet praised him and acknowledged his superiority.]

Later he followed Master (Dao')an to the South, to the area of Fan(-cheng) and Mian(-yang, *i.e.*, to the region of Xiangyang).[20] In the ninth year of the *jianyuan* era of the illegal Qin dynasty (373 AD),[21] the Qin general Fu Pi 苻丕 laid siege to Xiangyang, [and as Dao'an was kept there by (the Jin general) Zhu Xu 朱序, he had no opportunity to escape. He then divided his host of disciples into groups and let them go their ways. Shortly before their departure, all prominent monks obtained from him some instruction, only Huiyuan did not receive a single word. Huiyuan then knelt down and said: "I am the only one who has not obtained your advice and help—I fear that I
[358.1.10] am not equal to the others", to which Dao'an replied: "Should I still worry about one like you?"]

Thereupon Huiyuan went to the South together with several tens of disciples, where he stayed at the Shangming 上明 monastery (cf. above p. 199). Later he wanted to go to the Luofu Shan 羅浮山 (near Guangzhou), but when he (on his way thither) reached Xunyang 潯陽 (the modern Jiujiang 九江 in N. Jiangxi), he saw that Mt. Lu 廬山 was pure and tranquil, and a place worthy to appease the mind.

[At first he lived at the Longquan 龍泉 retreat. Originally this place was far from the water, but Huiyuan knocked on the ground with his staff and said: "If we are allowed to stay here, let then a well spring from this worthless (rock)". As soon as he had finished speaking, a stream of clear water came bubbling up and formed a deep brook.

Shortly afterwards, when Xunyang suffered from a drought, Huiyuan went to the edge of the city moat and recited the *Hailong wang jing* 海龍王經.[22] Suddenly a huge snake emerged from the moat and soared up into the void, and a moment later the rain came pouring down, so that in that year the harvest was abundant. On account of this the retreat was named "The monastery of the Nāga spring" 龍泉寺.

At that time, there was a monk named Huiyong 慧永[23] who lived at the Xilin 西林 monastery (at the Lu Shan), a former fellow-student and an old friend of Huiyuan. He invited Huiyuan to stay with him. Huiyong said to the governor (of Jiangzhou 江州) Huan Yi 桓伊:[24] "Master Yuan is going to propagate the Way (in this region), but even now his followers are already numerous, and still more will come. The place where I, poor monk, am living is too cramped and narrow, so that there is no sufficient room to lodge them. What is to be done?"] Huan (Yi) then erected for Huiyuan (a number of) living quarters and halls to the East of the mountain: this became the "Eastern Grove" (Donglin 東林) monastery.

The *vihāra* which Huiyuan had founded fully profited by the beauty of the mountain, with behind and above it the Incense Burner Peak 香爐之峯, and bordering on the ravine with the waterfall.[25] There were also piled-up layers of rocks on which pines were densely growing; clear rivulets flowed on either side of the steps (leading to the *vihāra*), and white clouds filled its rooms. Inside the monastery he furthermore made a special grove for meditation, where among the trees of the forest the vapour coagulated and the stony paths were covered with moss. Every spot seen by the eye or trodden by the foot was full of spiritual purity and majesty of atmosphere.

Huiyuan had heard that in India there was the shadow of the Buddha, [which anciently the Buddha had left behind after having converted the *nāgas*. It was in the cell of an ancient *ṛṣi* South of the city of Nagarahāra 那竭呵, in the country of the
[358.2.10] Yuezhi in Northern India, along the direct route 15.850 *li* to the West of the region of the Moving Sands.[26]] He always joyfully thought about (this shadow) [and wished to see it. As there happened to be a monk from the western Region who described its radiant appearance (or: its halo and its (32) characteristics 光相), Huiyuan] built a shrine with its back towards the mountain and (its front) turned towards the stream, and had a painter who excelled in calculating (the proportions) make a copy (of the silhouette) in light (diluted) tones. The colours seemed to have been applied in the void, and when seen from afar, they looked like vapour; the halo was luminous, as if it appeared from obscurity.

Thereupon Huiyuan composed an inscription (on the icon) which ran as follows:[27]

I. How still and vast is the Great Image![28]
(In it), the Truth is hidden and nameless.
The body, spirit-like, enters (the world of) transformation,
and the shadow cast by it becomes separated from the form.
Its revolving (halo) illumines the piled-up rocks;
its condensed (form) shines brilliantly in the empty pavillion.
Though dwelling in darkness, it is not dim;
though situated in obscurity, it grows ever brighter.[29]
Harmoniously it moves, (free from all bonds) like the cicada shedding its skin,
and summons the hundred spirits to its audience.
In responding (to the needs of the world) it follows various methods;
(but in reality) its manifestations and its absolute (nature) are both
"darkened" 冥.[30]

II. How boundless is the Universe!
It does not (need to be) stimulated or encouraged (to act).
In the "tasteless Void"[31] he has sketched his countenance,
touching the surface of Emptiness he had transmitted his image.
The characteristics are all there (though) the body is small;
its delicate[32] beauty is naturally luminous.
The white (curl of) hair emits radiance,[33]
strongly (shining) in the darkness of the night.
[358.2.20] When a stimulus reaches him he will respond
when touched with sincerity he will resound (like a bell).
The reverberations still linger in the mountains;
his Enlightenment as a ford is (a source of) mystic enjoyment.
(Now) we have the opportunity to feel it with our hands
so that the meritorious work does not spring from a past (life).

III. (But then) return, and forget your (feelings of) reverence:
be without thought, without knowing.
The Three Luminaries (sun, moon and stars) conceal their light,
and the myriad images (of the phenomenal world) have one and the same aspect.
The courtyard and eaves are hidden and overgrown,
and there is none who can fathom the way to return.
Awaken it by the tranquillity[34] (of meditation),
rouse[35] it by the power (of Wisdom)!
Although the air of Wisdom is far away,
yet it is thereby that the dust (of this world) is made to settle.
Save one who is (endowed with) this mysterious vision,[36]
who could be borne off to the Ultimate (Truth)?

IV. Since the inaudible sound[37] spreads far and wide,
it has now with loving care directed itself to the East.
Rejoicing in its Virtue and longing for its Way
we have reverently imitated its mystic proportions.
The wonder has been completely expressed by the point of (the painter's) brush,
its movement faintly (appears on) the light silk.
The colours applied (to the silk) have coagulated in the void
and seem to illuminate the clouds.
(These visible) traces serve to[38] symbolize Reality
and the principles (hidden behind it) make its purport profound.
Its extraordinary rise opens up our feelings,
its auspicious influence guides us along the road.
A pure air swirls around the pavillion;
darkness and light are mingled before the dawn.
It seems to mirror the divine appearance
vaguely, as if we actually meet (the Buddha).[39]

V. In memorizing it, in picturing it,
what do we strive for, what do we seek?
In adoring it, in listening to it
consider (the way) which you are cultivating.
[358.3.1] Oh, that this pattern (to be followed by) the world
may come to be illuminated by that mysterious stream!
Wash your feelings in the supernatural pond,
and absorb the harmony of what is "the weakest (element)";[40]
reflect the Void and respond to what is simple,
then the abode of Wisdom will be comprehensive.
Deeply cherish the mystic refuge
and, at night, think of letting your spirit roam.
When once, at the end of our lives, we shall face (the Buddha),
then we shall forever say farewell to all sorrows.

Formerly, Tao Kan 陶侃 from Xunyang had been military governor of Guangzhou (the modern Guangdong).[41] At that time there was a fisherman who had seen a supernatural sheen of light in the sea which shone abundantly every evening and which in the course of ten days grew ever stronger. Amazed, he reported it to Tao Kan, who went (to the seaside) for a close investigation. Then it appeared to be a statue of King Aśoka.[42] He immediately took it with him and sent it to the Hanxi 寒溪 monastery at Wuchang 武昌. The abbot Sengzhen 僧珍 once went to Xiakou 夏口; at night he dreamed that the monastery had burnt down and that only the room in which this statue had been placed was guarded and surrounded by dragon spirits (龍神, *nāgas*). When Sengzhen had awakend and hastened back to the monastery, it had already burnt down, and (indeed) only the room with the statue had been preserved. Later, when Tao Kan was transferred to another post, he sent some people (to Wuchang) to take the statue with him because of its
[358.3.10] great supernatural power. Several tens of people (were needed) to lift it up and to move it to the shore, and when it had been hauled aboard, the ship turned over and sank. The people sent (by Tao Kan) grew afraid and (tried to) get it back but could not take hold of it. Tao Kan had since his early years excelled by his martial talents, but he lacked trustworthiness and sincerity. Hence the people in the region of Jing and Chu (*i.e.*, Jingzhou) made a ditty about this which said:

"Tao Kan is only a hero of the sword,
but the statue has a distinction which is spiritual.

It soars to the clouds or remains deeply immersed—
how far, how remote it is!
Sincerity may bring it here
but it can hardly be summoned by force!"

When the (Donglin) monastery founded by Huiyuan had been completed, he humbly invited (the statue) with a devout heart, and then it automatically became light and floating, moving freely hither and thither (on the water). Only then (people) realized that Huiyuan's spiritual influence had been (*a priori*) confirmed by the popular ditty (mentioned above).[43] (Huiyuan) thereupon went with all his followers to perform the (ritual) circumambulation (行道, *pradakṣiṇā*) day and night without stopping, and, as a result, the lingering (beneficial) influence of Śākyamuni('s statue) was revived.]

Finally, gentlemen who (desired to) observe the Rules and to appease their minds, guests who (wanted to) reject the worldly dust and to live in pure faith, all unexpectedly arrived and longingly gathered from afar: Liu Yimin 劉遺民 from Pengcheng 彭城, [Lei Cizong, 雷次宗 from Yuzhang 豫章,] Zhou Xuzhi 周續之 from Yanmen
[358.3.20] 鴈門, Bi Yingzhi 畢穎之 from Xincai 新蔡, Zong Bing 宗炳 from Nanyang 南陽, [Zhang Laimin 張萊民, Zhang Jishi 張季碩 and others.[44] They all abandoned the world and gave up its splendour, and] came to live under Huiyuan's guidance.

Then, before a statue of Amitābha[45] in the *vihāra*, Huiyuan (and these lay devotees) held a fasting (ceremony) and made the vow together to strive for (rebirth in) the Western Region (*Sukhāvatī*). He ordered Liu Yimin to compose the text of this (formulary), which ran as follows:

"In the year corresponding with the constellation Sheti, in the autumn, in the seventh month the first day of which has (the cyclical signs) *wuchen*, on the 28th day with (the cyclical signs) *yiwei* (*i.e.*, September 11, 402 AD).[46]

The Master of the Doctrine Shi Huiyuan, (urged by) the depth of his noble emotions and the excellence of his pure feelings, has invited (us), like-minded gentlemen, (desirous of) appeasing the mind and inspired by a noble faith, to the number of 123 men, to assemble before the statue of Amitābha at the *vihāra* of the *Prajñā* terrace on the northern slope of the Lu Shan, and he has led us reverently to perform the sacrifice of incense and flowers, and to make a vow in order to stimulate all those who take part in this meeting.

Now since the principle of causation is clearly understood, hence the transmission (of life) through the three times (*i.e.*, rebirth in past, present and future) is evident, and since the ordinations of fate (determined by) the moving influence (of *karman*) tally with each other, hence the retribution of good and evil is inevitable.

The consideration that whatever we meet is (soon) to be lost and ruined, the insight of the momentariness of (all that is) impermanent, the realization that the three kinds of
[359.1.1] retribution[47] combine to destroy us, and the knowledge that our dangerous tendencies are difficult to uproot—all this is the reason why these like-minded worthies, "vigilant at night and assiduous in the dark", reverently muse on a way to be saved.

Now, whilst it is possible to approach the Spirit by influencing it, it is not permissible to search for it by means of outward signs.[48] If we absolutely try to move it whilst having a person (to lead us),[49] then the hidden way (of salvation) is very near, but if we seek it without a leader (or: without a leading principle, 主) then we grope in the dark, (not knowing) where the ford may be.

Now we meet the good fortune that we without (previous) deliberation in unison (strive) for the Western Region (*Sukhāvatī*). Since the study of scriptures[50] has opened up our faith, and bright feelings have spontaneously developed, the image of the motive power pervades our sleeping and dreaming,[51] and our happiness is a hundred times greater than of those who "come like children (to their father)".[52]

Now the divine picture displays its glory, and the Shadow has arrived together with the Spirit.[53] This achievement is the result of (natural) principles; this fact has not been achieved by human (power). It is truly a case where Heaven has created the sincere (devotion) in us, and where inscrutable destiny has brought us together. Should we then not subdue our minds and redouble our energy, and concentrate our thought in profound meditation?

However, the circumstances and affairs (of our lives) are not the same, and our merits (inherited from former lives) are different. In the morning we may pray in unison, and
[359.1.10] yet in the evening we may become widely separate. To the loving heart of our master and friend (Huiyuan) this seemed truly deplorable. As he was sad about this, he ordered us to rectify our feelings in the Hall of Doctrine, and after a while, when we had concentrated our minds by letting our thoughts pause in the hidden and supreme (Truth), he made us, gathered there, take the vow together to travel to that most distant region (of the Western Paradise).

If there would be one among us who would suddenly rise above his companions to be the first to ascend to the Spiritual Realm (of *Sukhāvatī*), then he shall not solitarily enjoy his bliss on supernatural mountain-peaks,[54] forgetting to share his salvation with (those left behind) in the dark valleys. If both those who will enter first and those who will ascend later exert themselves to be mindful of the principle of "marching together",[55] then[56] (in the end, all of them) will miraculously behold the great appearance (of Amitābha) and open their hearts in (his) pure brightness. Their knowledge will be renewed by Enlightenment, and their bodies will be changed by transformation. They will sit on lotus flowers in the midst of streams and sing their words (of praise) in the shadow of the *ge*-tree of jade;[57] they will move in their cloud-woven garments to the eight borders of the earth and float around on fragrant wind till the end of their lives. Their bodies will grow oblivious of rest and yet become more sedate; their minds will rise above pleasure and thereby become naturally joyful. After having gone near the three (evil) paths[58] they will bid them a lasting farewell. They will join the host of supernatural beings (in Sukhāvatī) and continue in their traces,
[359.1.20] and, directing themselves to the great repose (of *Nirvāṇa*) they will regard this as their final term. To realize this way—would that not be grand?"

[Huiyuan's appearance was stern and grave, his behaviour upright and dignified. Everybody who set eyes on him trembled with awe in body and spirit. Once there was a monk who held a bamboo *ruyi* 如意[59] which he wanted to present (to Huiyuan). He came to the mountain and stayed over two nights, and finally he did not dare to show (his present), but stealthily left (the *ruyi*) at the corner of (Huiyuan's) mat and silently went away. There was (also) a Master of the Doctrine named Fayi 法義,[60] a strong and fearless (character), who just before going to the (Lu) Shan said to Huiyuan's disciple Huibao 慧寶:[61] "You people of mediocre talents praise him and surrender to him. Now just see how I shall (behave in his presence)". When he arrived at the mountain, Huiyuan happened to explain the *Lotus sūtra*. Whenever (Fayi) wanted to make objections and questions, his heart (started) throbbing and he perspired (with fear), and after all he did not dare to speak. When he came out, he said to Fabao: "This Master is absolutely bewildering!". Such was the way in which he struck others with awe and Overshadowed the crowd.

When Yin Zhongkan went to Jingzhou,[62] he came to pay homage to (Huiyuan) when passing the mountain. He and Huiyuan held a discussion about the basic purport (體要) of the *Book of Changes* at the brink of the Northern Torrent 北澗, and they (continued) till the shadows had moved[63] without growing weary. Finally (Yin
[359.2.1] Zhongkan) sighed and said: "Your knowledge is really deep and clear, and truly hard to approximate"].[64]

The Director of the Masses Wang Mi 王謐[65] and the (commander of) the stationary troops Wang Mo 王默[66] were both filled with admiration for his virtuous character,

and sent him from afar the tokens of reverence (due to a) Master. Wang Mi wrote a letter in which he said: "I am only forty years old, and yet my (bodily) decrepitude is like that of one 'whose ear is obedient' (*i.e.*, a sexagenarian)".[67] Yuan answered : "The Ancients 'did not care about a jade disc of one foot, but they valued (every) inch of time'. (But) if we consider what they cherished (as the most important thing), it seems that it did not merely consist in the length of one's life. *Dānapati*, you have already made your nature wander in "obedience" (to the Doctrine), and you have governed your heart in accordance with Buddhist principles. If we draw the (logical) conclusion from this, what would there be enviable in an advanced age? (It is merely virtue that counts): if you consider this truth for a moment, (you will realize) that since long you have obtained it. These (words of mine) may just serve to answer your letter".

[When (the rebel) Lu Xun 廬循 first came down(stream the Yangzi) and occupied the (capital) city of Jiangzhou 江州,[68] he entered the mountains and visited Huiyuan. As a youth, Huiyuan had been a student together with Lu Xun's father (Lu) Gu 嘏, and as soon as he met (Lu) Xun he was pleased and talked with him about the old days, and from morning till evening they conversed together.[69] Among the monks there were
[359.2.10] some who rebuked Huiyuan, saying, "(Lu) Xun is a state criminal; would it not be suspect if you have such friendly relations with him?". Yuan replied: "I hold that inside the Buddhist doctrine our feelings do neither choose nor reject (anybody in particular)—should that not be realized by those who know (about these relations)? There is no need to be afraid". (And indeed:) when the (future) emperor Wu of the Song dynasty (Liu Yu, cf. above, p. 158) pursued and chastised Lu Xun and camped at Sangwei 桑尾,[70] his counsellors said: "Master Yuan, who since long is the head of the Lu Shan, has entertained friendly relations with Lu Xun". But the emperor said: "Master Yuan is a man from beyond this world—he is certainly not a partisan!", and he sent a messenger with a complimentary letter (to Huiyuan), and supplied him also with money and rice. Then all people, far and near, acknowledged the superiority of (Huiyuan's) insight.]

At first, many of the Buddhist scriptures current in the region East (actually South) of the Yangzi were incomplete. The *dhyāna* methods were not heard about, and the collection of monastic rules (*vinaya-piṭaka*) was fragmentary. Since Huiyuan was saddened by the incompleteness of the Doctrine, he ordered his disciples Fajing 法淨 [, Faling 法領] and others to go in search of the scriptures in distant (countries). They passed through sand and snow, and only after long years they returned. Both had obtained Indian texts which (then) could be translated.[71]

[Formerly, the Master of the Doctrine (Dao')an, then in the region within the Passes (*i.e.*, at Chang'an), had asked Dharmanandin to recite the "Heart of the Abhidharma"
[359.2.20] (阿毘曇心 = *Abhidharmasāra* or *-hṛdaya*?), but because that man had not yet mastered the language of Jin (Chinese), there were many dubious and obscure points (in his translation).[72] Later there was Saṅghadeva, a monk from Kashmir, who possessed an extensive knowledge of the scriptures. When in the sixteenth year of the *taiyuan* era (391 AD) he arrived at Xunyang, Huiyuan asked him to make a second translation of the "Heart of the Abhidharma" and of the *Sanfa dulun* 三法度論.[73] As a result, the study of (these) two (scriptures) came to flourish. (Huiyuan) also composed prefaces (to these texts) in which he indicated their basic purport for the sake of the students].[74]

Indefatigably he performed his religious duties and strove to propagate the doctrine. Whenever he met a foreigner from the West, he would always most earnestly try to interrogate him. [When he heard that Kumārajīva had come to Chang'an (入關, 402 AD), he immediately sent him a letter to express his feelings of friendship, saying:

"Shi Huiyuan bows his head. Last year I obtained a letter from the Commander of the army of the Left Yao (Song),[75] so that I have heard all details about your virtue and fame. Lately, dear Sir (仁者 = *bhadre*), you have broken away from

your foreign country, and you have come over (to China) from an outlying territory. At that time we (could) not yet communicate, and I (merely) rejoiced when hearing the rumour (of your coming). But it is difficult to abandon (my monastery) at the river and the lake, so that I can only regret that the (geographical) situation is so unfavourable. You must know that at the time when we had no contact with each other[76] (the monk) Huaibao 懷寶 came to this region to stay (here),[77] and when I had inquired (about
[359.3.1] you), I ran nine times a day (to see if there was news from you). But I can only delight in the noble flavour (of your virtue) without having an opportunity to realize (my desire to see you). I am attentively watching the road (looking for a messenger), by which the trouble of my waiting is truly increased. Time and again I rejoice that the great Doctrine is being spread and propagated, and that the three regions[78] meet the same good fortune. Although these happenings take place at this later age, yet the tendencies (displayed now) all occurred in the past. I have truly still been unable to gain entrance to the mysterious gate (of Truth) and to move or to penetrate into the supernatural heritage (of the Buddha), and every day I cherish the desire with a humble heart to send you a letter. Now when the sandal-tree is transplanted then all other things will come to share its fragrance; when the (magical) jewel (摩尼) shines forth its radiance, then all (other) precious stones are automatically gathered. These (objects) merely pertain to the…,[79] and yet (their beneficial influence is such) that one goes empty-handed and returns loaded (with treasures)—how much more is this the case with that which is the one basic principle without form, and which responds (to our activities) without (the fetters of human) feelings? That is why he who has charged himself with the great Doctrine must set his mind at having no reward, and he who practises altruism (仁) when being together with friends must make the merit (of his virtue) not belong to his own person. If you can cause the Wheel of the Doctrine not to stop turning on the road of eightfold
[359.3.10] correctness,[80] and the Three Jewels not to cease their sounds in this era which draws to its end, then Pūrṇa[81] will not be the only one who excelled in primeval times, and Nāgārjuna will not re main the sole expert among the predecessors. I send you a cloak of prescribed size, which I should like you to wear when you ascend the high seat (to expound the doctrine), and also a water-filter (?).[82] Since these are religious objects, I just (present them to you) to show my feelings."

Kūmarajīva wrote a letter in reply, which ran as follows: "(I), Kumārajīva, greet you.[83] Since we do not converse with each other face to face, and since we are also separated by (our difference) in language, the way to guide our thoughts is obstructed, and the relation (needed for the) satisfaction of our wishes is broken. Your presents came by courier, and I have (only) roughly understood (the message of) your virtue. By now I know how you are, for by completely knowing one path, a hundred (others) may be covered. A sūtra says that at the last period (of the *Dharma*) there will be in the East a Bodhisattva protecting the Doctrine;[84] exert yourself, dear Sir, skilfully to further the cause of (the *dharma*)! Now there are five perfect (forms of) wealth: happiness, observing the rules, extensive knowledge, eloquence and deep wisdom. Of him who combines these (five) the way will prosper, whereas he who is not endowed with them will be subjected to doubt and (mental) obstruction—but you, dear Sir, possess them completely! In expressing my feelings and in communicating my friendship (to you), I have to transmit my ideas by
[359.3.20] means of translation;[85] how can I ever express them fully! This is merely a rough reply to the ideas expressed in your letter. I have received the cloak of prescribed size which you sent me, and which you want me to wear when I ascend the high seat. It shall be as you wrote to me. But the man does not correspond to the thing (: I am unworthy of his garment), and I am just ashamed about it. Herewith I send you a brass pitcher with two openings which I have always used;[86] it may serve among your religious objects. And I also send you a series of *gāthās*, as follows:

Since you have abandoned the contagious pleasures (of the world),
has your mind gained skill in concentration?
If you have obtained the (power) not to be (mentally) dispersed,
have you deeply penetrated into Truth?
Once dwelling in the state of Utter Emptiness,
the mind is free from all enjoyment.
If you find pleasure in trance or wisdom,
then the (true) nature of *dharmas* has not been realized:
this (enjoyment) is vain and false and unreal
and therefore not a place where the mind may abide.
Of the doctrine gained by you, dear Sir,
I beg you to show me the essence".

Huiyuan wrote again a letter to Kumārajīva in which he said:

"It is chilly these days—how are you now? Last month the monk Fashi 法識 came here, and (from him) I heard that you wish to return to your native country.[87] I was much distressed about it. At first I had heard that you were just about to produce sūtras on a
[360.1.1] grand scale, and therefore I did not want to (bother you with) my questions then. If this message (about your planned departure) is not false, it may well be said that everybody is grieved about it. Herewith I take the liberty to submit some summary questions on several tens of subjects, and I hope that you will have some spare time to explain these (to me) one by one. Although they do not pertain to the great problems as (we find) in the scriptures, yet I should like to have them solved by you. I also answer your *gāthās*, as follows:

What, after all, is the origin of the basic principle (of existence, 本端)?
Do origination-and-destruction have a limit or not?
(The movement of) one grain of dust may involve the displacement of a (whole) region
and develop the power to make a mountain collapse.
Deluded thoughts (arise) in mutual dependence,
and conflicts with the (true) principle automatically lead to obstruction (of the mind).
(Hence), although there is no guiding power behind causation,
the path (to the future) is not decided by (the acts done) in one single generation.
If at this time there would be no enlightened Master (宗匠),
who would then grasp this dark message 契?
I send you my questions full of anxious longing (?)—
with you I hope to spend the rest of my years".

When afterwards Puṇyatara 弗若多羅 had come to Chang'an and had recited the Sanskrit text of the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* 十誦律, Kumārajīva had translated it into
[360.1.10] Chinese. But when only two-third of the text (had been recited), Puṇyatara passed away. Huiyuan had always regretted that it had not been completed, and when he heard that Dharmaruci 曇摩流支 had entered (the capital of) Qin (Chang'an) and that he also was good at reciting this work, he sent [his disciple Tanyong 曇邕[88] (to Dharmaruci) with] a letter in which he asked him to produce the remaining part at Chang'an. As a result, the text of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* became complete and without lacunae.[89] (People of) the Jin territory obtained copies (of this work) and it has been transmitted down to the present day. That the wonderful canon from beyond the Pamir (葱 = 葱嶺) and the exalted theories (of the works edited) at Chang'an came to be assembled in this (southern) region was all due to Huiyuan's exertion.

The monks in the foreign countries all said that in the country of Han there was a Mahāyāna master, and whenever they burned incense and performed the ceremonies of worship, they used to bow their heads to the East and respectfully to direct their

thoughts to Mt. Lu.[90] The manifestations of his spiritual (realization of) Truth were truly unfathomable.

[Before that time, the theory about the eternity of *Nirvāṇa* was not yet known in China;[91] it was merely held to be a (form of) life of very long duration. Yuan then sighed (on account of this heresy) and said: "Buddha(hood) is the highest state 至極 which (must) be unchangeable. How could an unchangeable state ever come to an end?"].
[360.1.20] He then composed a treatise "About the Dharma-nature" 法性論 [in which he said: "The highest state has invariability as its nature, and the basic principle by which one grasps this nature is to become one with (體 "to embody") the highest state".] When Kumārajīva had read this treatise, he sighed (in admiration) and said, "This man from an outlying country does not yet possess the sūtra, and yet he instinctively agrees with the principles (taught in it). How wonderful!"[92]

The ruler of Qin, Yao Xing 姚興[93] revered his fame and virtue and admired his talents and (power of) thought. He sent him a letter in which he exhorted him; letters and presents in kind (came) without interruption. He furthermore gave him various scenes from scriptures executed in fine embroidery from Kuchā in order to express his feelings of sincerity, and he also ordered Yao Song 姚嵩 to present him with a statue set with pearls in the latter's possession.[94]

When the *Shilun* 釋論 (*i.e.*, the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論[95] had come out (405 AD), Yao Xing sent him the text of this *śāstra* together with a letter in which he said:

"The translation of the *Da zhi(du) lun* has just been completed. Since it is a work of Nāgārjuna, and, moreover, a guide to the *vaipulya* (*sūtra*, c.q. the 25.000 *p'p'*), it is fitting that a preface should be written to it in order to elucidate the (basic) ideas of the author. However, all these monks here urge each other on but refuse to do it (themselves), and none of them dares to undertake this task. May you, Master of the Doctrine, compose a preface for the benefit of later students!"

Huiyuan replied: "You want me to make a preface to the *Da zhi lun* in order to elu-
[360.2.1] cidate the (basic) ideas of the author. I, poor monk, have heard that a little bag has no space to contain something large, and that with a short rope one cannot draw from a deep well.[96] On the day when I unrolled and investigated (your letter), I felt ashamed about your honorable charge. Moreover, my body is emaciated and often harassed by disease, and I fail in everything (I undertake). It has been a long time since I expressed my ideas in writing, but on account of the importance of your message I have roughly strung together (and noted down) my thoughts. As to the beauty of a (more detailed) study—this must remain the task of (later scholars) of wisdom and virtue". So high and far-reaching was truly his fame.

Yuan had always been of the opinion that the text of the *Da zhidu lun* was so extensive that the beginner could hardly find his way in it, and therefore he copied the most important passages and made an extract of it in twenty *juan*, in which the order and arrangement (of themes) was so profound and correct that it allowed the students to save themselves more than half of the effort.[97]

Later, when Huan Xuan attacked Yin Zhongkan (January/February 400 AD, cf. above p. 113) and passed the Lu Shan with his army, he demanded that Huiyuan should come out (to see him) beyond the Tiger Brook 虎溪 (beyond which Huiyuan never would go), but Huiyuan pretended to be unable to do so on account of illness. Then Huan Xuan him-
[350.2.10] self went into the mountains. His counsellors said to him, "Previously, (your enemy) Yin Zhongkan has gone into (these same) mountains to pay his respects to Huiyuan; Your Excellency should not honour him". Huan Xuan replied, "This would be against reason. Yin Zhongkan is actually no more than a dead man", and when he met Huiyuan, he unconsciously paid homage to him. Huan Xuan then asked: "If you (Buddhists) do not dare to destroy and to do harm, why then do you cut (your hair)?" Yuan answered: "To establish oneself and to tread the Way".[98] Huan Xuan praised (his answer), and did not dare any more to voice the other questions and objections which he had desired to pose. Then

he spoke about the objective of the punitive expedition (which he was waging against Yin Zhongkan), but Yuan did not answer. Huan Xuan again asked what (Huiyuan) would like most. Yuan replied: "I should like you, *dānapati*, to secure peace and stability and to let the others (, your present adversaries,) do the same". When Huan Xuan came out of the mountains, he said to his counsellors: "I have really never met (such a man) in my whole life!".]

Later, Huan Xuan, relying on his enormous power, did his best to invite Huiyuan (to leave the clergy and to take service under him), and he sent him a letter in which he persuasively urged and ordered him to choose the official career.[99] But Huiyuan in his answer resolutely and formally declined, and remained strong and steadfast (in his refusal); his will was firmer than cinnabar and stone,[100] and till the end there was none who could make it turn.

Shortly afterwards Huan Xuan wanted to select (沙汰) the *saṅgha*, and so he instructed the magistrates under his jurisdiction as follows: "Those among the monks who are able to recite the scriptures, or who excel in explaining the meaning and principles (of
[360.2.20] the canon), and those who are obedient and correct in observing the Rules are worthy to propagate the great Doctrine. All those who deviate from these (standards) shall be secularized. Only the Lu Shan is a place where morality dwells—it will be exempted from investigation and selection".[101]

[Huiyuan sent a letter to Huan Xuan: "It is already a long time since the Buddhist doctrine has become degenerated and mixed with impure elements. Whenever I come across (such things), indignation fills my bosom. I was always afraid that fate would take an unfavourable turn, and that (good and bad) would be lost together.[102] But now I have seen (your plan) to purify the monks, and this instruction surely agrees with my innermost intentions. If the (clear) Jing river is separated from the (muddy) Wei,[103] then pure and impure will come into different situations; if what is crooked is corrected by means of what is straight, then those who are lacking in altruism (仁) will automatically be removed. These two principles will certainly be realized when this order (of yours) has been brought into effect. Once this is done, the result will be that those who gloss over their false (intentions) are cut off from the great open road (of the *saṅgha*) and that those who cherish the truth will be freed from the evil of incurring the criticism of the vulgar. The religion and the world in mutual relation will prosper (by your measures), and the Three Jewels (of Buddhism) will be restored to their former glory". Subsequently he enlarged the scope of Huan Xuan's regulations, and Huan Xuan followed his advice.][104]

Formerly, when emperor Cheng was still young, Yu Bing, then acting as a regent, had voiced the opinion that the *śramaṇa* should pay homage to the ruler (cf. above, p. 106 sqq.). The president of the State Secretariat He Chong, the *puye* 僕射 Chu Xia 褚翜 and
[360.3.1] Zhuge Hui 諸葛恢 and others had memorialized to the effect that the (monks) should not pay homage. The officials versed in the Rites in their discussions had all agreed with He Chong and the others. The members of the imperial chancellery, acting on a hint of Yu Bing, had held a debate, but (the arguments) pro and contra had been so confused that no decision could be taken. When Huan Xuan resided at Gushu 姑熟,[105] he wanted to order (the clergy) fully to honour (the temporal ruler). Then he wrote a letter to Huiyuan, [saying: "That the *śramaṇa* does not pay homage to the ruler is something which militates against my feelings and of which I fail to understand the reason. A great affair or our time (such as this one) cannot be left imperfectly regulated. Lately I have written about this to the eight ministers,[106] and now I submit it to you, that you may set forth the considerations on account of which (the monks) do not pay homage. This is a matter which must now be put into practice.[107] That I let you completely express your ideas on these points is just because (I expect) that you will certainly be able to explain the points on which I am in doubt".]

Yuan answered by a letter, saying:[108] ["Why is one called a *śramaṇa*? It means

that he is able to dispel the darkness of the blind world and to open up the mysterious
road beyond the transformation (of phenomenal existence). Only in this way and using
[360.3.10] the principle of "universal oblivion" 兼忘 he will go along with (the affairs of) the world,
so that those who desire the noble (religious life) may draw upon the virtuous example
he leaves behind, and that those (recluses) who "rinse their mouths in the stream"[109] may
taste from the ford which remains (after he has traversed it). Hence, even if the great
work (of emancipation) has not yet been achieved, yet, to judge from his exalted course
of action, the range of those he had brought to enlightenment will certainly be wide.
Moreover,] the monk's cloak is not a garment to be worn at imperial audiences, and the
almsbowl is not a utensil to be used at the court. [As the *śramaṇa* is a man beyond the
dust (of the world), he should not pay homage to the ruler".

Although Huan Xuan mistakenly clung to his former intention, he was ashamed to carry it out openly and without delay, and when he had learned the purport of Huiyuan's words, he hesitated and did not decide. And shortly afterwards, when Huan Xuan had usurped the throne,[110] he immediately promulgated a letter,[111] saying:[112] "The greatness of the Buddhist doctrine is something which We cannot fathom, but on account of (the monk's natural) feelings of respect for the ruler, We (decide) to let them have their (own way of) being reverent.[113] At present, the matter rests with Us personally, and it is fitting that We should fully realize the principle of "being rendered more illustrious by being humble".[114] (Henceforward) the monks shall no more be made to pay respect".]

Then Huiyuan composed a treatise "About the *śramaṇa* not paying homage to the
ruler" 沙門不敬王者論 [in five sections. Section one said (in outline): "Those who
whilst dwelling in the household (as laymen) revere the Doctrine are subjects (民)
[360.3.20] who are obedient to (the ruler's) transforming influence. In their feelings they have
not deviated from the worldly (codes of behaviour); in their actions they agree with
what is (customary) within the world. Hence the (laymen) cherish the love which is due
to natural relationships, and observe the Rites to serve the ruler. The Rites have (the
feeling of) reverence as their base,[115] and in accordance with this the (secular) doctrine
is formed". The second section, entitled "The Religious Life" 出家, says (in outline):
"He who has 'left the household' is able to retire from the world in order to seek the
fulfilment of his ambition, and he is able to deviate from the secular (codes of behav-
iour) in order to make his Way perfect. As he deviates from the secular (codes), his
apparel cannot agree with the ritual rules of worldly canons, and as he has retired from
the world, he must make his actions sublime. By doing so[116] he can save the drowning
world from the deep stream (of existence) and pluck the dark roots (of *karman*) out of
the successive eons. Far-away he passes through the ford of the Three Vehicles; near-
by[117] he opens up the road (to rebirth as) man or god. If but one man is (in this way)
made to reach complete Virtue, then (the inspiring example of his) way will spread to
his six (kinds of) relatives, and the benefit (resulting from this) will flow throughout the
realm. Although (the virtuous monk) does not occupy the position of a king or a mar-
quis, yet he completely agrees with the (ideal of) Perfect Government (皇極) in that he
allows the people freely (to develop their natural virtues).[118] Thus, inside (the family),
he runs counter to the respect due to natural relationships and yet he does not deviate
from (the "inner feeling" of) filial piety; outwardly (in the state) he is lacking in (the
signs of) respect in serving the ruler and yet he does not fail in his reverence (towards
[361.1.1] him)". The third section, entitled "He who seeks the basic principle (of Truth) does
not obey the process of transformation" 求宗不順化, says (in outline): "He who
returns to the Root and seeks the basic principle does not burden his spirit with life, and
he who transcends the limitations of the (worldly) dust does not burden his life with
feelings. Since he does not burden his life with feelings, his life (生 for 生死, *saṃsāra*)
can be extinguished, and since he does not burden his spirit with life, his spirit can

be "darkened" (冥). (In that highest state) the spirit is darkened and the world is eliminated—therefore it is called *Nirvāṇa*. Hence the *śramaṇa* is one who greets the (Lord of) a myriad carriages (the emperor) as if they stood on the same level and who makes his deeds sublime; he is one who is not ennobled as a king or a marquis and yet receives the benefit of (the ruler's) favour". The fourth section, entitled "He who embodies the highest (Truth) does not respond simultaneously" 體極不兼應, says (in outline): "As to the Tathāgata (on the one hand) and the Duke of Zhou and Confucius (on the other): though their starting-points may be different, yet they agree with each other in a hidden way, and though their points of departure may vary, yet their final aims are certainly the same. Therefore, although one may say that their ways are different, yet they lead to the same goal". The words 'do not respond simultaneously' (in the title of this section) mean that the beings are not able to undergo (both disciplines) simultaneously.[119] The fifth section, entitled "When the body is consumed, the spirit is not extinguished" 形盡神不滅, says (in outline): "Consciousness is galloping along, following (the false impressions of the
[361.1.10] senses) in all directions".[120]

This is the general contents of the treatise. The *śramaṇas* were henceforward allowed to preserve their unworldly way of action (*i.e.*, not to be subjected to temporal authority).

When Huan Xuan fled to the West, and the Jin emperor An returned from Jiangling to the capital[121] the (General) Supporting-the-State He Wuji 何無忌[122] exhorted Huiyuan to wait for him and to welcome him (when he would pass near the Lu Shan). But Huiyuan did not go, under the pretence of disease. The emperor sent a messenger to ask after his health, and Huiyuan composed a letter (in reply), in which he said:

"Shi Huiyuan bows the head. The *yang* weather[123] is mild, and so I hope that Your Majesty is enjoying good health (*lit*: "that Your imperial food is fitting"). I, poor monk, have lately been hampered by a grave disease; I have more and more become worn out by the (infirmities of) old age. Humbly I have received Your most compassionate rescript, in which You graciously bestowed upon me the favour of Your consolation. (By this), the depth of my feelings of gratitude and solicitude were truly increased a hundredfold. (Now) I have the good fortune to meet a happy opportunity (to see Your Majesty), but my body cannot move by itself. There are really no words to illustrate these feelings, this sadness!"

The emperor answered by a rescript, saying: "The *yang* season (Spring) is indeed moving to gratitude. We know (from your letter) that you have not yet recovered from the disease from which you are suffering, and We are sincerely anxious about it. Last month, when We departed from Jiangling,[124] We met many troubles on the way, and under these circumstances We (could) only slowly take up Our normal (occupations).
[361.1.20] Originally We had hoped to see you at Our passing (Mt. Lu), but since you, Master of the Doctrine, nurture your original constitution in the mountain forest, and since you also have not yet recovered from your illness, we are (now) widely separated (from each other), and there is no more reason (to meet)—this increases Our regret".]

Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 from Chenjun 陳郡[125] used to be confident of his own talents and haughty towards to vulgar (crowd); there were few people whom he held in esteem. But as soon as he had seen (Huiyuan), he respectfully submitted to him in his mind.

[Inwardly (in the field of religion), Yuan thoroughly understood the principles of Buddhism, and outwardly (in secular studies) he was well-versed in all literature. Those who were among his pupils all relied on his (judgment) to solve (their problems). Once Yuan explained the "Canon of Mourning Garments" 喪服經,[126] and Lei Cizong and Zong Bing (cf. above, p. 231) both held the (writing) scrolls and noted down the purport (of Yuan's explanations). Later, Lei Cizong made a separate

commentary (to this scripture), writing at the beginning "by Master Lei" (although it actually consisted of Yuan's glosses). On account of this, Zong Bing sent him a letter in which he reproached him, saying, "Formerly I have together with you received this exegesis from our *upādhyāya* Shi (Huiyuan) in person—how can you now put "Master Lei" (as the author's name) at the beginning of this work!" There are several (other) examples of the way in which (Huiyuan) in his teachings encompassed both religious and secular (doctrines).][127]

During the more than thirty years which had elapsed since he had settled at Mt. Lu, his body had never left the mountain,[128] his steps had never re-entered the profane (world). When seeing off guests or when making a walk he would always make the Tiger Brook the limit (beyond which he would not go).

[361.2.1] [(On the first day) of the eighth month of the twelfth year of the *yixi* era of the Jin (September 8, 416) he (fell ill and) took a purgative, and on the sixth day (September 13) his suffering became extreme. The reverend elders all knocked their heads (to the ground) and beseeched him to drink some bean-wine (豉酒, a beverage made from the fermented juice of soy beans), but he refused; he did the same when they asked him to drink (fermented) rice juice (米汁). Again they asked him (to drink) a mixture of honey and water, and then he summoned the *vinaya*-master and ordered him to open the book (of monastic discipline) and to look up in the text whether it was permitted to drink it or not. But when the text had not yet been read half through,] he expired, at the age of eighty-three.[129] [His disciples cried and wailed as if they had lost their father and mother, and monks and laymen hastened (to see his body), in a continuous stream. Since the sentiments of the profane are hard to restrain, Huiyuan had fixed a mourning period of seven days.] According to his last will, his remains should be allowed to (decay) in the open under a pine-tree, but finally the disciples gathered and buried (his bones). [The prefect of Xunyang, Ruan Kan 阮侃[130] had a grave hewn in the western range of Mt. (Lu), and] Xie Lingyun wrote an epitaph for it which memorized the virtues of the departed.[131] [Zong Bing from Nanyang also set up a stela at the entrance of the monastery.]

[361.2.10] Formerly (during his lifetime), Huiyuan had been good at literary composition; his style was pure and elegant. In his oral expositions at meetings (of debate), he (could) express the essential meaning (of a subject) in a simple and terse manner. [Moreover, his whole appearance was upright and correct, and his way of behaviour free and unrestrained. Therefore people came from far and near to look up, as to a model, to his portrait which had been made at the monastery.]

His treatises, prefaces, inscriptions, eulogies, poems and letters were collected into a (work of) ten *juan*, containing more than fifty sections; they were highly esteemed by his generation".[132]

CHAPTER FIVE

"IN THE DEFENSE OF FAITH"
ANTI-CLERICALISM AND BUDDHIST APOLOGETIC IN THE FOURTH AND EARLY FIFTH CENTURY AD

Resistance against Buddhism in gentry circles; types of anti-clericalism.

As has been said before, Buddhism, in China as anywhere else, was not a mode of thought or a philosophical system, but, primarily, a way of life, a code of highly regularized behaviour, believed to lead to emancipation (*vimokṣa, jietuo* 解脫) from the fetters of birth and death and preferably to be pursued by members of a closed and independent religious organisation, the Community (*saṅgha, zhong* 眾). Being such, it was necessarily bound up with a monastic ideal which by its very nature was predestined to meet an intense resistance from the side of the Chinese ruling class.

Buddhism had originated and developed into its characteristic form in a country where the "religious life" (*brahmacaryā*) had been an institution since times immemorial, where the community existed beside the temporal rulers, not under their power, and where the king would pay homage to the monk, even if he were but a run-away slave.[1] In China, it had to seek recognition in a society where the conception of governmental (*i.e.*, in theory, imperial) authority was incompatible with the existence of an asocial, improductive and autonomous body within the state, and where systems of thought used to be evaluated according to their practical efficacy rather than to their religious and metaphysical merits.[2]

Moreover, in China a clergy or priesthood had never existed as a distinct social group.[3] One might perhaps be inclined to qualify as a "clerical" organization the famous semi-religious, semi-political mass-movement of the "Yellow Turbans" 黃巾 which under the leadership of the Daoist magician Zhang Jue 張角 in 184 AD started a revolution that almost brought about the collapse of the Han empire. In spite of such institutions and practices as the foundation of charitable settlements (*yishe* 義舍), the burning of incense, prosternation, penitence, confession of sins, the abstinence from alcoholic drinks and the custom of chanting in chorus (*duxi* 都習)[4] it is highly questionable whether we may regard the leaders of the Yellow Turbans as a clerical group or class: their duties were religious as well as secular, and, as their titles indicate, many of these dignitaries seem to have been active in military and administrative functions in the complex hierarchical and local administration of this sect.[5] It should be noted in passing that later Buddhist authors condemn the Yellow Turbans and comparable movements in most emphatic terms, and not without reason: the activity of the *Huangjin* had been directed against the governmental authorities, and any resemblance between the Yellow

Turbans and the Buddhist Church could only serve to increase the anti-clerical sentiments among the upper classes.[6]

Anti-clericalism of the kind to be described in this chapter can hardly have existed among the illiterate population, and it is there that the expansion of the new creed must have been considerable: according to later sources (contemporary literature does not yield concrete information) there were in the period 265–316 AD in the two capitals (Luoyang and Chang'an) 180 (var. 182) monasteries and 3700 monks and nuns.[7] The number of monasteries in Luoyang in 316 AD is variously given as 42 and 32,[8] whereas the total numbers of monasteries and monks in the ("Eastern") Jin territory in the period 317–420 are stated to have been 1768 and 24.000 respectively.[9]

The conversion of the gentry, however, was an arduous task. The gentry was more than other social groups fettered by tradition, mentally confined within the narrow horizon of classical Chinese culture and ready to oppose—and, if necessary, to eliminate—anything that seemed to threaten the time-honoured ideals and vested interests of their class. From the beginning of the fourth century onward we find traces of strong anti-clerical sentiments directed against the activities and aims of the *saṅgha* as an organized body within the state and against the way of life of the individual monk.

It is a fact of fundamental importance, characteristic of early Chinese Buddhism, that, whereas in India the *saṅgha* mainly had to compete with other but analogous religious groups, in China the Church was bound to come into conflict with the gentry, i.e. the imperial bureaucracy, the government itself. In the following pages we shall treat some aspects of this ideological conflict between the Church and the temporal authorities: the various forms of anti-clericalism prevailing among the upper class and the stereotyped Buddhist counter-arguments.

Roughly speaking, we can recognize the following four types of anti-clerical argumentation:

a) The activities of the Church are in various ways detrimental to the authority of the government and to the stability and prosperity of the state (political and economic arguments).
b) The monastic life does not yield any concrete results in this world, and is therefore useless and improductive (utilitarian arguments).
c) Buddhism is a "barbarian" creed, suited to the needs of uncivilized foreigners. It is not mentioned in the records of the golden past; the Sages of antiquity did not know it and did not need it (arguments based on feelings of cultural superiority).
d) The monastic life means an unnatural violation of the sacred canons of social behaviour; it is therefore asocial and highly immoral (moral arguments).

The Buddhist defenders of the faith, on the other hand, adduce various arguments in order to prove

a) That monks are by no means disloyal even if they are not subjected to the power of temporal authorities, that, in fact, the Church helps to ensure lasting peace and prosperity, and that the Church as a whole cannot be condemned because of the blameworthy activities of a small minority of its members;

b) That the monastic life is not useless although the profit which it yields is not of this world;
c) That the foreign origin of Buddhism cannot be a reason to reject it: China has often borrowed things from abroad with excellent results, or (a more fanciful and very interesting solution): Buddhism is no innovation at all; it has been known in China since the time of Aśoka or even earlier;
d) There is no fundamental difference between the virtues propagated by the Church and the basic principles of Confucianism; Buddhism is the highest perfection of both Confucianism and Daoism.

(1) *Anti-clericalism: political and economic arguments.*

"The *śramaṇa* does not pay homage to the king",[10] for he is "a stranger, (dwelling) outside the world (of men)".[11] The *saṅgha* has become his clan; his tonsure and monk's cloak symbolize a complete rupture with society.[12] In other words: the *saṅgha* claims to be an autonomous organization free from any obligation towards the secular authorities and not liable to state supervision. Needless to say that by this attitude it was challenging the validity of one of the most fundamental concepts of the Confucian state doctrine. Even in the course of the fourth century, when the Chinese dynasty had been driven to the South by alien invaders and the person of the emperor had dwindled into complete insignificance, the Confucian statesmen, scholars and war-lords (the three groups largely coincide) continued to maintain the fiction of imperial authority and repeated, with a supreme disregard for the factual state of affairs, that "Under the vast heaven there is no land which is not the king's, along the borders of the realm there is none who is not the king's subject".[13] This attitude, whether inspired by political expediency or by a traditional ideal of unity and hierarchy which, even in this period, remains characteristic of Chinese thought, repeatedly resulted in clashes between Church and State in the course of the 4th and early 5th century. In previous chapters we have seen how in 340 AD it had led to a controversy between the regent Yu Bing and the pro-Buddhist minister He Chong and their respective partisans, and how sixty years later it became again the subject of a dispute between the dictator Huan Xuan and Wang Mi.[14] There we have also analysed the contents of these discussions and the political factors which proved to have been active in the controversy of the year 340. There is no need to repeat all this. The events of 340 and of 402 mark the beginning of a dispute concerning the status of the clergy which was periodically reopened and which was to last several centuries. The continuous tension between the Buddhist Church which strove for autonomy, and the essentially totalitarian Confucian state—a tension periodically manifested in these disputes—forms one of the most fundamental aspects of Chinese Buddhism.

We have seen that in this controversy the issues were not only practical objections of the secular powers against the existence of an asocial and unproductive enclave within society, but also and above all ideological factors. Even though the controversy may seem at first sight to be a conflict between the spiritual ideals of a religious community and the cynical materialism of a group of politicians without a trace of religious sentiment, we must not forget that these same politicians in their argumentation prove themselves to be the exponents of a well-defined world-view, hallowed by tradition, and the

upholders of an ideology which beside political and moral components contains a considerable religious element. The state is more than an orderly society composed of groups and individuals, ranks, and stations, forming as it does an essential part of the universe, whilst its weal and woe have their repercussions in the processes of nature. The person of the ruler is surrounded by a religious aura; it is he who makes life possible for all his subjects (see above, p. 232), he personifies the creative powers of nature (造化, cf. above, p. 233), and as such his task is that of "transforming" 化, the term which is used for the processes of nature itself. Insubordination or withdrawal from the influence of Authority is not merely illegal or a-social, but such actions contain an element of blasphemy, as is clearly shown in the discussions on the autonomy of the *saṅgha*. This doctrinary element has to be kept in mind when interpreting discussions like those we have described in the preceding chapters. The argumentation shows beyond any doubt that more is at stake than a conflict between Church and State on a purely political and social plane; it is a conflict between two ideologies. This serves to explain the curious character of these discussions which constantly move so to say on two different levels, and which are constantly bogged down in theoretical speculations without any apparent connection with the concrete situation, a tendency not only to be observed among the Buddhists, but also among their Confucian adversaries as we have seen. It would be shortsighted to consider these passages merely as high-flown phrases or as specious arguments, consciously used as tools in a struggle for power.

The Ruler—i.e. the government—regulates and controls all forms of social behaviour of all subjects, and a certain doctrine is only admissible in so far as it does not lead to the slightest change in the traditional codes of social behaviour. That is the reason why arguments are rarely directed against Buddhism as a creed, as a religious conviction, but why, on the contrary, they are constantly inclined to differentiate between "Buddhism" and religious life, between the "purity" of the doctrine, acceptable in itself, and the intolerable attitude of the clergy. A clear example may be found in the words of the courtiers Bian Sizhi and Yuan Kezhi who in January 404 remonstrated repeatedly against Huan Xuan's change of policy towards the Church:

> "'Among the people of the whole realm there is none who is not the king's subject', and, being such, they have to direct themselves towards the transforming influence (of the government). Those who wear the monk's gown disregard the Rites (in their attitude towards) the Lord of Ten Thousand Carriages—that is what your servants are uneasy about. How could paying respect (to the sovereign) be derogatory to (their) doctrine? The rules (governing) the great relations between the worthy and the low should not be completely discarded". . . .[15]

And again:

> "Although (the doctrine) to which the monks adhere may be remarkable, yet in their (normal) activities they do not transcend this world—how then could they have (the privilege) to be regarded unlike normal people?".[16]

As indicated above, such a distinction cannot be drawn, and the views of the anti-clerical Chinese authorities imply a failure to understand the nature of Buddhism.

The laymen who took up the defence of Buddhism during these first discussions were unable to propound this point. Their arguments are weak attempts

to reach a compromise and they do not touch the heart of the matter, pointing as they do historical precedents, to the favourable attitude of alien rulers towards Buddhism, to the monk's "inner submission" and the unimportance of outward forms of respect, and especially to the beneficial influence of the doctrine on the well-being of the state.

It was Huiyuan who was the first to give a clear and uncompromising description of the aims of the religious life in his letters and treatises. In these he preaches a clear-cut delimination and separation of the sphere of influence of the church and of the secular sphere, not based on historical or utilitarian motives, but being the ineluctable consequences of the fundamental principles of the Buddhist doctrine itself. It is for this reason, and not because of the success of his apologetical activities (possibly brought about by wholly different causes), that it is fully justifiable to consider Huiyuan as the first great defender of the faith in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

Huiyuan's standpoint, although embedded in a profusion of elegant rhetoric and expressed with great politeness, appears to be firm and uncompromising: the *saṅgha* is and must remain a brotherhood which is not of this world, a group with its own ideals and its own code of conduct.

> "As is set forth in the Buddhist scriptures, there are (among Buddhists) two classes of people: (the laymen) who propagate the doctrine whilst dwelling in the world, and (the clerics) who cultivate the Way after having left the household. Those who dwell in the world observe the Rites in serving their superiors and are respectful toward their (elder) relatives; the righteous duties of loyalty (to the sovereign) and filial piety are made clear in the (Confucian) canonical texts, and the instructions about the (exalted position of the ruler) with the three Great Ones[17] are manifested in the writings of the Sage. In this they agree with what is ordained in the Royal Regulations[18] as exactly as the two halves of a tally. . . .
>
> But (the monk) who has left the household is a stranger dwelling outside the world (of human relations); his deeds are cut off from those of (other) beings. His doctrine has led him to understand that (all) sorrows and fetters are caused by his having a body,[19] and that by not preserving the body one may terminate sorrow. He knows that birth and rebirth[20] are the result of his being subject to (universal) transformation, and that by not complying with (this process of transformation) one may seek the (highest) principle. . . . He is one whose principles run counter to those of the world, and whose way is opposed to common practice. Therefore all who have left the household dwell in seclusion to seek (the fulfilment) of their aspirations, and alter the common practice to realize their Way. Having altered the common practice they cannot share the Rites imposed by secular codes; dwelling in seclusion they must make their deeds sublime. Only this way they are able to save the drowning world from the deep stream, to pull out the hidden roots (of existence) from the successive eons, far-away to wade through the ford of the Three Vehicles, broadly to open the way to manhood and divinity.[21] Therefore within (the family) they deviate from the veneration due to natural relationships and yet do not swerve from filial piety; outside (the family) they refrain from reverence in serving the ruler and yet do not loose their respect (towards him)".[22]

The monk must remain free: submission to temporal authority would draw him into the web of the world and prevent him from working out his own salvation and that of all beings. But elsewhere Huiyuan goes further and points out that the ruler has a moral obligation to sustain the *saṅgha*. The *śramaṇa* is a traveller. He is charged with a mission, and it is only natural that the world

for which he has undertaken it will supply him with all travelling requisites. He may be compared with an emissary who, when about to propagate the imperial mandate in distant parts of the world, is provided with food, carriage and clothing.[23] Whatever he receives from the ruler is insignificant if compared with the immense benefit which he renders to the world, it is "a mere drop of favour, not worth speaking about".[24]

Finally Huiyuan—no doubt backed by his enormous prestige as the undisputed head of the southern Chinese clergy—voices another conclusion in one of his letters to Huan Xuan (in 402 AD), a conclusion which in the eyes of the cultured Chinese public of those days may have been near to blasphemy: the clergy has its own Rites, its own *li*. It is a world in itself, not even Chinese, and it must maintain its isolation, for any contamination between the two worlds is undesirable and nefarious.

> "Even if the Way is not realized its Ritual must always be preserved.[25] If the Ritual is preserved the *dharma* can be propagated, and if the *dharma* can be propagated the Way may be sought . . . Moreover, the *kāṣāya* is not a garment (fit to be worn) at an imperial audience; the *pātra* is not a vessel (fit to be used) in the palace. Soldiers and civilians (must) have a different appearance; foreigners and Chinese must not mix. If (the monastic rules of) people who shave their heads and mutilate their bodies become mingled with the Rites of China, this is a sign of the mutual interference of different species, something which makes me feel uneasy".[26]

Another stereotyped anti-clerical argument is furnished by the dangerous nature of an autonomous group beyond government control which might easily become a hiding-place for undesirable elements: bandits, tax-evaders and, above all things, "vagrant people" (*liumin* 流民, see above p. 5). Hence the repeated efforts to "select" 沙汰 the *saṅgha* by wholesale examination and compulsory secularisation of those who in knowledge or personal conduct fell short of the required standards. We find mention of five of such official "selections" in the course of the 4th and early 5th cent;[27] it goes without saying that they were not inspired by any desire on the part of the government to keep the Community pure and unadulterated from a religious point of view. It rather means that the rapidly growing number of monks (no doubt mainly recruited from the peasant population) and the corresponding loss of taxpayers and corvee-labourers must already have begun to exercise a perceptible influence upon the economic life. The selections of the clergy merely constitute one aspect of the continuous struggle of the central government against the ever-increasing mass-evasion of taxes and forced labour by the rural population; the contemporary efforts of the early non-Chinese rulers of the northern dynasties to "purify" the *saṅgha* (*i.e.*, to reduce its size) prove that this dangerous development was taking place in the North and in the South alike. In a proclamation ordering the selection of the *saṅgha* issued by the Xiongnu ruler Shi Hu 石虎 (reigned 335–349) it is said:

> 'Nowadays the monks are very numerous; among them are scoundrels and evaders of labour-service, and many of them are unfit (to perform their religious duties). Let this be considered and investigated, and let the veracity and falsehood (of the individual monks) be discussed in all detail . . .".[28]

And in the same document the Hun ruler questions whether

> "the common people of the villages and hamlets who have neither title nor rank may be allowed to serve the Buddha or not".[29]

Huan Xuan's reasons are even more explicitly stated:

> "(The monks) in the capital compete with each other in extravagance and lewdness; by the sight of their splendour they create confusion at court and in the city. The imperial treasure is exhausted by it; the noble vessels (of the state) are defiled on account of it. Evaders of labour-service crowd together from a hundred miles (around); tax-evaders fill the temples and monasteries. It has become so far that in one district there are several thousands of them, so numerous that they (might) form camps and settlements. In the cities hosts of vagebonds (遊食之群) flock together, in the country groups of bravados are assembled . . .".[30]

When Huan Xuan around 400 AD undertook the selection of the *saṅgha* (see above, p. 214), he ordered that only the following three classes of monks would be permitted to continue the religious life:

a) those who had a profound knowledge of the scriptures and who could explain their meaning;
b) those who strictly observed the monastic rules and who were always living in the hermitage (阿蘭若 = *āraṇya*[*ka*]);
c) those who "whilst dwelling in the mountains cherish their ideals without engaging in common and vulgar activities".[31]

Huiyuan in his reply to Huan Xuan about this selection seems fully to agree with the latter's initiative to "purify" the *saṅgha*. He admits that such measures are necessary. However, there are many dubious cases: some monks have an "inner observance of the rules" although their activities seem to indicate the opposite;[32] others are assiduously reciting and memorizing the sacred texts but cannot explain them, and there are also old and experienced monks who, even if they do not fall within the three classes mentioned by Huan Xuan, are honest people who are not guilty of any great sins. Such cases must be treated with the utmost leniency. Huiyuan proposes that they shall not be decided by lower officials, but directly submitted to Huan Xuan personally. He concludes this letter with an interesting remark which shows how Huiyuan—and the Buddhist Church in general—were striving to attract members of the gentry: he states to have written this letter to make sure that no difficulties will arise

> "if there would be young men from good families, not originating from commoners' families,[33] who either (come from a *milieu*) where the great doctrine has been professed for generations or who, after having been spontaneously enlightened in their youth, wish to abandon the world and to enter the Way, and (consequently) want to become priests".[34]

The registration of the clergy, attempted in 399 probably also by Huan Xuan must have served the same purpose as these "selections". Many *śramaṇas* were, literally, *liumin*, "vagrant people". One has only to read through the biographies of a number of the most prominent monks of this period to see how their lives were characterized by an almost nomadic restlessness, a constant moving from one Buddhist centre to another all over the empire. To Huan Xuan this Chinese counterpart of the Indian Buddhist ideal of the "wandering ascetic" apparently seemed to be a form of vagabondage. The order created great agitation among the monks at the southern capital (Jiankang). In their letter the same stress is laid upon the necessity for the monk to be free and unhampered in all his movements:

"But the *śramaṇa* dwelling in the world is like an empty boat which (floats around) on a large stream. His coming has no objective, and his retiring takes also place according to his (own) free will. Within the four seas he has no fixed abode for himself: when the country is in disorder he moves his staff with pewter (rings, *khakkhara*[*ka*]) and roams alone; when the Way prospers (the monks) crowd happily together . . .".[35]

It is unknown to what extent Huan Xuan succeeded in effectively screening the clergy. In any case, after little more than thirty years (shortly after 435) another selection took place. In an edict of emperor Xiaowu of the Liu-Song dynasty (reigned 454–465) the monastery is described as "a refuge for tax-evaders where, moreover, cases of debauchery are repeatedly discovered". The heads of monasteries are held responsible for the integrity of all clerics under their supervision; all individuals who in the future will be found guilty (of "taking shelter" in a monastery) will be severely punished.[36]

The vehemence of anti-clericalism on political and economic grounds grows in the course of the fifth century, being proportionate to the increasing economic power of the Buddhist Church. In June 435 the governor of Danyang, Xiao Muzhi 蕭暮 (var. 摹) 之 sent a memorial to the throne in which he complained about the ever-increasing number of monasteries, the pressure which this exerted upon the rural population and the ensuing loss of grounds and the scarcity of bronze and building materials. He continues:

"I beg (your Majesty to order) that henceforward all those who wish to cast bronze images must go to the authorities and inform them (of their plans); that all those who (wish to) erect pagodas, temples or *vihāras* must first address themselves to the local governors (三千石) and explain (their intentions) from beginning to end; that the matter in due order shall be reported to (the governor) of the province in question, and that a permission (from the government) shall be absolutely necessary before the work (of construction) may be started; that all those who without permission will cast bronze images or erect temples and *vihāras* shall be committed for trial according to the Statute on not observing an imperial decree, and that (in such cases) all the bronze, the buildings, the wood and the tiles shall be confiscated".[37]

The great struggle between the Church as an economic power of the first order and the imperial bureaucracy had begun. The later phases of this struggle, admirably treated by M. Gernet,[38] fall outside the scope of this survey. It may suffice to remark that this type of anti-clericalism is well-attested as early as the fourth century AD.

Other accusations, still mainly belonging in the economic sphere, are directed against "evil practices" of monks in general, notably against the fact that clerics engage in various kinds of mercantile activities. The imaginary opponent in *Mouzi* is made to say:

"Nowadays the monks are addicted to wine and liquors or keep wives and children, they buy (things) at a low price and sell them dear, and only practice deceit and falsehood. They are the greatest hypocrites of our time—is that what the Buddhists call "non-activity" (無為)?"[39]

In 389 the general Xu Yong 許榮 describes in a memorial the Buddhist clergy as "vile, rude, servile and addicted to wine and women", and complains that the monks "oppress and pillage the people, considering the collection of riches as wisdom".[40] Most outspoken is the scathing criticism of the prac-

tices of the clergy uttered by the "opponent" in the *Shibo lun* 釋駁論 by Daoheng 道恆 (written between 405 and 417):

> "Why is it that their ideals are (so) noble and far-reaching and their activities still are (so) base and common? They anxiously scheme and strive without a moment's rest: some of them clear lands and lay out gardens, putting themselves on a par with common peasants; others become merchants and engage in barter, wrangling with the masses for profit, or presume on their medical skill and recklessly fabricate cold and warm (drugs). Others again ingeniously handle strange devices in order to make a living,[41] or practise physiognomy and soothsaying about lucky and unlucky happenings, falsely speaking about good and evil fortune. By perverse ways and intrigues they try to win the favour of their contemporaries. They store and accumulate (riches) and have an abundance of food, or gesticulate in empty talk whilst eating in idleness (the food of) the people . . . All this is of no benefit for the government of our time and injurious to its right principles. It is a source of great anxiety for those who uphold the law and of great distress for the ruler of the state. In the world there are five subversive elements[42] and the clergy is one of them . . .".[43]

In all cases the Buddhist counter-arguments are the same; one must never blame the *saṅgha* as a whole (and even much less the doctrine) for the evil deeds of a relatively small number of unworthy clerics. Do we want to abolish the Classics merely because there are depraved Confucian scholars?[44] Are the teachings of the great Yao inadequate because he was unable to improve the character of his wicked son Dan Zhu?[45] Or, as Huiyuan says in a letter to Huan Xuan:

> "One may reject individuals on account of their way; one must never reject the Way on account of individuals".[46]

(2) *Anti-clericalism: utilitarian arguments.*

Buddhism is useless, unable to ensure the prosperity of the state or the happiness of the individual, and consequently a senseless waste of time and money.

> "There are many monks in the capital Luo (-yang), but I have never heard that they are able to prolong the life of the ruler. Above (*i.e.*, for the sovereign) they are unable to harmonize *yin* and *yang*, to make the year abundant and the people rich, to prevent natural disasters, eliminate epidemic diseases and soothe trouble and disorder; below (*i.e.*, for their own person) they are unable to abstain from eating grain, to purify their respiration, to maintain their lives through (all) distress, and to prolong their existence for a long time . . .".[47]

And, (*ib.*):

> "The monks collect (money) from the people and greatly build stūpas and monasteries which are excessively ornamented—a waste of money and quite useless".

Utilitarianism is deeply-rooted in Chinese thought. A doctrine is expected to yield concrete and visible results in this world: to effect order and peace, prosperity, harmony of mind, bodily immortality. In Indian Buddhism the question of the "utility" of the doctrine is hardly ever posed. When king Ajātasattu visits the Buddha and asks about the "fruit of being an ascetic" (*samaññaphala*), the answer is a description of the religious career itself: the moral training, the concentrations, and the attainment of full knowledge.[48] King Milinda asks Nāgasena why people enter the religious life; he is told that

they do so in order to make an end of pain, and to attain *Nirvāṇa*.[49] The religious life does not need any external justification; no worldly profit can reasonably be expected from a community which has placed itself outside this world. Nothing could be more conflicting with the prevailing Chinese attitude:

"The Sage of old has said: 'Not knowing life, how would you know death?'[50] If one makes his body and spirit toil and suffer throughout life, only to seek happiness in the mysterious hereafter—that is altogether the limited view of one who has no comprehension of the great transforming influence (of the true doctrine, Confucianism). 'He who, when erring, knows how to return is not far from the (right) way':[51] should one not think it thrice over?"[52]

The doctrine is not only useless and unverifiable—it is "opium for the people":

"(The monks) make them hanker after Paradise in order to induce them to do good: should they nor rather (teach them) to conform to righteousness and practise the (right) way? They frighten them with Hell in order to make them careful of themselves: should they not rather (teach them) to rectify their minds by means of reason? One has to observe the rules of decorum and respect in order to avoid sins, and does not need feelings of (religious) veneration and awe to attain this. Giving one thing in the expectation of a hundredfold reward (in Heaven) is not inspired by a (real) sentiment of liberality. By extolling the bliss of *Nirvāṇa* they create laziness and laxity; by singing the praise of the wonderful (nature) of the *dharmakāya* they stimulate idle curiosity. Before the worldly desires have been repressed, (new desires) for far-away profit (in future lives) are already aroused. Although Bodhisattvas may said to be without desires, common beings certainly have them (and are spoilt by such promises) . . .".[53]

As has been said above, every Chinese school of thought derives its *raison-d'être* from its practical efficacy in regulating society, *i.e.*, in effecting "order" (*zhi* 治) and "transformation by instruction" (*jiaohua* 教化). In order to prove the "utility" and the right of existence of Buddhism, the apologetes had to conform to this pattern of thought. In his memorial defending the rights of the clergy (see above p. 161) He Chong says that

"the five prohibitive rules (for Buddhist laymen) actually help the ruler in his (work of) 'transformation'."[54]

For Huiyuan the civilizing effect of the doctrine is the same as that of ideal government:

"There are in all four classes of people who leave the household.[55] In propagating the doctrine and in encompassing all beings their meritorious work is equal to that of emperors and kings, and their (civilizing) transformation (化) is the same as (what is effected by) the true principles of government. As to influencing the customs and enlightening the world, there has been no age in which they were not there (to perform these tasks) . . . Let one man reach complete Virtue (by attaining Enlightenment), then the Way will permeate his six classes of relatives[56] and its benefits will spread throughout the whole realm. Although he does not occupy the position of a king or prince, yet (his actions) are in perfect agreement with the August Ultimate (*huangji* 皇極, ideal government), ruling the people by non-interference and leniency".[57]

This being so, a kind of cooperation between the two doctrines is by no means impossible. They actually lead to the same goal. Zong Bing says in his *Mingfo lun*:

"When (the ruler) relies on the (teachings of) the Duke of Zhou and Confucius

to nourish the people, and tastes (the flavour of) the Buddhist doctrine to nourish his spirit, then he will be an enlightened sovereign during his life and an enlightened spirit after his death—thus he will be king forever. . . . For (the basic virtues of Buddhism): to venerate the doctrine, to believe in its teachings, to realize the impermanence and emptiness of all visible phenomena, to be compassionate in the administration of government, not to allow the high and powerful recklessly to destroy the lives of (other) beings, not to permit the impious to usurp the regalia which do not (belong to them)—are these not the highest fulfilment of (the words of Confucius): 'Lead them on by means of Virtue, make them uniform by means of the Rites, and the whole world will return to benevolence'?"[58]

The same reasoning is to be found in Daoheng's *Shibo lun*: several aspects of the Buddhist doctrine run parallel to secular codes. The five commandments correspond with the teachings of the six classics, the eight obstacles (which bar the way to enlightenment)[59] with the penal laws, the contents of the *Tripiṭaka* in general with the statutes and ordinances, the *Prajñāpāramitā* with the teachings of Laozi and Zhuangzi. However, Buddhism infinitely surpasses all secular codes, and in all these cases the worldly institutions are of no value if compared to their Buddhist counterparts.[60]

The practical value of Buddhism for the government was most eloquently demonstrated in 435 AD by the courtier He Shangzhi 何尚之 (382–460) in a discussion at court about the merits of Buddhism. According to him, the propagation of Buddhism and the conversion of all inhabitants of the empire will lead to a general improvement of morals, to the disappearance of evil practices and the abolition of punishments,[61] and, eventually, to the coming of an era of Great Peace 太平. He Shangzhi adduces facts to prove this: it is well-known that the numerous smaller and greater Buddhist countries in the West have always peacefully lived together without mutual encroachment. Since they have been conquered by China their morals have deteriorated, but these people still are known to be peace-loving and non-aggressive, no doubt owing to the influence of Buddhism. Another fact: more than a century ago the barbarians have overrun Northern China and massacred the greater part of the Chinese population. However, even inhuman creatures like the Hun ruler Shi Hu or the Tibetan Fu Jian (犍) have to some extent changed their course, no doubt under the beneficial influence of Buddhist masters.[62]

(3) *Anti-clericalism: feelings of cultural superiority.*

Nationalism played its role, too. Feelings of cultural superiority and self-sufficiency had always been strong among the Chinese; moreover, the anti-foreign sentiments among the *intelligentsia* had been considerably enhanced in the course of the fourth century after the invasion of foreign conquerors into Chinese territory and their occupation of practically the whole of Northern China. Buddhism bore the stigma of its foreign origin, and it was generally felt to be alien to the character of Chinese civilization. Says Mouzi's imaginary (but undoubtedly true-to-life) adversary:

"Confucius has said: 'The barbarians, even when having their rulers, are inferior to the people of Xia (the Chinese) who have none'.[63] Mencius criticized Chen Xiang for having changed (his course) by studying the practices of (the "barbarian") Xu Xing, and said: 'I have heard of people using (the ways) of China to convert the barbarians; I have never heard of people using those of the barbarians to convert China'.[64] As a young man[65] you, Sir, have studied the methods of

Yao and Shun, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius, but now you reject these and, changing course (like Chen Xiang did), you study the practices of barbarians—is that not foolish?"[66]

Buddhism has no value for China, otherwise the Sages of antiquity would no doubt have used it or at least spoken about it. But in the whole Confucian canon one looks in vain for even one allusion to its existence:

"If Buddhism is (so) very venerable and great, why then have Yao and Shun, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius never cultivated it? In the seven classics[67] one does not find it mentioned—how can you still like the Buddhist doctrine and find pleasure in such heterodox practices?"[68]

The contrast between Chinese and "barbarian" culture goes deeper than the superiority of one system or doctrine over another: there is a fundamental difference of natural constitution, of "race". In the *Liji* it is already said that "the Chinese, the Rong, the Yi and (the other) peoples of the five quarters all have (their own) nature 性, which cannot be moved or altered",[69] and the commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 AD) explains that this is caused by the local "earth fluid" (*diqi* 地氣).

"Chinese and barbarians are different by nature. Why? The inborn nature of the Chinese is pure and harmonious, in accordance with altruism and holding to righteousness—that is why the Duke of Zhou and Confucius explained to them the doctrine of (original unity of) nature and (differentiation by) practice.[70] Those people of foreign countries are endowed with a hard and obstinate nature, full of evil desires, hatred and violence—that is why Śākyamuni severely restrained them with the five prohibitive rules (for laymen) . . .".[71]

Not only the Buddhist moral injunctions but also the Buddhist emphasis upon the supernatural, far from being a proof of its excellence, testify of the primitive *milieu* in which the doctrine had originated and for which it was intended. Huan Xuan writes to Wang Mi:

It is quite clear how Buddhism has originated. For is it not because the six kinds of barbarians[72] are arrogant and obstinate and not to be converted by normal teachings that (the Buddha) had to devise a mass of supernatural and strange (theories) in order to make them struck with awe and submissive, and that only after this was done they would obey the rules? This (doctrine) is in my opinion something based upon the fear for spirits and (the desire for) happiness as a reward (of good deeds): how could this be the way to the highest Mystery?"[73]

By far the most curious example of anti-Buddhism on cultural and racial grounds is furnished by the well-known memorial, submitted (probably ca. 335) by the intendants of the palace writers Wang Bo 王波 and Wang Du 王度 to the Hun ruler Shi Hu (335–349), in which they expressed in most emphatic- terms the irreconciliable contrast between Chinese and "barbarian" religion, rites and customs, and unsuccessfully tried to persuade this ("barbarian"!) monarch to prohibit the cult for all subjects of the empire of Zhao, contravention being equated with the serious crime of "unorthodox sacrifices" 淫祀, and, moreover, to secularize all who had already become monks.[74]

The traditional attitude of China-centered cultural isolationism in gentry circles may aptly be illustrated by the words of He Chengtian 何承天 (370–447):

"Things from abroad should not be studied by Chinese".[75]

Summarizing the "nationalistic" arguments we may say that Buddhism had to defend itself against the following three charges:

(1) Buddhism is a foreign creed;
(2) it has never been mentioned by the Sages of antiquity and is therefore heterodox, and hence
(3) it is extravagant and unverifiable.

Against the first accusation not much could be said: the non-Chinese origin of the doctrine was never questioned, at least not by Buddhists. They could, however, point out that China had often borrowed from abroad, that this borrowing had greatly enriched Chinese civilization, and that, in fact, some of the great sages and statesmen of the past had been of foreign extraction. The great Yu had been born among the wild tribes of the East; duke Mu of Qin had become a hegemon thanks to the advice of the Rong-barbarian You Yu 由余.[76] King Wen had grown up among the Western barbarians; the Hun Jin Midi 金日磾 had once saved the Han dynasty.[77] And are we to reject the illustrious rulers of the Tuoba Wei dynasty merely on account of their original nationality?[78]

Foreign customs and institutions may even be superior to those of China, for when the primordial Virtue has disappeared in a degenerate age, it may still be found lingering in the outlying territories:

> "What China lacks may sometimes be found in the strange customs (of foreign countries) where the people have not changed and the Way has not been lost".[79]

In contrast to the prevailing feelings of cultural superiority we find among the cultured devotees a tendency to idealize a foreign civilisation—a novum in Chinese history. To them, China was no longer an island of culture surrounded by barbarian wastelands. They learned—and used this knowledge as a counter-argument—that the true "Middle Country" (*zhongguo* 中國 = *Madhyadeśa*)[80] was India, the "centre of Heaven and Earth, dwelling in equilibrium and harmony",[81] and that Buddhagayā, the place of the "diamond seat" where all Buddhas of the past had attained Enlightenment, marked the exact centre of the universe. They would not have been Chinese if they had not assembled "hard facts" to prove this. Mouzi concludes from the position of the Polar Star that China cannot lie below the centre of the firmament;[82] Daoxuan points out that China only on one side borders upon the sea and that the sun casts long shadows: it follows that not China but India is the "centre of three thousand suns and moons and a milliard worlds".[83]

Less concrete arguments are used in proving that Buddhism is not heterodox, even if the Sages never mentioned or advocated it. It is characteristic of medieval Chinese thought to regard the Confucian teachings not as an immutable canon of eternal validity—the standpoint which prevailed in Han times—but as a set of *ad hoc* rules dictated by expediency. The Sage is the great improvisator. Like the way of Nature with which he identifies himself, he does not act consciously in order to improve the world, but merely reacts, responding to the needs of the moment. Being identical with the Way, his inner nature is "still" and "empty"; his manifested deeds, his "traces" (*zhi* 迹), are no more than echoes responding to the stimuli which reach him from the world. If he is not stimulated (*gan* 感) to act, he remains inactive in a mystic unity with

Nature. In a previous chapter we have already paid some attention to this conception of the Sage, which is of fundamental importance both in *xuanxue* and in gentry Buddhism (cf. above, p. 91 sqq.). Thus Confucius established the Rites, expounded the basic principles of altruism and righteousness and regulated the various codes of social behaviour only as a means to save the disintegrating society of his times. His "response" to this concrete situation was of a strictly limited and practical nature. It would therefore be unwise to reject Buddhism as "heterodox" because the Sage never mentioned topics like *karman*, rebirth, Enlightenment or *Nirvāṇa*: Confucius had another task to perform, and he had neither the opportunity nor the wish to expound metaphysical problems. This line of reasoning resulted in the argument which became almost proverbial:

> "The doctrine of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius served to save (the world of their times) from the greatest corruption, so that their words and outward actions only related to (the affairs of) one lifetime, and did not open up the road to ten-thousand *kalpas*".[84]

Confucius actually prepared the ground for the coming of Buddhism. Far from being in opposition, the two sages are identical, for in spite of their different spheres of activity their intention—the salvation of mankind—is the same.

> "The Duke of Zhou and Confucius are the Buddha, the Buddha is the Duke of Zhou and Confucius! (The difference in) names merely denotes the inner and outer (teachings) . . .[85] In responding to the world and in guiding (all beings) they likewise followed (the requirements of) their times. (The difference) is only that the Duke of Zhou and Confucius brought salvation when corruption was at its height, whereas the Buddha revealed the fundamental principles. Together they are (mutually complementary) like head and tail, and their (basic) purpose is one and the same".[86]

This sentiment is found everywhere in the writings of early and later Buddhist authors: to the majority of the cultured devotees Buddhism was, in spite of its foreign origin, in agreement with and even partly foreshadowed by the teachings of the Chinese sages of antiquity.

But it was infinitely more comprehensive and profound than these: the full revelation of a Truth of which hitherto only faint glimpses had been perceived. Those who exclusively hold to Confucianism are regarded as foolish and one-sided. This brings us to the Buddhist defence against the third charge: the unverifiable "big words" of the Buddhist theories, which were either regarded as a proof of its primitive origin or as a clever device to mislead the people.

The fact that the tenets of the Buddhist doctrine are unverifiable and, in Chinese eyes, utterly fantastic, was indeed a source of constant irritation. The monks are either regarded as fools, "deluded by writings which lie beyond the teachings (of the Sage)"[87] or as unscrupulous swindlers.[88]

> "The doctrine which you expound is (all about) emptiness and non-being, vague and confused. One cannot see its (underlying) intention, one cannot point at facts. Why is it (so) different from the words of the Sage?"[89]

The exuberant fruits of Indian imagination are not highly appreciated: why must the Buddha's body have thirty-two primary and eighty secondary characteristics?[90] Nobody would believe in the towering height of Mount Sumeru,

the immense extension of the Buddha-fields and the unimaginable duration of cosmic periods.[91] The extravagant length of Buddhist texts and the exorbitant number of scriptures are repugnant.[92] Nobody ever sees even one inch of the Buddha's divine light or even one of his miraculous deeds; not even the most devout Buddhist has ever seen his face.[93] There is no reason to suppose that there is anything at all beyond the world of visible phenomena:

> "It is not so that there is something which the intellect (can) not understand: there is, in fact, nothing outside it to be understood. It is not so that there is anything which the principles (of the teaching of the Sage) (can)not exhaust: there is, in fact, nothing outside them to be exhausted".[94]

Here the same stereotyped counter-argument is used: the apologetes reproach their opponents of being short-sighted, narrow-minded and pedestrian. They are frogs that cannot get out of their wells;[95] "gentlemen who know so much about propriety and righteousness, and so little about the human heart".[96] It cannot be denied that they were in a position to do so. No doubt Buddhism had widened the mental horizon of its cultured devotees by making them acquainted with exactly those conceptions that were deemed "extravagant" by its opponents, and had to some extent succeeded in emancipating Chinese thought from its almost exclusive interest in social philosophy. Buddhism revealed to them a universe of staggering proportions evolving through a sequence of cosmic periods of inconceivable length, the figure of a completely superhuman Saint who in transcendent wisdom, love and power infinitely surpassed any of the earthly-minded sages of Chinese tradition, and a moral and seemingly logical explanation of the problem of universal suffering as well as a detailed and systematical method to escape from it. The new era of greater imagination and widened perspectives which Buddhism initiated in the history of Chinese thought becomes for the first time manifested in the polemic essays of early Buddhist authors. One cannot fail to recognize this in the following, almost ecstatic, passage from Zong Bing's *Mingfo lun*:

> "Stroke your body from the heels upward to the top of the head and continue (this movement) with your thought without (ever reaching) a final point, then (you will realize) the infinity of the four quarters, upward and downward. Life is not independently created: it is always transmitted (from a former existence) to its (present) substrate. If we, gazing upward (into the past), trace back its transmission, it appears to have no beginning; following it (into the future) endless generations will be born one from another and there is no final term either. This (my) person[97] makes daily use of that endless substance; it comes from a beginningless past, and will be transmitted into an endless future. This immeasurable and limitless expanse (of space), this beginningless and endless time—man surely (tries) to cross it together and to make himself at ease in it. That is why (when anciently Zou Yan said that the Chinese) were living in the Red Continent[98] no one ever doubted that the eight extremities[99] (formed the limits of the habitable world). But now, (knowing) that there are three thousand suns and moons and twelve thousand worlds[100] displayed (in the megacosmos), that the sands of the Ganges serve to illustrate the number of regions (in the universe)[101] and the (innumerable) particles of flying dust serve to record the number of cosmic eras, we realize that all (human life) that is contained in the dark transformation is trifling and incomplete. Why then are you only contented with our (Chinese tradition) and doubt the other (teachings)? . . .
>
> What seems great to the world is small to the Way; what seems distant to men is near to Heaven. (People) say: 'How far away is the (primeval) age before Xian-

> yuan!',[102] but in the exalted view of one who embodies the Way of Heaven it just happened yesterday. The *Book of Documents* which is praised as 'knowing the remote'[103] does not go back beyong Tang (= Yao) and Yu (= Shun); the 'composed words' of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* treat no more than (the establishment of) the royal sway. (There are) the 'goodness' and 'reverence' (inspired by) the *Book of Rites* and the *Book of Music*, the 'gentleness' and 'purity' of the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Changes*: but considering how in the infinity (of the universe) three thousand suns and moons are shining to form a chain of splendour, and how twelve thousand worlds are displaying their beauty to show the true (course of Nature),[104] we know that the writings of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius are no more than the response (of these sages) to the primitive need for orderly government, belonging to the domain of (the Liliputian kings) Man and Chu,[105] and just serving to pacify the (people) within the span of their lives.[106] They neglected whatever lies beyond (this earthly) life, 'preserving (these matters) without discussing them'."[107]

However, other, more tangible, proofs were needed to demonstrate that Buddhism was not "volksfremd". In ancient China the only effective way to justify an innovation was to prove that it was no innovation at all, *i.e.*, that it had already existed in the golden past. This need for justification by means of historical precedent gave rise in Buddhist circles to various more or less fantastic theories. We find the following arguments, arranged in ascending order of absurdity:

(1) Buddhism has indeed been mentioned by the ancients;
(2) Buddhism was known even long before Confucius;
(3) China has been converted to Buddhism under Aśoka;
(4) Confucius and Laozi are disciples or manifestations of the Buddha.

Various arguments were developed by early apologetes to prove that Buddhism had been known or even universally accepted in ancient China. The opinions vary as to the period in which the doctrine is supposed to have "gone to the East"; the dates in question range from the era of the mythical Yellow Emperor down to the reign of Qin Shihuangdi, i.e. from about 2700 to the end of the third century BC.

Tang Yongtong has given a summary of most of these fancy theories in the first chapter of his *History of Chinese Buddhism* and has even taken the trouble to demonstrate their fallacy. We shall here describe them in "chronological" order and treat them in some detail; apart from their importance as Buddhist counter-arguments by historical precedent they reveal some aspects of a highly interesting phenomenon which we may call "the Buddhist interpretation of ancient Chinese history".

a) *Zong Bing's theory*. One theory of a more general nature deserves to be treated first. It figures repeatedly in the writings of Zong Bing (375–443) and may indeed go back to this famous painter, scholar and defender of the Doctrine. According to him, the opponent's assertion that Buddhism was unknown in antiquity is no more than an *argumentum ex silentio*. As the Confucian scriptures primarily deal with practical affairs of government and social life, they cannot be expected to contain any reference to more unworldly and transcendental matters; as to the historical records, the available information concerning the earliest periods of Chinese history is so fragmentary—owing to the one-sidedness of the historians as well as to the repeated whole-

sale destructions of literature in the past—that the silence about Buddhism in these records does not prove anything. In fact, some stray phrases and expressions which occur in ancient historical and philosophical texts point—if interpreted "correctly"—to the existence of Buddhism in China at a very early period. In his *Mingfo lun* of 433 Zong Bing says:

> "The historiographer (Sima) Qian says in his account of the Five Emperors that they all 'were born with supernatural intelligence', or 'could speak when (still) being a babe',[108] or 'pronounced their own name (immediately after birth)',[109] that they were 'virtuous, profound, and of clear understanding'[110] and endowed with god-like wisdom: in this way they already resembled the Mahāyāna Bodhisattvas who were born (in this world) by manifesting and transforming themselves (into human beings). (When we read in the *Shiji* how these monarchs) 'dwelt on the hill of Xianyuan',[111] ascended the (mountains of) Kongtong, Fan and Tai,[112] and made journeys to Youling and Panmu,[113] roaming in sublime freedom, how do we know that they did not follow the Way of the Tathāgata?... The words of Guangcheng(zi): 'The essence of the highest Way is hidden and dim'[114] actually refer to the *śūraṃgamasamādhi*.[115] 'He who obtains my Way will be an emperor above, a king below'[116] likewise refers to the kind (of beings) who, going up and down with the transformations (of Nature), become 'flying emperors'[117] or saintly Kings turners-of-the-Wheel. 'He who loses my Way sees the light above, and becomes earth below'[118] likewise refers to one who is born and dies within the spheres of gods and men. (When the Yellow Emperor), moved by the manner of Dagui, 'called him the Heavenly Master and retired',[119] this was likewise an appellation which is among the Ten Epithets (of the Buddha)[120]...Thus it is certain that (Buddhism) was already heard of at the time of the three (Sovereigns) and the Five (Emperors).[121] That this has not been recorded in the scriptures of our country is not valid reason for doubt. For apart from (the few facts mentioned in our) historical documents, what can after all (still) be investigated (about the period) from the Three Eras (Xia, Yin, Zhou) onward down to the time of Confucius and Laozi?"[122]

And, in the same treatise:

> "Moreover, the most ancient records[123] have already been lost, and what (in later times) has been compiled by the vulgar *literati* is exclusively concerned with practical matters of government. Words that transcended (this) world either have disappeared from the historical documents or have been destroyed by the burying (alive of the *literati*) and the burning (of books under Qin Shihuangdi)...But the scholars only cling to their lacunose texts, crude means to save (the present world). They confine themselves to (the teachings of) the Book of Documents and the Book of Rites, and close their ears to the far-reaching influence (of the Doctrine) which fathoms what is spiritual and spans the successive *kalpas*".[124]

Thus Zong Bing deems it possible, nay probable, that Buddhism was practised by the sages of China's past. In a letter to He Chengtian of ca. 433 Zong Bing says:

> "The most excellent (sages) of this (country) adhered to various doctrines in accordance with the exigencies of the times, and Buddhism was also among these. There may indeed have been such who obtained the *dharmatā* in the region of the Yi and the Le, and who partook of the *bhūtakoṭi* on the banks of the Zhu and the Si. But since the historiographer Yi[125] has not recorded (such facts) as not referring to the principles of government, and Bu Shang[126] has not compiled them as being opposed to[127] the methods of Confucianism, and since those (records) which possibly might still have been preserved among the secular scriptures (concealed between) double walls again were burned by the ruler of Qin—(considering all

> this), there is no decisive proof that the Duke of Zhou and Confucius never spoke about (Buddhism)".[128]

Zong Bing's theory seems to have had great success. In spite of its absurd application as far as Buddhism is concerned, it must be admitted that here we find an awareness of the one-sidedness and limitations of traditional Chinese historiography which is exceptional. His arguments are repeated by several later apologetes[129] and eventually even found their way into the bibliographical section of the *Suishu*.[130]

b) *The Shanhai jing*. One of the stereotyped "proofs" for the fact that Buddhism had been heard of in China in a very distant past was furnished by a passage from the *Shanhai jing* 山海經, a work which at least since the first century BC was ascribed to Yu and Bo Yi 伯益, the son of Shun (22nd century BC!), and which professes to give a description of the maps engraved on the famous "nine tripods" of Yu. The phrases in question occur in the section on "the Region within the Seas" 海內經—which part of the work certainly dates from Han times—and runs as follows:

> "Within the Eastern Sea, (near) the corner of the Northern Sea, there are (two) countries named Chaoxian 朝鮮 and Tiandu 天毒. The inhabitants of these countries live at the sea (coast); they are kind and full of love towards men".[131]

In the commentary by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324), Tiandu is identified with Tianzhu 天竺 (India), and the fact that he immediately after these words comes to speak about Buddhism makes it probable that he, like all later Buddhist apologetes, interprets the words about the philantropic qualities of the people of Tiandu as referring to the Buddhist ideals of kindness and compassion. It is not quite impossible that this is correct.[132] Since in the fourth and fifth century no doubt seems to have existed regarding the authenticity of the *Shanhai jing* as a product of the early Xia (trad. 2205–1766 BC), the passage could certainly be used to demonstrate that Buddhism was to some extent known to the Chinese sages of the most venerable antiquity. However, even the Chinese defenders of the faith must have been aware of the fact that the text as it stands does not sound very convincing; after all, grouping together Korea and India as two islands in the North-Eastern sea inhabited by humanitarian fishermen does not strike us as an example of geographic accuracy. This is no doubt the reason why the Buddhist apologetes never quote this passage literally, but wisely present their readers with a shortened version. Thus e.g. Zong Bing in his *Mingfo lun*:

> "In the *Shanhai* (*jing*) made by Bo Yi (it is said) that 'the inhabitants of the country of Tiandu are kind and full of love towards men'; Guo Pu says in his commentary: 'What the Ancients called Tiandu is the same as Tianzhu; this is where Buddhism has originated'.[133] (The words) 'kind' and 'full of love' (are here used) in the sense of the teaching of the great compassion of the Tathāgata".[134]

In the same way Daoxuan quotes only a few words of the original text, in which he, moreover, changes Tiandu into Shendu 申毒.[135]

c) *King Zhuang of Zhou*. The theory that Buddhism was known, or at least heard of, in China in the middle and early Zhou period is closely connected with the Chinese speculations about the date of the Buddha's birth and *Nirvāṇa*. In general there were two systems of dating these events, one placing the birth of Śākyamuni on the eighth day of the fourth month of the tenth

year of king Zhuang (686 BC), the other one placing it on the same day of the 24th year of King Zhao (958 BC, acc. to the chronology of the *Zhushu jinian*, cf. below). Of these the first appears to be the older one. In the *Suihua jili* 歲華記麗, an obscure work by a further unknown Tang author named Han E 韓鄂,[136] we find a quotation from the lost *Hou-Han shu* of Xie Cheng 謝承 (first half third cent.) in which the year 686 BC, with the (incorrect) cyclical characters *jiayin*, is given as the date of the Buddha's birth. The reason for assuming this date is not far to seek. The *Chunqiu*, seventh year of duke Zhuang of Lu, contains the following entry:

> "In the fourth month of summer, on the day *xinmao*, in the evening, the permanent stars were not visible. At midnight, stars were falling like rain".[137]

To which the *Zuozhuan* remarks:

> "That 'in summer, the permanent stars were not visible' is because the night was (extraordinarily) bright".[138]

The conclusion is obvious. According to the Indian tradition the conception—not the birth[139]—of the Buddha took place during the Midsummer Festival, on the eighth day of the fourth month. The event was (like other great happenings in the Buddha's life) accompanied by a great number of auspicious signs, one of these being a dazzling light spreading through the universe, whereas in all quarters of the heavens the weather became fair.[140] Already at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century some Buddhist with a literary education seems to have noticed the extraordinary correspondence between the date and circumstances of the Buddha's "birth" as described in the Buddhist scriptures and the passage from the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the only slight divergence being that the day *xinmao* was the fifth and not the eighth of the fourth month. It is perhaps no coincidence that Zhi Qian in his translation of the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T 185, Kyōto ed. p. 238A1), one of the earliest Chinese biographies of the Buddha (trsl. 222–229 AD), says that "on the eighth day of the fourth month, *when the night was bright*" (夜明) the Buddha was born", using exactly the words of the *Zuozhuan* passage mentioned.

This chronology seems to have been generally accepted till the late fifth or early sixth century. We find it mentioned e.g. in the section on Buddhism of the *Weishu*[141] and in the *Erjiao lun* 二教論 by Dao'an (written 570/571 AD)[142] who, however, by an extremely complicated chronological computation reaches the conclusion that the event described in the *Chunqiu* does not coincide with the Buddha's conception but with his enlightenment. The unknown source on which Xie Cheng based his account represents one of the first cases of Chinese classical literature being used to corroborate a Buddhist theory.

The passage from the *Chunqiu* lent itself easily to literary elaboration. The legend which was built up around it, no doubt dealing with the happenings at the Zhou court in that clear but starless night, has been lost, but its existence in the sixth century is proved by a single quotation in Dao'an's *Erjiao lun*:

> "It is said in the Unofficial Biography of King Zhuang (*Zhuangwang biezhuan* 莊王別傳): 'The king thereupon had (the court diviners) consult the stalks (according to the *Book*) *of Changes*. They said: 'In the Western Regions a copper-coloured man has appeared in the world—that is why the night is bright. It does not mean disaster for China'."[143]

d) *King Zhao and King Mu.* In connection with this kind of pseudo-historical literature something may be said about the second theory concerning the date of the Buddha's birth, although this one is of a much later date and actually falls outside our period. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan*[144] contains an account of the dispute between Buddhists and Daoists held at the court of the Tuoba Wei in 520 AD. When invited to state the exact dates of the Buddha's birth and death, the monk Tanmozui 曇謨最, who was the spokesman of the Buddhists, declared that the Buddha had been born on the eighth day of the fourth month of the 24th year of king Zhao (958 BC acc. to the chronology of the *Zhushu jinian*) and had entered *Nirvāṇa* on the 15th day of the second month of the 52nd year of king Mu (878 BC), basing this statement on the *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記 and the *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳. Both works are well-known Buddhist apocrypha, extensively quoted in Buddhist apologetic literature from the sixth century onward; the fact that we find them mentioned for the first time in the discussions at the Tuoba court in 520 may point to a northern origin.[145] One of these quotations from the *Zhoushu yiji* contains the legendary story of king Zhao and king Mu.

> "In the 24th year of the reign of king Zhao of Zhou, in the year *jiayin*, on the eighth day of the fourth month, the rivers and streams, springs and ponds suddenly rose, and the water of all wells overflowed. The palace halls and the houses of men, the mountains and rivers and the great earth were all moved and trembled. In that night a luminous emanation of five colours went through (the constellation) *taiwei* and spread all over the western part (of the sky), which became all blue and red. King Zhao of Zhou asked the Grand Astrologer Su You 蘇由: 'What omen is this?' Su You replied: 'A great Sage is born in the West, therefore this auspicious portent is manifested'. King Zhao asked: 'What (effect will this have) on the Empire?' Su You replied: 'At present nothing else (will happen), but after a thousand years the doctrine (expounded by his) voice will reach this country.' Then King Zhao ordered him to engrave an account (of these happenings) on a stone (stela) and to bury this before the altar of Heaven in the southern outskirts (of the capital)... In the 32nd year of the reign of king Mu, several times luminous emanations were visible in the western part (of the sky). (The king) had already heard about the account made by Su You, and knew that in the West there was a Sage dwelling in the world, but king Mu did not understand the principles of this (Sage), and feared that (his presence) was not favourable for the Way of Zhou. Therefore he entered the Western (Region) together with his chancellor the marquis of Lü, and assembled his vassals at the Tu Shan in order to exorcise the evil influence of the luminous portent.[146] In the 52nd year of king Mu, in the year *renshen*, on the 15th day of the second month at dawn, a fierce wind suddenly rose, tearing down the houses of men and damaging and breaking trees; the mountains and rivers and the great earth were all moved by an earthquake. After noon the sky was covered with black clouds, and in the West there were twelve white rainbows going from North to South, which even at night did not fade away. King Mu asked the Grand Astrologer Hu Duo 扈多: 'What sign is this?' Hu Duo replied: 'In the West a Sage has reached extinction; these are merely the signs of decline which are manifested (at this passing away)'...".[147]

Here the romanticized figure of King Mu—at that time already one of the major heroes of mythology—has been drawn into the sphere of Buddhist pious fiction and propaganda. In a still later story we see him transformed into a devout Buddhist, burning incense and founding temples.[148]

The starting-point of this second chronology and its legendary elaboration

must be sought in another ancient historical work, the "Annals written on Bamboo", *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年. This is of course not the place to discuss the problems connected with the discovery and *Tekstgestalt* of the original *Zhushu jinian*, the date of its disappearance and the nature of the work which now bears that title. For a comparison between the passage from the *Zhoushu yiji* and the ancient *Zhushu jinian* we may refer to the appendix to this chapter.

In both cases the speculations about the dates of the Buddha's birth and *Nirvāṇa* followed the same line of development: an entry in an ancient Chinese chronicle (in one case the *Chunqiu*, in the other the *Zhushu jinian*) was interpreted as referring to these events, and in this way it became the starting-point of a legend with the supernatural manifestations of the Buddha's coming and passing away in the East and the reactions of the Chinese king to these heavenly signs as its central theme—both legends finally finding their literary expression in two Buddhist apocryphal works, the *Zhuangwang biezhuan* and the *Zhoushu yiji*.

e) *Confucius and the Western Sage*. That Confucius himself knew about the existence and superiority of Buddhism and that he even at one occasion alluded to the Buddha was demonstrated by means of a remarkable passage from the *Liezi*:

> "The *taizai* of the Shang (*i.e.*, the chief minister of the state of Song which was still ruled by the descendants of the royal house of Shang) visited Confucius and asked: 'Are you a Sage?' Confucius replied: 'How would I, Qiu, presume (to call myself) a Sage? In fact, I am (only) one who has extensively studied and who has (stored up) much knowledge'". (Then the *taizai* asks the same question about the Three Kings, the Five Emperors and the Three Sovereigns, the paragons of wisdom and virtue of remote antiquity, and in all these cases Confucius refuses to call them Sages). "The *taizai* of Shang grew greatly bewildered and asked: 'Who then is a Sage?' Confucius changed countenance, and after a pause he said: 'Among the people of the West there is a Sage. He does not speak and is yet spontaneously believed, he does not (consciously) convert people and yet (his doctrine) is spontaneously realized. How vast he is! There is none among the people who can find a name for it!'".[149]

Daoxuan, who reproduces this passage in a slightly deviating version at the beginning of his *Guang hongming ji*,[150] draws the following conclusion:

> "To judge from this (text), Confucius was fully aware of the fact that the Buddha was a great Sage. But at that time no opportunity had as yet arisen (to expound the doctrine), so he knew it but remained silent…".

What must we think of this text? Tang Yongtong[151] thinks that the words in question do not refer to the Buddha but to Laozi after his "going to the West" and to his alleged missionary activities in these regions, about which we shall come to speak below. But Tang Yongtong, though dismissing the *Liezi* as a comparatively late forgery, does not envisage the possibility of Buddhist influence or interpolation. However, the existence of Buddhist elements in the *Liezi* is not merely a possibility but a proven fact.

It is well-known that the present text of the *Liezi*, which professes to date from the fifth century BC, is at least partly a forgery of the third or early fourth century AD. Around the middle of the fourth century the text was edited by a certain Zhang Zhan 張湛 who also wrote a commentary and a

preface to it. About this scholar nothing more is known than what may be gathered from the preface. Here Zhang Zhan relates how part of the text had been saved from destruction by his grandfather when he escaped to the South ca. 311 AD, where he succeeded in finding the remaining portion of the *Liezi* in the houses of other collectors.

Ji Xianlin 季羡林 in his article "*Liezi* and Buddhist Sūtras—a note on the author of *Liezi* and the date of its composition" (*Studia Serica* IX. 1 pp. 18–32, Beijing/Chengdu 1950) has given a useful survey of the opinions of a host of Chinese scholars from Tang times onward about the authenticity of this work. The author moreover has attempted to demonstrate—not very convincingly—that the forger of the text was no other than Zhang Zhan himself. He furthermore draws our attention to a passage in *Liezi* (V. 61, the story of king Mu and the human automaton), which not only clearly testifies of Buddhist influence or interpolation, but also furnishes a *terminus post quem*: this story about the mechanical man agrees almost literally with section 24 of the *Foshuo guowang wuren jing* 佛說國王五人經 in the *Shengjing* (T 154 III 88.1.13 sqq. = Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues* III. 166–175), a collection of *jātakas* translated by Dharmarakṣa in 285 AD.

There is, however, another indication which entirely corroborates this date. In ch. III. 32 sqq. we find a description of the travels of king Mu in the West and his visit to the mysterious "Queen-mother of the West" which corresponds almost word for word with various passages from the *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳. As is known from various contemporary and later sources—and there is no reason to doubt the tradition—this work was discovered in 279/280 AD in the tomb of king Xiang 襄 of Wei 魏 (ca. 300 BC) at Jijun 汲郡 (Henan), together with a number of other texts.[152] Of all these works only fragments have survived, with the exception of the *Mu tianzi zhuan* which was carefully transcribed into *lishu* by a commission of scholars and edited shortly after 281, *i.e.*, less than four years before Dharmarakṣa completed the Chinese version of the *Shengjing*.

Zhang Zhan himself says in his Preface to the *Liezi* that many passages show affinity with the teachings of Buddhist scriptures. He would hardly have said so if he had written these passages himself. The same holds good for the quotations from the *Mu tianzi zhuan* which are qualified as such by Zhang Zhan in his commentary—no doubt with the implication that these are quotations made by Liezi *before* the burial of the text, i.e. before ca. 300 BC. If Zhang Zhan himself would have pilfered the newly discovered text of the *Mu tianzi zhuan* to concoct this passage, we would not expect him to focus our attention upon this fact by naming his source. These facts—to which may be added that Zhang Zhan in his commentary shows no signs of Buddhist influence—show that Ji Xianlin's theory about the authorship of the present *Liezi* is no longer tenable. Anyhow, several passages have already long ago been recognized as containing Buddhist ideas or themes, such as the qualification of all life and matter as "illusion" *huan* 幻 (the standard Chinese rendering of *māyā*; the word does not occur in this sense in pre-Han Daoist literature),[153] Confucius' praising remarks about the Western Sage which we have quoted above, and the story of king Mu and the magician (*huaren* 化人, again the standard translation of *māyākāra*) from the far West.[154] This last legend is of particular interest, being, as far as I have

been able to ascertain, the earliest occurrence of a theme which, in numerous variant versions, is to be found in Indian and Islamic literature.[155]

All these passages may safely be regarded as products of the very end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. It is definitely wrong to regard the whole text as spurious or post-Han. It contains very old material, as appears *e.g.*, from the many sections which often in identical form also occur in *Zhuangzi* and other early philosophical works[156] and from the fact that the present text of the *Liezi* is quoted in some Han works.[157]

In view of these facts we may envisage the possibility that the *Liezi* passage about Confucius and the Western Sage is a Buddhist interpolation, a piece of pious propaganda inserted into the text of the *Liezi* before its final redaction.

f) *King Zhao of Yan*. Somewhat later, but still dating from the fourth century, is the tradition about king Zhao of Yan (311–279 BC) and his mysterious visitor named Shiluo 尸羅 ("Śīla"?). We read in the *Shiyi ji* 拾遺記 by Wang Jia 王嘉 (died ca. 390) that in the seventh year of the reign of this king

> "(emissaries from) the country of Muxu 沐胥 came to court; this (Muxu) is an(other) name for India. (Among them) there was a practitioner of 'Daoist' arts 道術人 named Shiluo. When asked about his age he said to be 130 years old. He carried a (monk's staff) with metal (rings) (*khakkhāraka*) and held an (alms)bowl, and said that five years after having left his country he had reached the capital of Yan. He was good at performing magical tricks; (out of) the tips of his fingers he made appear a pagoda of ten storeys which was three feet high".[158]

The complete text of the *Shiyi ji* was lost at a very early date; the present text is a compilation of fragments edited at the beginning of the sixth century by Xiao Qi 蕭綺. Tang Yongtong (*op. cit.* p. 5) suspects this passage of being an interpolation dating from the first half of the sixth century, but there is no reason to do so. The author, Wang Jia, was a famous Daoist eccentric. He practised abstinence from grains, went around in a coarse garment and lived in a mountain cave together with several hundreds of disciples. Later he moved to the vicinity of Chang'an, where he had many contacts with the Tibetan ruler Fu Jian 苻堅 (357–384) and his courtiers. These relations would already suffice to bring him into contact with Buddhism, which was so much stimulated by Fu Jian. But furthermore we read both in his biography in the *Jinshu*[159] and in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, where a whole paragraph is devoted to his life,[160] that he was an intimate friend of Dao'an 道安 (312–385), by far the most important Buddhist master of his time. There is consequently no reason to regard the passage in question as a sixth century interpolation. As a matter of course a Daoist master who, like Wang Jia, maintained close relations with a fervently Buddhist court had to make some concessions. We find the same hybridization of Daoism in the case of Fu Lang 苻朗, one of Fu Jian's nephews who wrote a Daoist work called *Fuzi* 苻子: the book has been lost, but in one of the few surviving fragments it is solemny stated that "Śākyamuni was the master of *Laozi*".[161] We have mentioned the story about king Zhao of Yan for completeness' sake, since it speaks about the arrival into China of what seems to be a Buddhist magician. However, we cannot go so far as to interpret this fragment of the *Shiyi ji* as a piece of propaganda in favour of Buddhism; in spite of its outward

resemblance it does not belong to the same category as the texts which have been treated above.

g) *The "relics of Aśoka"*. Even more curious than these texts and their Buddhist interpretation is another phenomenon which at least from the beginning of the fourth century AD onward is well-attested in our sources: the search for the "relics of Aśoka". Although religious propaganda may not have been the only motive behind these activities, they were certainly in the first place a result of the urge to prove the early existence of Buddhism on Chinese soil.

It is quite understandable that the idealized figure of king Aśoka as he appears in Buddhist literature was predestined to make a great impression upon the Chinese cultured public. The traditional Chinese ideal of the saintly ruler who by following the rules of the ancient sages brings peace and prosperity to his people, so that finally the whole world comes to submit to his authority, closely resembles the Buddhist conception of the *dharmarāja*, who by his religious devotion and by his love and compassion for all mankind is able to extend his sway over the whole continent of Jambudvīpa. Already before the end of the fifth century a considerable number of scriptures partly or wholly devoted to the almost completely legendarized life of this monarch had been translated into Chinese; many of these have been lost, and in most cases the date of translation is a matter of conjecture.[162] The most important early hagiographic account of Aśoka's life is the *(A)yu wang zhuan* [阿]育王傳 in seven *juan* (T 2042), which according to rather late bibliographic sources was translated in 306 AD by the Parthian An Faqin 安法欽.[163]

Two facts mentioned in these works are of primary importance for our subject: (1) that Aśoka reigned over the whole continent of Jambudvīpa, (2) that Aśoka, aided by *yakṣas*, distributed the relics of the Buddha over no less than 84.000 stūpas which were built in one day all over the continent.[164] The Chinese naturally concluded (1) that China, being a part of Jambudvīpa, had in the past belonged to Aśoka's empire and consequently had been converted to Buddhism under this king; (2) that the soil of China, if carefully investigated, might appear still to contain some traces of this golden age of Buddhism: remains of the stūpas or even the holy relics themselves.

These considerations resulted, probably since the first half of the fourth century, in a most peculiar kind of archeological field-work. In the course of two centuries no less than nineteen sites were found, and a great number of basements of stūpas, ancient statues with or without inscriptions and Buddha-relics were excavated.

As far as our period is concerned, at least nine of such discoveries are reported.

(1) According to a late tradition, there had been an "Aśoka-monastery" 阿育王寺 at Pengcheng 彭城, the capital of the kingdom of Chu and one of the earliest Buddhist centres in China, in the middle of the first century AD.[165] This monastery should have been founded by the famous Liu Ying 劉英, king of Chu (about whom see above, p. 26); the name no doubt implies that it was built at the site of an ancient stūpa dating from Aśoka's time. As such it is mentioned in a later list of "Aśoka-monasteries".[166] There is, however, no reason to suppose that the name of the monastery and the legend about its origin go back to such a very early date.

(2) The next case is equally suspect. According to the *Gaoseng zhuan*[167] Kang Senghui 康僧會, who in 248 arrived at Jianye, the capital of Wu, was immediately brought before the ruler Sun Quan 孫權. When the latter demanded visible proof of the supernatural qualities of the doctrine, Senghui answered: "The remaining bones and (other) relics spread their light in all directions. Anciently, king Aśoka erected as many as 84.000 stūpas (containing such relics)...", and after three weeks a shining and indestructible relic suddenly appeared. Sun Quan was converted by this miracle and founded the Jianchu monastery 建初寺 at Jianye. It goes without saying that the biography of Kang Senghui—and especially the story about the sudden appearance of the relic—belongs to the realm of hagiography. The same holds good for the "golden statue of king Aśoka" which according to the same biography was obtained by the last ruler of Wu, Sun Hao 孫浩 (264–280).[168] The value of these stories as symptomatic of the custom of searching for such "relics" depends of course on the date of the documents from which the biography of Kang Senghui was compiled; the earliest extant source for the story of Sun Quan's conversion is to be dated in the middle of the fifth century.[169]

(3) Probably historical is the finding of several objects under the Hun ruler Shi Hu 石虎 (335–349) who had his capital at Ye 鄴 (near the present Linzhang 臨漳 in Henan). We read in the biography of Fotudeng 佛圖澄 (?–348) in the *Gaoseng zhuan* that, when the monks at the capital were building a temple but could not find either the material or the funds for the "dew-receivers" (*chenglu pan* 承露盤, the metal discs at the top of a pagoda), the master revealed to them the site of an ancient stūpa of king Aśoka somewhere within the city-walls of Linzi 臨淄 (near Guangrao 廣饒 in Shandong). He drew a map indicating the exact place where the remains of the building could be found. These had been deeply buried in the soil and were overgrown with dense vegetation, but the pious excavators finally succeeded in finding a *chenglu pan* and a Buddha statue.[170] The finding of the remains of this stūpa is mentioned in almost identical terms in documents of the middle of the fifth century;[171] the site of Linzi figures among the Aśoka-temples enumerated by Daoxuan in his *Guang hongming ji*, where he also summarizes the story of its discovery.[172]

(4) Slightly earlier, in 313 AD, two stone statues had been found by a fisherman at the mouth of the Songjiang (near present-day Shanghai); according to the story they were floating on the water and were hauled ashore by a Buddhist retired scholar named Zhu Ying 朱應. The statues were inscribed on the back, one bearing the name of Vipaśyin (Weiwei 惟衛), the other one that of Kāśyapa (Jiaye 迦葉). Although they are not said to date from the time of Aśoka, the context (the pilgrimage of Huida, see below, no. 6) makes clear that they were regarded as such.[173] The two statues were placed in the Tongming monastery 通明寺 at Wujun 吳郡 (the present Suzhou).

(5) According to the biography of Jiantuole 建陀勒 (early fourth century) in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, this master, about whom practically nothing more is known, is said to have indicated to the monks at Luoyang the site of an ancient temple at the Panzhi mountain 槃鵄[174] some 100 *li* South-East of Luoyang. The monks started digging at this spot and found the stone

basement of a stūpa. It was subsequently rebuilt and Jiantuoluo was made abbot over it.[175]

(6) *Gaoseng zhuan* XIII contains the biography of the monk Huida 慧達 (second half fourth century), whose lay name had been Liu Sahe 劉薩阿 (*var.* 薩呵 or 訶, a quasi-Indian name which itself already points to Buddhist influence). After his conversion he decided to devote the rest of his life to the discovery and cult of the relics of Aśoka.[176] After having seen the "stūpa and statues of Aśoka" at Wujun in Kuaiji (for the statues see above, no. 4; the stūpa is not mentioned elsewhere) he went shortly after 373 to Jiankang, the capital of the Eastern Jin. There he found under the pagoda of the Changgansi 長干寺 (founded by emperor Jianwen, 371–373) at a depth of ca. ten feet a stone case containing a silver case, which in turn enclosed a golden case. Herein he found three Buddha-relics. "This then was one of the 84.000 stūpas erected by king Aśoka at the time of the Zhou king Xuan (*i.e.*, ca. 800 BC)".[177]

The treasures of the basement of the Changgansi were not yet exhausted: when in 538 the pagoda was rebuilt, several other relics were found, the discovery of which was solemnly announced in an edict of emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty,[178] only one month after a surprising find of relics at Shangyu 上虞 in Zhejiang.

After having visited the bronze statue in Changgansi which had been excavated ca. 330 AD and which bore the significant inscription "made by the fourth daughter of king Aśoka" 是育王第四女所造,[179] Huida returned to Kuaiji. Here people had discovered the foundations of a stūpa of Aśoka near Mouxian 貿縣 (East of the present Yinxian 鄞縣 in Zhejiang).[180] Huida restored the stūpa, which afterwards was further enlarged by Meng Yi 孟顗, the prefect of Mouxian.

(7) According to Daoxuan,[181] at the beginning of the *taiyuan* era (376–396) a golden image suddenly appeared North of the city-wall of Jiangling 江陵 (Hubei); on the aureole there was an inscription which read "made by Aśoka" 育王所造. It was brought to the Changsha monastery 長沙寺 at Jiangling; emperor Wu of the Liang (502–550) had it transported to Jiankang. However, Daoxuan seems to have been mistaken is assigning this event to the *beginning* of the *taiyuan* era. Unless the same miracle happened twice in practically the same way—a possibility which should not be ruled out when dealing with miracles—this statue is identical with the one described in the biography of Tanyi 曇翼 in the *Gaoseng zhuan*.[182] Tanyi, who had been a disciple of Dao'an, was at the end of the fourth century abbot of the Changsha monastery. On March 25 of the year 394, a statue appeared North of the city-wall of Jiangling. It bore a Sanskrit inscription which was later deciphered by the *dhyāna*-master Saṅghānanda 僧伽難陀 from Kashmir, who told the monks that the image had indeed been made by Aśoka.

(8) In the first half of the fourth century there was in the Hanqisi 寒溪寺 at Wuchang a statue ascribed to Aśoka, which had been discovered in the sea before the coast of Guangzhou 廣州 (Guangdong). The governor Tao Kan 陶侃 (259–334) had it transported to Wuchang and placed it in the temple. Before long the Hanqisi burned down, but the statue was preserved, and when Tao Kan's term of office had expired he wanted to take it with him. The boat which carried the statue sunk, and nobody could pull

it out. Finally Huiyuan succeeded in saving the statue and had it brought to the Donglin monastery 東林寺 on Lu Shan, probably around the end of the fourth century.[183] There it could still be seen at the time of Daoxuan, in the middle of the seventh century.[184]

(9) When Yao Xu 姚緒, a paternal uncle of the Tibetan ruler Yao Xing, was military governor of Puban 蒲坂 in present-day Shanxi (i.e. in or shortly after 396, acc. to *ZZTJ* 108.1280b), a luminous emanation was seen at a spot which traditionally was called "the place of the Aśoka-temple". Here a stone case was excavated, in which there was a silver box which contained a fragment of bone of the Buddha.[185] The site of this stūpa is also mentioned in Daoxuan's list of Aśoka-relics in his *Guang hongming ji*.[186] The search went on: Daoxuan gives a list of sixteen Aśoka-temples as well an account of the discovery and the miraculous qualities of these buildings; nineteen of such remains are enumerated by Daoshi 道世 in ch. 38 of his *Fayuan zhulin*.[187]

It would be wrong to regard religious propaganda and the need for historical precedent as the sole motives behind these activities. In the first place, as Tang Yongtong rightly remarks,[188] many of the objects discovered probably were not fakes but actual vestiges of ancient buildings. When digging into the soil of the North China plain or Northern Zhejiang, centres of Chinese civilisation from the earliest times onward, it is actually difficult not to find anything, and in some of these cases credulity and ignorance coupled with religious enthusiasm may have been at work rather than a conscious desire to produce convincing pieces of evidence.

But we must also consider these findings in connection with the well-known practice of reporting the discovery of objects with auspicious significance to the court as tangible proofs of the ruler's virtue. This practice is of course merely one aspect of the traditional belief in portents by which Heaven was supposed to show its approval or disapproval with the conduct of the sovereign; such "findings" are well-attested at least from Han times onward. The discovery of ancient seals and other regalia, amulets, inscribed stones, jade or bronze objects etc. was regarded as an auspicious omen, and the sites at which they were found are often said to have been marked by luminous emanations or other supernatural phenomena.[189] It is a remarkable fact that many of the "relics of Aśoka" were found by people who had close connections with the court. We may conclude that the "relics of Aśoka" and the miraculous happenings connected with their discovery served a dual purpose: they proved the existence of a Buddhist period in ancient Chinese history, thus providing the Buddhist clergy with the necessary pedigree and thereby enhancing its prestige, and at the same time they could be interpreted as auspicious omens evoked by the virtous conduct of the secular ruler. This latter aspect of the Buddhist miracle became very prominent in Sui times.[190]

The fourth and most peculiar type of Buddhist counter-argumentation, *viz*. the theory that Confucius, Laozi, Yan Hui and other great sages from China's past had actually been disciples or manifestations of the Buddha, sent to or evoked in the East in order to convert the Chinese, will be discussed in the next chapter, where this theory will be treated in connection with the so-called *huahu* controversy.

(4) *Anti-clericalism: moral arguments.*

The family is the base of ancient Chinese society and, as such, the cornerstone of all social ethics. The paramount role of filial piety, the subordination of the individual to the interest of the family, and the importance of marriage as a means to ensure the continuation of the paternal lineage are axiomatic: celibacy has never been known in China before the introduction of Buddhism; one of the Confucian canonical works, the *Xiaojing* 孝經, is exclusively devoted to the virtue of Filial Piety; "lack of filial piety" is a capital crime,[191] to have no posterity the greatest of disasters.[192] The body "which one has obtained from one's parents" must be preserved intact as a living monument of filial piety.[193]

Needless to say that a community the members of which profess to "withdraw from the household into the houseless state", to sever all social ties, to observe strict celibacy throughout life, to shave their heads and to indulge in several forms of bodily mortification ran counter to the most fundamental principles of Chinese ethics.

Criticism is not only voiced against the act of withdrawing from family and society, but also against the outward signs symbolizing the monk's rupture with his clan and with the conventions of the world: his strange and conspicuous dress,[194] his way of squatting down at meals[195] and the change of the original surname into a religious name, an interesting phenomenon which seems to date from the early third century (cf. above, Ch. II note 213). Before the second half of the fourth century those who entered the *saṅgha* used to change their original surname into that of their master (which, if the latter was a foreigner, was actually not a surname but a kind of ethnic appellation: An 安 for Parthians, Zhi 支 for Yuezhi, Zhu 竺 for Indians, Yu 于 for Khotanese, Kang 康 for Soghdians and Bo 帛—the Chinese transcription of the surname of the reigning family of Kuchā—for Kucheans). This habit was changed by Dao'an, who when living in Xiangyang (*i.e.*, between 365 and 379) introduced Shi 釋 (for Shijia 釋迦, Anc. **śi̯ăk.ka* = Śakya) as the standard surname for all Buddhist monks.[196] When some years later (in 385) this innovation appeared to be justified by a passage from the *Ekottarāgama*,[197] it became a general practice. The famous Zhu Daosheng 竺道生, who died in 434, was one of the last Chinese monks with a religious surname of the old type mentioned in our sources.[198] To us, changing one's name may appear rather trivial; in a society where the family and everything pertaining to it was almost sacrosanct, it must have been a symbolic act of the greatest significance.

The Buddhist "mutilation of the body", even if it did not go further than the tonsure, was highly offensive to the moral standards of the Chinese public, and constitutes another stereotyped anti-clerical argument. To the Chinese the tonsure must have been reminiscent of the treatment of persons condemned to the heavy type of hard labour; those condemned to lighter punishments are expressly said to be left "intact".[199] The former either had their beard and moustaches removed, or they had their head shaved in addition.[200] In the second century AD popular custom did not allow newly released convicts (in actual practice always men condemned to hard labour) to visit the tombs of their ancestors, the motive being that "those who have undergone punishment, have had their head shaved and their beard cut off, whilst on their body they have suffered the bastinado".[201]

There were, however, far more serious cases of mutilation, occasionally even resulting in religious suicide. The latter practice is of course against the spirit of Buddhism which most emphatically rejects the extreme forms of self-mortification. The countless tales about Bodhisattvas sacrificing their bodies for the sake of other beings, of which the *Jātaka* literature contains the most famous examples, serve to extol the ideals of perfect equanimity (*kṣānti*, 忍) and boundless mercy of the Buddhist saint. They have never been interpreted in Indian Buddhism as giving rules of conduct to be followed by the Buddhist monk in this world.[202]

In China, however, we know of quite a number of cases in which the "sacrifice of the body" was interpreted in this way, and practised accordingly.

The custom of *yishen* 遺身, "abandoning the body", can be traced to one definite literary source: it was inspired by the story of the Bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarśana 一切眾生喜見菩薩 as related in the twelfth chapter of the *Lotus sūtra*.[203] This Bodhisattva, who in later existence was to become the Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja 藥王菩薩, innumerable eons ago served the Buddha Candrasūryavimalaprabhāsa śri 日月淨明德如來, and as a result of his devotion he obtained the "concentration by which one may manifest all forms" (*sarvarūpasaṃdarśanasamādhi*, 現一切身色三昧). In order to show his gratitude he partook of a great quantity of oil and incense and burned his body as a living candle.

In the fourth century we find only one case mentioned of such a "sacrifice of the body" (*ātmabhāvaparityāga*): the monk Fayu 法羽, "desirous to follow the example of Bhaiṣajyarāja", decided to burn his body and asked permission to do this from Yao Xu 姚緒 (a paternal uncle of the Tibetan ruler Yao Xing) who at that time was military governor of Puban 蒲坂 in present-day Shanxi.[204] Not without hesitation the magistrate allowed him to carry out his plan; Fayu thereupon wrapped his body in oil-soaked bandages, recited the *Bhaiṣajyarājaparivarta* of the *Lotus sūtra* and burned himself.[205]

The practice of self-conflagration grew into a macabre kind of fashion in the course of the fifth century. In 425 Huishao 慧紹 is moved by the example of Bhaiṣajyarāja and burns himself before a large crowd of spectators.[206] In 455 Sengyu 僧瑜, on account of the same text, ascends the pyre after having assembled a great multitude of monks and laymen, and goes on reciting the *Lotus sūtra* until the flames have reached his head and his voice gives out;[207] Zhang Bian 張辯, the governor of Pingnan 平南, who was present at the scene, described it in an eulogy (贊), the text of which has been preserved in the *Gaoseng zhuan*.[208] The governor of Shu is present among an enormous crowd of spectators when the twenty-two year old Sengqing 僧慶 publicly burns himself "at Chengdu, west of the Wudan monastery, before a statue of Vimalakīrti" in the year 459.[209] Four years later the emperor, the princes, court-ladies and many other prominent spectators witness the burning of Huiyi 慧益 who after extensive preparations soaks his garments in oil, sets fire to them and goes on chanting the *Bhaiṣajyarājaparivarta* as long as he can speak,[210] etc. etc. The sickening description of these and many other cases is to be found in *GSZ* XII and *Xu GSZ* XXVII.

Objections on moral grounds constitute the mightiest weapon of the opposition; they are repeated again and again, and there is hardly any field in which the defenders of Buddhism had to use more ingenuity in finding convincing counter-arguments.

One example may suffice;

> "The conduct of the *śramaṇa* consists of forsaking those who have given birth to him; he rejects his kin and turns to strangers; he shaves his beard and hair and mutilates his natural appearance. When (his parents) are alive, he abstains from supporting them 'with joyful countenance',[211] and when they are dead he discontinues the sacrifices (to their *manes*). He puts his blood-relatives on a par with strangers passing on the road: there is no greater disregard of right principles and violation of human feelings than this!".[212]

The Buddhist apologetes adduce various arguments to reconcile the *pravrajya* with the Chinese ideal standards of social behaviour. The first Chinese eulogistic description of the monastic life is to be found in Kang Senghui's preface to the *Ugra*(*datta*)*paripṛcchā* 法鏡經序 (mid. third cent.). In this interesting document the secular life and in particular the life in the family is condemned as the fountain-head of all evil and impurities. But after having done so, Senghui goes on describing the monastic life in the terms of the traditional Chinese (and more specifically Daoist) ideals of tranquillity, purity and mystic unity with nature:

> "Absorbed in silent thought they dwell in deep seclusion, as people of insight and wisdom keep away from nefarious (situations). They shave their heads and mutilate their (natural) appearance, regarding their religious garment as precious. Quietly they dwell in (their) temple halls whilst purifying their feelings and expelling whatever is unclean (in them); they cherish the Way and proclaim its Virtue so as to be a kind guide to the deaf and the blind. Others again live concealed among mountains and pools, pillowing their heads on the rocks and rinsing their mouths in (mountain) streams. They concentrate their minds in order to clean themselves from (all) impurities, and their souls are united with the Way. Since their ambitions have become extinguished, they are equal to the Nameless; the (beneficial) influence of their enlightened (minds) encompasses all beings".[213]

Here the problem of the incompatibility of the monastic life with the demands of filial piety is not touched upon: the family is still the origin of all evil, and the true goal can only be realized by breaking away from it.

In later apologetic treatises other arguments are used. Huiyuan, in the first section of his famous essay "About the *śramaṇa* not paying homage to the ruler" (cf. above, p. 238) stresses the relationship between the two concepts:

> "Therefore they who rejoice in the doctrine of Śākya(muni) always first serve their parents and respect the ruler. Those who want to change the secular life and to throw away the hair-pin (*i.e.*, to accept the tonsure and to become monks) must always first wait for (the ruler's and their parents') sanction and then act accordingly. If the ruler or their parents have doubts, they must retire and strive (by other means) to fulfill their desire, until both (ruler and parents) have become enlightened (and grant them permission)".[214]

Huiyuan's argumentation is well-founded: according to the rules for admission to the order, all persons who were in the service of the king, especially as soldiers, or who had not obtained their parents' permission to join the *saṅgha*, were excluded from ordination.[215] However "Indian" this Vinaya rule may have been, yet both the interpretation and the application are quite "Chinese": of course the original intention of these monastic rules was merely to eliminate the possibility of conflicts between the *saṅgha* and other interested parties or claimants (the same reason why fugitive slaves were not accepted),

and they had surely nothing to do with considerations of filial piety or loyalty to the throne.

The most detailed discussion of the problem in question, in which the Buddhist way to salvation is represented as being the highest prefection of filial piety, forms a part of the treatise "The elucidation of the Way" 喻道論 (cf. above, p. 132) by Sun Chuo 孫綽 (ca. 300–380). The author adduces three arguments, which may be summarized as follows.

Firstly, there is a form of filial piety higher and more effective than the standard performance of social duties. Parents and children form one whole; they are of one flesh, or, as Sun Chuo says, "of one fluid" (同氣). "Father and son are one body, united by the same fate". Any change in the status of the son will be reflected upon the father's position, and *vice versa.* To have reached the highest top (Buddhahood), the position in which one is "venerated by the myriad beings", constitutes at the same time the highest feat of filial piety.

Secondly, the author points out that also in Confucianism there is an obvious opposition between different social virtues: in extreme cases Loyalty 忠 (which means to sacrifice one's life for the sake of the ruler) is incompatible with Filial Piety (which tells us to preserve our lives for the sake of the family).

Thirdly, Sun Chuo comes to this main argument: the Buddha himself has given the example of the highest fulfilment of filial piety: the conversion of his own father. After having given a short account of Śākyamuni's escape from the palace, his practice of austerities and meditation in the forest and his Enlightenment, he continues:

> "...He then returned and illuminated his native country, and widely spread the sounds of the doctrine. His father, the king, was stimulated to understand, and likewise ascended the place of Enlightenment (道場 = *bodhimaṇḍa*): what (act of) filial piety could be greater than such a glorification of his parents? Afterwards, whenever devout gentlemen of later times (want) to don the (monk's) garment and to propagate the teachings (of the Buddha), and wish to equal this noble course of conduct they all follow their parents' (decision) without deviating from what they consider best, and only after having obtained their glad approval they may become active (as monks). (Moreover), if they have younger brothers which are close to them (and for whom they must care), they do not neglect providing them with clothes and food (even when being monks). (Thus) even when they already extensively cultivate the great task (of the religious life), the record of their kindness (towards their younger relatives) is not discontinued. Moreover, they cause their deceased (parents) to obtain happiness by rebirth in Heaven as a reward, and (therefore) they do not care any more for the wordly sacrifices (to the *manes* of the ancestors).... In Buddhism, there are twelve classes of scriptures, four of which are exclusively devoted to the propagation of filial piety.[216] The spirit of careful attention (to filial piety displayed in these scriptures) may be called perfect"....[217]

In the same way Mouzi points out that the Bodhisattva Sudāna, who distributed all his father's possessions, ruined his country and finally gave away his own wife and children, and who is therefore regarded by Mouzi's "opponent" as an inhuman creature, actually realized the highest form of filial piety by converting his own family as soon as he (in his later existence as Śākyamuni) had won Enlightenment.[218]

Kang Senghui stresses the "quietistic" aspect of the religious life, which

must have appealed to the Chinese public as a new form of the ideal of "dwelling in retirement"; Huiyuan points to the rules for ordination as proof of the filial and loyal attitude of the monk toward family and ruler; Sun Chuo and Mouzi use the theme of the conversion of the Buddha's parents to demonstrate that the final aim of the monastic life, the realization of Buddhahood, coincides with the highest fulfilment of the social virtues.[219] In all these cases argumentation is based on elements which in Indian Buddhism had been of a rather secondary nature, but which, once transplanted into a new cultural environment, had acquired a new and significant function.

Such were, in general, the various forms in which anti-clericalism manifested itself among the members of the cultured upper classes of the fourth and early fifth century, and the types of Buddhist apologetic argumentation. The opposition of the gentry against the monastic way of life and all that it implied may have been the primary reason of the remarkably slow rate at which the spread of Buddhism proceeded in these circles, not becoming apparent, apart from a few isolated cases, before the beginning of the fourth century, i.e. about three centuries after its introduction into China.

During these centuries of incubation Buddhism seems to have been either ignored or despised by the gentry as a whole. As long as it remained in the seclusion of the monastery or lived on as a religion of "barbarians" in the equally isolated foreign colonies in Chinese cities, it did not attract the attention of the Chinese *intelligentsia*. The very few foreign *ācāryas* who did have some contact with the upper classes were either thoroughly sinicized or hardly more than outlandish curiosities, regarded with a mixture of wonder, suspicion and admiration.

The penetration of Buddhism into the life and thought of the gentry virtually begins with the appearance of the great Chinese masters of the fourth century—in other words: when the leaders of the Buddhist Church have become Chinese *literati* of the purest alloy, able to defend and preach the doctrine in an adapted version with universally understood and acknowledged arguments.

APPENDIX

THE *ZHOUSHU YIJI* AND THE ORIGINAL *ZHUSHU JINIAN*

(see above, p. 274)

The Annals written on Bamboo, *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年, was a chronicle of the state of Wei 魏 dating from the end of the fourth century BC, to which, probably around the same time, a chronological record of the state of Jin 晉 and one of the history of the whole empire from the earliest period had been added. As a literary work it forms an intermediate stage between the extremely lapidary style of the *Chunqiu* and the highly developed narrative of the chronicles which together form the present *Zuozhuan*. The work was discovered together with some other ancient texts in a royal tomb of ca. 300 BC at Jijun 汲郡 (Henan) in 279/280 AD (cf. above, p. 275). The original chronicle still existed in the 12th century, at which time it was extensively quoted by Luo Bi 羅泌 in his "history of prehistoric times" (Giles), the *Lushi* 路史. It has been lost since then, and the text which now bears the title of *Zhushu jinian* has already long ago been recognized as spurious. It must, however, be remarked that some elements of the ancient work have been incorporated—mostly in a rather distorted form and along with much later and unreliable material—into the present text.[1]

More than four hundred passages from the original *Bamboo Annals*—all quotations found in a great number of historical texts, commentaries and encyclopedias—have been collected by Zhu Youceng 朱右曾; this compilation was furthermore enlarged, revised and copiously annotated by Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927), and finally published in the third series of the latter's posthumous works under the title of *Guben Zhushu jinian jijiao* 古本竹書紀年輯校.[2]

Among the fragments of the genuine *Zhushu jinian* there is one, preserved in *TPYL* 674.4b,[3] which agrees almost word for word with a phrase from the *Zhoushu yiji* passage translated above:

> "In the last year of king Zhao, the night was clear and (*var*. 'there was in the night…') a luminous emanation of five colours (which) went through the constellation Ziwei" 昭王末年,夜清 (var. 有) 五色光貫紫微,[4]

the only difference being that in the *Zhoushu yiji* the original Ziwei 紫微 has been changed into Taiwei 太微, the name of another constellation, and that according to the Buddhist story the event did not take place in the last year of king Zhao (who according to both the traditional chronology and the chronology of the *Zhushu jinian* reigned 51 years), but in the 24th year of his reign.[5] The reason for this alteration will become clear when we shall have looked more closely at another passage from the apocryphal story. There it is said that, some time after the 32nd year of Zhao's successor King Mu, this monarch feared that the presence of the Western Saint might be harmful to the state, and "assembled his vassals at the Tu Shan" 會諸候于塗山 in order to exorcise his evil influence. Now the present (spurious) text of the *Zhushu jinian* contains the following entry:

> "In the 39th year, king (Mu) assembled his vassals at Tu Shan" 三十九年, 王會諸候于塗山.[6]

Wang Guowei refers to the *Zuozhuan*, forth year of duke Zhao, where it is said that "under king Mu there was the assembly at Tu Shan" 穆有塗山之會,[7] thereby suggest-

ing that this was the source upon which the compiler of the spurious *Bamboo Annals* had drawn in making this entry. However, since we find exactly the same phrase in our *Zhoushu yiji* (which is at least as old as the beginning of the sixth century) the conclusion is justified that the phrase in question actually occurred in the ancient *Bamboo Annals*, from which it was taken over in the spurious (or "expanded") *Zhushu jinian*, rather than from the shortened and grammatically different *Zuozhuan* passage.

This point having been established, we may venture one step further. Granted that the *Zhoushu yiji* narrative is substantially based upon or built up around some entries from the ancient *Zhushu jinian*, we may assume that the "52nd year of king Mu" was chosen as the date of the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* because of some entry in the *Bamboo Annals* (most probably the appearance of the twelve rainbows)—an entry which has not been preserved as a quotation in other works, and which does not figure in the present spurious *Zhushu jinian* either. There must have been a cogent reason to place the *Nirvāṇa* of the 52nd year of king Mu, and since on the other hand the Buddhist traditions unanimously state that the Buddha passed away at the age of eighty, the author of the Buddhist story was *forced to count backward* and to place the event of the Buddha's birth eighty years earlier—and this is no doubt the reason why the "last year of king Zhao" of the original *Zhushu jinian* was changed into "the 32nd year of king Zhao", which falls exactly eighty years before the 52nd year of king Mu.[8]

Chapter six

"THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS"

the early history of a Buddho-Daoist conflict.

"*Daoism*"

In the previous chapter we have treated various types of anti-clericalism which in the course of the fourth and early fifth century prevailed among the gentry *as a whole*: lines of anti-Buddhist argumentation as well as political or economic measures of an anti-clerical nature which, each in its own way, may be taken as characteristic of the Confucian response to Buddhism. In this chapter we propose to treat the early development of a very peculiar theory which, if not from the very beginning, then at least from the early fourth century AD onward became permeated with strong anti-Buddhist, anti-foreign and nationalistic sentiments, and which, once forged into a weapon against the foreign doctrine, came to play a very important role in the later debates and controversies about Buddhism right down to the beginning of the Mongol dynasty.

The fundamental difference between this theory and the other anti-Buddhist arguments which we have discussed in the foregoing chapter is that it originated and was transmitted in a particular intellectual *milieu* to which only a relatively small part of the gentry belonged: that of the Daoists.

The term "Daoism", especially when used without further definition in a study on medieval Chinese culture is extremely ambigious.[1] Taken literally, the word has no meaning at all, since *Dao*, the "(right) course", in different shades of meaning and variously applied to the state, the individual or the whole of Nature, is the objective of practically all schools of Chinese philosophy. In a narrower sense, denoting the way of thought initiated by or associated with the teachings of Laozi and Zhuangzi, it still forms a very complex phenomenon, its manifestations varying from ontological speculations of the third century philosophers to the fantastic precepts of the alchemistic pharmacopoeia, its adherents ranging from retired scholars with mystic inclinations to the pilfering hordes of "Daoist rebels" of the second and fourth century AD.

The simple and convenient distinction between "philosophical" and "popular" Daoism is quite misleading, for these terms suggest a doctrinal differentiation coupled with a distinction on a social level, "philosophical" Daoism as a purely intellectual activity being the form of "Daoism" current in the higher layers of society, and "popular" Daoism being limited to the broad masses of the illiterate population under the leadership of Daoist shamans or magicians. There is some truth in the first part of such a statement: of course the study and interpretation of the early Daoist philosophers which forms one of the bases of this so-called "philosophical" Daoism must always

have been the exclusive affair of the cultured gentry. But, as we have seen, it is highly questionable whether this "Dark Learning" (玄學), which in early medieval times became one of the most influential schools of Chinese thought, can still be qualified as belonging to "Daoism". *Xuanxue* is, in fact, a Confucian recasting of early Daoist philosophy, in which the most fundamental principles of the ancient doctrine are so drastically reinterpreted that the words "Philosophical Daoism" or "Neo-Daoism"[2] are highly inadequate.

We shall here use the word "Daoism" to denote the vast conglomeration of religious and eubiotic practices and beliefs which profess to go back to Huangdi, Pengzu, Xiwangmu, Laozi and a great number of other mythical or semi-mythical personalities, and which in contemporary Chinese sources are given such names as "the Method of the *Dao*" 道術, "the *Dao* of the Immortals" 仙道, the "Methods of Huanglao" 黃老[之術], the "Teachings of Dao" 道教, etc.

Daoism as an organized religious movement originated in later Han times; its basic aim was to acquire bodily immortality, to obtain the state of a *xian* 仙, an Immortal who leads a life of everlasting bliss in a kind of light and indestructible "astral body" formed during his lifetime by following a prescribed course of physical and moral conduct. Among the means believed to lead to that state the most important were the use of drugs (especially chemical compounds made on a base of cinnabar), complicated eubiotic exercises including respiratory techniques and rules for the sexual life, meditation and trance, the confession of sins and the practice of social virtues, notably liberality, and frequent mass-ceremonies of an ecstatic and probably even orgiastic nature. The innumerable deities of the Daoist pantheon formed an immense hierarchical organisation which was believed to have an exact replica, on a microcosmic scale, within the body of each human individual.[3] The doctrine, contained in a great variety of scriptures, was said to have been periodically revealed by Teachers who in most cases had been *avatāras* of Laozi. Of the ancient Daoist writings only the *Daode jing* had remained to be of fundamental importance; the text was, however, interpreted in a most phantastic way.[4]

It would be quite wrong to regard this religion as an exclusively "popular" movement separated from, or even opposed to, the way of life and the religious and philosophical convictions of the cultured upper classes. Daoism, both as a religious doctrine and as a social phenomenon, should not be judged by its most spectacular by-products: the large-scale peasant revolts which often—but by no means always and not even in most cases—were led by one or more Daoist priests or "magicians". In these cases the exact role of Daoism must still be investigated;[5] I should not be surprised if it would appear that the purely Daoist element in such uprisings would be of no more importance than the Christian element in the later phases of the Taiping rebellion.[6] In this respect it may be important to note that the Daoist communities constituted a kind of self-sustaining units, the members themselves ensuring the existence of the church by contributing the annual "Heavenly tax" (天租) of five bushels of rice. Thus the Daoist church, though not claiming independence on religious grounds (as the Buddhists did), must have enjoyed a much greater degree of *factual* autonomy, and could therefore in times of political unrest easily become a foothold of rebellious movements which, once associated with the Daoist church, could use this religion (and especially certain "messi-

anic" notions among its doctrine) as political camouflage. It is, however, a fact that Daoism neither as an organisation nor as a doctrine of salvation contains any elements which *by themselves* are of a seditious or even "revolutionary" character.

It would certainly be a great mistake to associate Daoism *per se* with the lower strata of society. Zhang Ling, the reputed founder of the religion of the Yellow Turbans (mid. second century) came from a family of magistrates,[7] whereas it speaks for the influence of Zhang Lu, the last leader of this movement, that after his surrender to Cao Cao he was enfeoffed as a marquis together with his five sons.[8] Daoist influence was strong at the court of the Wei and Jin dynasties (220–420 AD), and more than one emperor devoted himself to Daoist practices; in the course of our study we have met several persons from the most illustrious gentry families who were fervent Daoists. We may even go further: the strict observance of the complicated rules governing the life of the Daoist adept, the very expensive drugs and the frequent and equally expensive banquets and purificatory ceremonies must, as far as laymen were concerned, have remained the privilege of the happy few who had both the leisure and the financial means to fulfil the demands of the Daoist way of life.

It is in these circles of Daoist leaders and cultured devotees that we find, at the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century AD, the first signs of a Buddho-Daoist controversy of a very special nature. In the following pages we shall try to trace the early history of this controversy, much of which must remain hypothetical in view of the extreme scarcity of early and reliable source material.

The huahu *theory*

The theory according to which Buddhism was nothing but the doctrine preached by Laozi after his departure to the Western Region to "convert the barbarians" (*huahu* 化胡) must have originated in Daoist circles in the latter half of the second century AD. In later times the opponents of Buddhism, especially the Daoists, used this legend as a weapon against the Buddhist Church. They argued that the foreign doctrine was merely a diluted and debased form of Daoism, adapted to the needs of an uncivilized people or even aiming at their destruction, and consequently quite unfit to be introduced into China where the doctrine of the Old Master had been preserved in its original purity. Very little is known about the oldest form of the *huahu* theory, but from the few fragments of information at our disposal it becomes very clear that the story did not originate as a polemic device.

(1) The starting-point of the tradition is of course the well-known legend recorded in the biography of Laozi in the *Shiji*:[9] seeing that the virtue of the house of Zhou had degenerated, the Master decided to withdraw from the world. At the Western pass he met the frontier-guard Yin Xi 尹喜 at whose request he wrote down the two sections of the work which later was named the *Daode jing*; "then he departed, and nobody knows where he died". As Pelliot has pointed out,[10] this tradition is probably not much older than the time of Sima Qian: Zhuangzi speaks about Laozi's death[11] and the *Shuijing zhu* mentions the tomb of Laozi near Huaili 槐里 in present-day Shanxi.[12]

(2) The *huahu* theory is for the first time alluded to in the famous memorial of Xiang Kai 襄楷 of 166 AD, which, as we have seen above (p. 37), is one of the first places in Chinese literature where Buddhism is mentioned. A phrase from this memorial, one which forms part of Xiang Kai's eulogistic description of Buddhism, runs as follows:

> "Some people say that Laozi has gone into (the region of) the barbarians and has become the Buddha".[13]

(3) There is one passage from the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (falsely attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 who lived 77–6 BC; the text is attested from the beginning of the second century AD) which refers to the *huahu* legend. We read in the "biography" of the frontier-guard Yin (Xi) 關令尹 that this sage, after having obtained the text of the *Daode jing*,

> "together with Laozi roamed through the region of the Moving Sands, *and converted the Barbarians*" 與老子俱遊流沙化胡.[14]

It is well-known that the present text of the *Liexian zhuan* shows many traces of later alteration and interpolation; as is the case with most Daoist scriptures, the wording of the text became only fixed with its incorporation into the Daoist canon in the first half of the 11th century.[15] The words "… and converted the barbarians" 化胡 occur in none of the early quotations of this passage and have certainly been interpolated at a rather late date.[16]

(4) Pei Songzhi's invaluable commentary on the *Sanguo zhi* (published 429 AD) has preserved a lengthy quotation from the "Account of the Western Barbarians" 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略, compiled around the middle of the third century by Yu Huan 魚豢.[17] One phrase from the very enigmatic passage about India[18] runs as follows:

> "What is recorded in the Buddhist (scriptures) is analogous to (the teachings contained in) the scripture of Laozi in the Middle Country, and it is actually believed that (Laozi), after having gone out of the pass to the West and having traversed the Western Region, went to India (Tianzhu) where he instructed the barbarians and became Buddha".[19]

(5) Falin's *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (T 2110, 626 AD) and the commentary to this text by Chen Ziliang 陳子良 (probably also dating from the first half of the seventh century) contain some quotations from a work called (*Weilue*) *xiyu zhuan* [魏略]西域傳. We shall speak below about the problem whether this work is to be identified with the *Xirong zhuan* of the *Weilue* quoted by Pei Songzhi (above, *sub* 4). Two of these passages bear upon our present subject.

> "It is said in the *Xiyu zhuan*: 'When Laozi came to Kashmir he saw (an image of the Buddha) in a Buddhist temple. Being distressed about the fact that he (could) not (personally) meet him, he spoke a *gāthā* in homage of (the Buddha), and standing before the image he vented his feelings saying:
> Why have I been born so late?
> (Commentary Chen Ziliang: In the new version changed to 'Why has the Buddha been born so late?')
> How early has the Buddha appeared!
> (Comm.: In the new version changed to 'How early has the *Nirvāṇṇa* taken place!')
> Since I do not see Śākyamuni
> My heart is constantly afflicted'."[20]

When we come to speak about the *Huahu jing* we shall have to revert to this passage and to the problem of the "new version" quoted in Chen Ziliang's commentary.

The second quotation from the *Xiyu zhuan* offers an interesting parallel with a passage from the *Weilue* as quoted by Pei Songzhi which, in this latter version, is devoted to the Buddha's birth at Lumbinī. Both passages have been translated by Ed. Chavannes and discussed by S. Lévi and P. Pelliot.[21] Chen Ziliang's quotation runs as follows:

> "It is said in the *Xiyu zhuan* of the *Weilue*: 'The king of Lumbinī had no son, and therefore he sacrificed to the Buddha. His wife Māyā dreamt of a white elephant and became pregnant. When the crownprince was born, he *likewise* (*i.e.*, like the Buddha) came out of her right side. He was born with a natural protuberance on the head.[22] When he had reached the ground he was able to walk seven paces. (Thus) his bodily characteristics were like those of the Buddha, and since (the king) had obtained the child by sacrificing to the Buddha, he called the crownprince 'Buddha'. In this country (of Lumbinī) there was a divine man named Shalü 沙律.[23] By his advanced age and white hairs he resembled Laozi. He always instructed people to become Buddhists. *In recent times the Yellow Turbans, seeing that his hairs were white, changed that Shalü into this* (*our*) *Laozi*; thus by perverted ways they were able quietly to deceive the world.... What is recorded in the Buddhist (sūtras) is analogous to (the contents of) the Daoist scriptures...".[24]

The story of the crownprince who looked and behaved like the Buddha remains mysterious; the legend which—probably in a very distorted form—underlies the account of the *Xiyu zhuan* is not known from other sources.

The fact that here Shalü (= Sāriputra) is said to have been identified with Laozi by the Yellow Turbans presents another riddle. In the later versions of the *huahu* story Laozi is either the teacher of the Buddha or the Buddha himself or Kāśyapa, but he is never identified with another disciple of the Buddha.[25]

(6) Two quotations from the *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–282) in Falin's *Bianzheng lun*. The first one is a general statement which may be rather a paraphrase than a quotation because two works are adduced as sources

> "Both the *Waiguo zhuan* of the *Weishu* 魏書外國傳 (a work which can hardly be anything else than the *Xirong zhuan* of the *Weilue*) and Huangfu Mi's *Gaoshi zhuan* say that 'the Buddhist scriptures of the *śramaṇas* have been composed by Laozi'" 桑門浮圖經老子所作.[26]

The second passage is more informative:

> "Huangfu Mi says: 'Laozi went out of the pass and entered India (天竺國) where he instructed the barbarian king and became Buddha'."[27]

The two passages in question do not occur in the present text of the *Gaoshi zhuan*, which, however, seems to be a rather late compilation of fragments mainly culled from the *Taiping yulan* and other sources, in which the original number of 72 sections (mentioned by Li Shi 李石 in his *Xu bowu zhi* 續搏物志 around the middle of the twelfth century)[28] has increased to 96.[29] Moreover, the archaic rendering of *śramaṇa* as 桑門 and Buddha as 浮圖 points to an early date.

The second quotation is of great interest because here we find for the first time an allusion to the conversion of the barbarian (c.q. Indian) king which

is the central theme of at least one of the later versions of the *huahu* story.

To judge from these early fragments, we may conclude that the *huahu* theory originally does not seem to have functioned as an anti-Buddhist strategem. At least in one case (the memorial of Xiang Kai) it is quite evident that the story is not used to demonstrate the inferiority or fallacy of Buddhism, but rather to stress the excellence of this pure and humanitarian doctrine by relating it to the name of the ancient Chinese sage. The *huahu* theory is, in fact, merely one aspect of the thorough amalgamation of Daoist ideas and practices and half-understood Buddhist notions which is so characteristic of Han "Buddhism", and it is not surprising that Daoists, struck by the apparent similarity between the foreign doctrine and their own, found in the traditional story of Laozi's "going to the West" the key to a reasonable explanation for this extraordinary correspondence. Moreover, as Tang Yongtong remarks,[30] it is quite probable that this theory was welcome both to the growing Daoist church and to the leaders of the first Buddhist communities, since on the one hand it would enable the Daoists to incorporate Buddhist practices and institutions as elements which, though seemingly of foreign provenance, yet originally went back to Laozi himself, whereas on the other hand it would make Buddhism more attractive to the Chinese public by propagating it as a "foreign branch of Daoism".

The conception of Laozi as a universal and everlasting teacher had already developed in Later Han times. We find it clearly expressed in the "Inscription on Laozi" 老子銘 ascribed to Bian Shao 邊韶 which was written in 165/166 AD, *i.e.*, almost simultaneously with Xiang Kai's memorial in which the *huahu* theory is mentioned for the first time. In the "Inscription" we read that Laozi

> "from the times of (Fu) Xi and (Shen) Nong onward…has been active as a teacher for the Sages",[31]

and since Bian Shao according to his biography in the *Hou-Han shu* filled various posts at the court under emperor Huan[32] it does not seem too farfetched to view the *huahu* theory against the background of the *avatāra*s of Laozi as expounded in Bian Shao's "Inscription". We may even go one step further: emperor Huan, to whom the memorial of 166 AD had been addressed, had just made combined offerings to the Buddha and Laozi (cf. above, p. 37), and it is not improbable that this act of worshipping the two sages (who according to the *huahu* tradition were indeed one and the same) had some connection with the alleged missionary activities of Laozi among the western barbarians.

However, ca. 300 AD the legend appears to have turned into polemics. According to various sources, the oldest of which dates from the beginning of the fifth century, the Daoist Wang Fu 王浮, *alias* the Daoist master Ji Gongci 基公次, at that time fabricated a pseudo-canonical work entitled "The Scripture of (Laozi) converting the barbarians", (*Laozi*) *huahu jing* [老子]化胡經, after having been repeatedly defeated in debate by the well-known Chinese[33] monk Bo Yuan 帛遠 (*zi* Fazu 法祖, see above, p. 76). This event is known from four sources.

(1) Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan* I 327.2.16:

"Shortly after (Bo Yuan's death) there was a man called Li Tong 李通 who had died and who had come back to life again. He said that he had seen the master of the doctrine (Bo Fa)zu (*i.e.*, Bo Yuan) at the residence of the king (of the underworld) Yāma explaining the *Śūraṃgama*(*samādhi*)*sūtra* to the king.... He had also seen the libationer[34] Wang Fu, *alias* the Daoist master Ji Gongci, wearing chains and fetters and imploring (Bo Fa)zu to have pity on him. Formerly, in ordinary life, the latter had always been quarreling (with Wang Fu) about (questions of) heterodoxy and orthodoxy (*xiezheng* 邪正). Wang Fu had often been defeated (in debate), and since he became angry and could not bear this he had composed the *Laozi huahu jing* in order to slander the Buddhist doctrine...".

(2) *Jinshi zalu* 晉世雜錄 (early fifth century):[35]

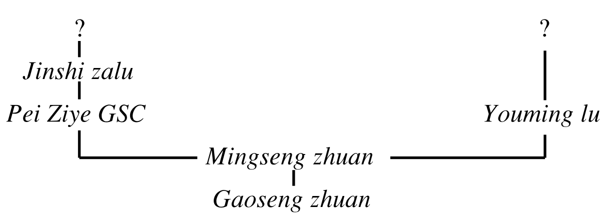
"The Daoist Wang Fu used to debate with the *śramaṇa* Bo Yuan, and was often defeated by him. He then changed the 'Account of the Western Regions' 西域傳 into the *Huahu jing*, in which is said that (Yin) Xi together with (Lao) Dan (i.e. Laozi) converted the barbarians and became Buddha, and that Buddhism originated from this."

(3) The *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 by Pei Ziye 裴子野 (467–528):[38]

"Under the Jin emperor Hui (reigned 290–306), the *śramaṇa* Bo Yuan, whose *zi* was Fazu, used to quarrel with the libationer Wang Fu, *alias* the Daoist master Ji Gongci, about (questions of) heterodoxy and orthodoxy. (Wang) Fu was often defeated by him. Since he became angry and could not bear (his defeat), he based himself upon the "Account of the Western Regions" to compose the *Huahu jing*, in order to defile the Buddhist doctrine. (This spurious work) has subsequently come to circulate in the world."

(4) A quotation from the *Youming lu* 幽明錄 by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444).[37] This passage is a somewhat condensed repetition of nr. (1), adding that the resuscitated Li Tong had come from Pucheng 蒲城 in Shanxi.

Thus we have four fairly uniform accounts of the origin of the remarkable book which in later times would come to play such an important role in the never-abating struggle between the Daoists and Buddhists. However, the sources quoted above are obviously not independent from each other. The oldest available and least fanciful account is that of the *Jinshi zalu* (2); Pei Ziye (3) seems to have drawn upon this source, especially where he mentions Wang Fu's handling of the text of the *Xiyu zhuan*. The *Youming lu* (4)—a collection of pious tales illustrating the karmic retribution of sins and good actions—may have been responsible for the more legendary traits of the story, such as Li Dong's visit to Hell, Wang Fu's infernal punishment and Bo Yuan's blissful existence as a Stygian house-chaplain. These two versions seem to have been combined in the account of the *GSC* (1), which probably has been copied from the *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳 (cf. above p. 11 no. 4).[38]



If we limit ourselves to the accounts of the *Jinshi zalu* and of Pei Ziye, this information, scanty though it be, suffices to fix the event both chronologically and geographically. It is reported to have taken place under emperor Hui (290–306), whereas on the other hand Bo Yuan died in 304 AD, so that the fabrication of the *Huahu jing* must have taken place in the very last years of the third or, more probably, in one of the first years of the fourth century. Around that time Bo Yuan was active at Chang'an; as we shall see, it is likewise at Chang'an that we find, about eighty years later, some faint traces of the *huahu* theory in a Buddhist reinterpretation.

In both the *Jinshi zalu* and Pei Ziye's *Gaoseng zhuan* mention is made of the fact that Wang Fu in concocting the *Huahu jing* "(falsely) based himself upon" (託) or "altered" (改) the original text of the "Account of the Western Regions", *Xiyu zhuan* 西域傳—no doubt the work some passages of which we have translated above (p. 291 *sub* 5). We have seen that at least one of these passages (which is even denoted by Chen Ziliang as "the *Xiyu zhuan* of the *Weilue*") presents a parallel to some parts of the corresponding section of the *Weilue* as quoted by Pei Songzhi, and if these quotations actually refer to the same text, then there is all reason to assume that Chen Ziliang's version represents the original text of the *Weilue*, of which Pei Songzhi gives only a condensed and sometimes barely intelligible extract.

The main difficulty is that the section from the *Weilue* was entitled "Account of the Western Barbarians" 西戎傳 and not "Account of the Western Regions" 西域傳. For this reason Ed. Chavannes has made a distinction between the *Xiyu zhuan*, the work which was quoted by Falin and Chen Ziliang and which according to the *Jinshi zalu* was developed by Wang Fu into the *Huahu jing*, and the *Xirong zhuan* of the *Weilue* quoted by Pei Songzhi.[39] Chavannes' opinion has been criticized by P. Pelliot who has devoted a detailed discussion to this problem (*BEFEO* VI, 1906, pp. 377–379). We shall not repeat his arguments which are very convincing; his standpoint, with which we fully agree, is summarized by him as follows: "Il me paraît possible que Wang Feou ait utilisé un *Si yu tchouan* qui n'était pas celui du *Wei lio*, mais cela ne me paraît pas prouvé, et à vrai dire il me suffit que le *Si yu tchouan* du *Wei lio* nous soit parvenu avec une mention effective du voyage de Lao-tseu en pays bouddhique pour que Wang Feou ait pu "s'appuyer faussement" sur son témoignage et en tirer l'argument de son livre" (*op. cit.* p. 379). There are some curious passages which to some extent illustrate the way in which Wang Fu handled the text of the *Xiyu zhuan*. If we revert to the first of the two quotations from the *Xiyu zhuan* given by Falin and translated above (p. 291 *sub* 5: the passage about the *gāthā* pronounced by Laozi before an image of the Buddha), we see that Chen Ziliang in his commentary reproduces the text of a "new version" of the first two lines of this hymn. The two versions are as follows:

"Old version":

"Why have I been born so late?	我生何以晚
How early has the Buddha appeared!	佛出一何早
(Since I do not see Śākyamuni	不見釋迦文
My heart is constantly afflicted).	心中常懊惱

"New version":

Why has *the Buddha* been born so late? 佛生何以晚
How early has the *Nirvāṇa* taken place! 泥洹一何早

Thus Chen Ziliang knew two versions of the *Xiyu zhuan*, an old one quoted by Falin, and a "new" one, i.e. one which had been altered.

The *Xiaodao lun* 笑道論 by Zhen Luan 甄鸞 (570 AD)—or rather the extract of it preserved in *GHMJ* IX after the original text had been destroyed by imperial order—is a well-known polemic treatise devoted to the refutation of the *huahu* and other theories of Daoist provenance. It contains a great number of quotations from early Daoist apocrypha such as the *Huahu jing*. This does not mean that all these passages belonged to the original work of Wang Fu, as the text had gradually become a conglomeration of later additions and interpolations of most diverse provenance. However, the *Xiaodao lun* contains the following quotation:

"The *Huahu jing*... also says:
'Why has *the Buddha* been born so late? 佛生何以晚
Why has *the Nirvāṇa* taken place so early? 泥洹何以早
Since I do not see Śākyamuni 不見釋迦文
My heart is greatly afflicted'".[40] 心中大懊惱

Apart from two rather irrelevant differences (the interrogative *heyi* 何以 in stead of the more exclamative *yihe* 一何, and *ta* 大 "greatly" in stead of *chang* 常 "constantly") this is identical with the "new"—the altered—version of the *Xiyu zhuan* quoted by Chen Ziliang. The slight differences mentioned above may even simply be due to careless copying: about fifty years later we find the same *gāthā* from the *Huahu jing* quoted by Falin 法琳 in his *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (622 AD), and this time the text agrees word for word with the "new version" of the *Xiyu zhuan*.[41] In view of the fact that (a) Wang Fu is reported to have altered the text of a *Xiyu zhuan* and to have used this changed text as a base for his *Huahu jing*, (b) that Chen Ziliang mentions two versions of the *Xiyu zhuan*, an old one and a new one, and (c) that the "new" version appears to have occurred in Wang Fu's *Huahu jing*, we may safely conclude that it had been Wang Fu himself who had made the change in the first lines of the *gāthā*.

Now these same lines turn up again in a much earlier text, and in a rather peculiar way. In the first book of the *Gaoseng zhuan*, the biography of the Indian preacher and translator Dharmanandin (second half fourth cent.) is followed, by way of an appendix, by a short biography of the magistrate Zhao Zheng 趙政 (var. 整, *zi* Wenye 文業) who was active at the court of the Tibetan ruler Fu Jian (357–384).[42] Zhao Zheng was a great patron of Buddhism and a sponsor of the translation of Buddhist texts at Chang'an; he is mentioned in this quality not only in the biographical sketch in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, but also in various prefaces and colophons to Buddhist scriptures preserved in *CSZJJ*.[43] After Fu Jian's downfall and the collapse of his empire, *i.e.*, in or shortly after 385 AD, Zhao Zheng decided to become a priest. He assumed the monastic name of Daozheng 道整, and in order to testify of his desire to lead the religious life

"he made the following *gāthā* (頌):
'*Why has the Buddha been born so late?* 佛生佛以晚

How early has the Nirvāṇa taken place! 涅槃一何早
I seek my refuge in Śākyamuni 歸命釋迦文
And henceforward surrender to the great Way'".[44] 今來投大道

Coincidence is out of the question: the first two lines and the second part of the third line of the poem agree literally with the "*gāthā* of Laozi" of the *Huahu jing*.

The interpretation of these lines offers a difficult problem. The meaning of the "old version", as it occured in the *Xiyu zhuan*, is clear: Laozi, when arriving in India, has come too late to meet the Buddha who has already entered *Nirvāṇa*, and the Sage complains: "Why have I been born so late? (Or, to put it in another way,) how early has the Buddha appeared!". However, the version of the *Huahu jing* does not seem to make any sense. The first line apparently expresses Laozi's regret because he is living long *before* the Buddha's birth so that he will have no opportunity to see him. There is some support for this in the *huahu* story as we know it from early quotations from Daoist apocrypha. As we shall see, one text makes Laozi actually predict the coming of the Buddha, and according to at least one version of the *Huahu jing*, Laozi, fearing that the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha would draw near, transformed himself into the venerable Kāśyapa in order to be present at the last moments of the Buddha's life and to put the last questions to the master. If this interpretation is correct, the *gāthā* as occurring in the *Huahu jing* should be translated:

> "Why *will* the Buddha be born so late? (And since he will only have a natural span of life), how early *will* his *Nirvāṇa* take place!"

But this is a mere conjecture, and a rather unsatisfactory one; at present I do not see any more plausible solution to his riddle.

Even more bewildering is the fact that these same lines—which anyhow must have some connection with the *huahu* tradition—are repeated in a poem by one of the most fervent Buddhists at Fu Jian's court, Zhao Zheng. It would of course be tempting to regard "the Buddha" 佛 as a mistake for "I" 我. In fact, the Ming edition of the *Gaoseng zhuan* does have this reading (T 2059 p. 328, variant 23), but this is obviously a very late attempt to "correct" the text in order to force some meaning into this enigmatic line. Zhao Zheng no doubt interpreted these words in a Buddhist sense. One hypothetical explanation might be:

> "Why will (a future) Buddha be born so late? (And, on the other hand), how early has (Śākyamuni's) *Nirvāṇa* come (so that I have to live at a period when no Buddha appears)!"

Whatever the poem may mean, the occurrence of these two lines in a text of ca. 385 AD is valuable as a symptom: it proves that the *Huahu jing* was well-known and exerted some influence at that period among the members of the highest classes at Chang'an. It must be remembered that it was at Chang'an that Wang Fu debated with Bo Yuan and composed the *Huahu jing*, and, as we shall see, it is also in the North that we find some early traces of Buddhist counter-action.

We must be short about the later history of the *Huahu jing*. During the following centuries, the original *Huahu jing* in one *juan* by Wang Fu was constantly subjected to expansion and modification. Several versions of the legend developed, probably under the stimulus of Buddhist rival theories. Under the Sui (581–618) the text had

already grown to two *juan*, and at the beginning of the eight century it had become a work of ten or eleven chapters, a heterogeneous compilation of episodes of different age and provenance, the self-contradictory statements of which are ridiculed by Buddhist authors. At that time a whole body of apocryphal literature was growing up around the theme of the "conversion of the barbarians".

In 668, under the Tang emperor Gaozong, the *Huahu jing* was proscribed, but in 696 the Daoists persuaded empress Wu to revoke this decision. Nine years later, in 705, the monk Huicheng 惠澄 submitted a memorial in which he requested a prohibition of this work, and in the same year the *Huahu jing* and other works of this type were again officially proscribed, in spite of the protests voiced by several pro-Daoist courtiers. But this proscription was a failure, and the *huahu* literature further developed under the Song. However, the final victory was won by the Buddhist Church. Its privileged position at the Mongol court around the middle of the 13th century enabled it to persuade the emperor to order a literary inquisition, a strict prohibition of all *huahu* literature and a thorough destruction of all copies of the condemned works (edicts of 1258, 1281 and 1285). This time the prohibition was effective: apart from a number of stray quotations found in earlier literature, notably in Buddhist apologetic treatises, and a few chapters from late and very curious versions of the *Huahu jing* (one of which shows traces of Manichean influence) discovered at Dunhuang, the *Huahu jing* and other works of this genre have disappeared.[45]

The Buddhist polemic literature from the sixth century onward contains a fair number of quotations from the *Huahu jing*, but it is mostly impossible to make out whether these passages already formed part of the early fourth century nucleus of the work; in some cases it is quite clear that we have to do with comparatively late accretions.[46]

There are, however, two passages which in all probability belonged to Wang Fu's original text.

According to several sources, Wang Fu's text was in later times known as the *Mingwei huahu jing* 明威化胡經.[47] In pre-Tang and early Tang Buddhist literature I have found only one case in which a work of this title is quoted. Not only by its title but also by criteria of style and content this fragment is strikingly different from the numerous other passages from what apparently are later "inflated" versions of the *Huahu jing*. The text in question runs as follows.

> "When the barbarian king did not believe in Laozi('s teachings), Laozi subdued him by his divine power. Then (the king) begged for mercy[48] and repented his sins. He personally shaved (his head) and cut (his beard), and acknowledged his errors and faults. Master Lao in his great compassion had pity on his foolish delusion and expounded to him an expedient doctrine, providing him with prohibitive and restrictive rules according to circumstances. He ordered all (barbarian converts) to practise ascetism (read 頭陀 = *dhūta*) and alms-begging in order to restrain their cruel and obstinate hearts; to wear (like criminals) reddish-brown garments[49] and an incomplete dress[50] in order to crush their fierce and violent nature; to cut and damage their complexion in order to show how their bodies (like those of criminals) have tattooed faces and amputated noses; to abstain from sexual intercourse in order to make an end to their rebellious seed. This is why a grave disease is said to need a violent therapy, for (in such a case) one has to split open the belly

and to wash the intestines, and why great crimes must be restrained by a severe punishment, for (in such a case) one must necessarily exterminate the clan and destroy all descendants of the criminal".[51]

From a stylistic point of view this passage shows a marked contrast with other quotations from the *Huahu jing* and other works of this class. There we have a simple, sometimes even primitive style, which dispenses with any attempt at literary embellishment and which is in general closely patterned upon the prose parts of Buddhist sūtras; here we find a polished and highly adorned piece of "parallel prose", which is exactly what we would expect from a polemic treatise written around the beginning of the fourth century AD, when this laborious style was so much *en vogue*.

We shall now attempt as far as possible to elucidate the meaning of this important text by comparing it phrase by phrase with a number of fragments from early Daoist apocrypha of the *huahu* type; in no case quotations have been used which occur in works composed later than the end of the seventh century. They merely serve to indicate the general line of the *huahu* story of which the text translated above is one fragment, and to show on what points and to what extent the other versions of the legend differed from each other. It must be repeated that there is no guarantee that any of these passages is much older than the work in which we find it quoted for the first time, even if it happens to be labelled "*Huahu jing*".

(1) "*When the barbarian king did not believe in Laozi* (*'s teachings*)*…*"

We have seen above (p. 292 *sub* 6) that an allusion to Laozi's converting a barbarian (c.q. Indian) king already occurred in a (now lost) section of a third century collection of idealized biographies. There was apparently an old tradition about Laozi's activities at the Indian court (in later sources and possibly also in the original *Huahu jing* the event is localized in Jibin = Kashmir) which subsequently was incorporated by Wang Fu in his *Huahu jing*.

Our fragment starts in the middle of the story. Laozi has already arrived in India, either alone or in company of Yin Xi, who according to another tradition (see below, sub 4) actually became the Buddha. All texts agree in saying that the king was unwilling to accept the message of Laozi, and in several passages he is represented as trying to burn, boil or drown the Sage. One text (c) contains a kind of *jātaka* of this cruel monarch who in a previous life had been Laozi's own wife; he is here given the pseudo-Indian name of Fentuoli 憤陀力 (Puṇḍarīka).

The following three texts deal with Laozi's departure from China, his journey to India and his first encounter with the Indian king.

(a) "It is said in the *Chuji* 初記: 'Laozi, because the virtue of the Zhou king Yu (trad. 781–771 BC) was waning, wished to go through the (frontier-)pass to the West. He agreed with Yin Xi that they would see each other after three years inside the liver of a black sheep on the market at Chang'an. Laozi was then (re)born in the womb of the empress. At the agreed date (Yin) Xi saw that (on the market at Chang'an) there was one who sold livers of black sheep, and through (this trader) he inquired for and saw Laozi… (there seems to be a hiatus in the text here)… coming forth from his mother's body. He had (long) hairs on the temples and his head was hoary; his body was sixteen feet tall;[52]

he wore a heavenly cap and held a metal staff. He took Yin Xi with him to convert the barbarians. (Once arrived in India) he withdrew to the Shouyang 首陽 mountains, covered by a purple cloud. The barbarian king suspected him of sorcery (妖). He (attempted) to boil him in a cauldron, but (the water) did not grow hot…".[53]

(b) "It is said in the *Wenshi zhuan* 文始傳: 'In the first year of *shanghuang* (上皇元年, an imaginary *nianhao*) Laozi descended and became the teacher of the Zhou (court). In the first year of *wuji* 無極 he went through the pass, riding a car of thin boards (drawn by) a black ox. He spoke the five thousand words (of the *Daode jing*) for Yin Xi, and said: 'I am roaming between Heaven and Earth, (but) as you have not yet obtained the Way you cannot follow me. You must recite the five thousand words (of the *Daode jing*) ten thousand times; your ears must (develop the faculty of) penetrating hearing, your eyes must (develop the faculty of) penetrating sight. Then your body will be able to move by flying, (endowed with) the six supernatural powers[54] and the four attainments'.[55] They agreed to a date (to meet each other) at Chengdu. (Yin) Xi followed up his words and obtained the (Way). When he had sought for and met (Laozi), they went into the Tante 檀特 (Daṇḍaka) mountains in Kashmir. And afterwards (乃至, indicating a hiatus in the narrative) the king attempted to burn or drown him with fire and water'…".[56]

(c) "It is said in the *Guangshuo pin* 廣說品: 'At the beginning,[57] when the king had heard the Heavenly Worthy (天尊) expound the doctrine, he obtained together with his wife and children the fruit of *srota-āpanna*. The king of Qingheguo 清和國, having heard about this, betook himself together with all his courtiers to the place where the Heavenly Worthy was dwelling, and all of them ascended to Heaven in broad daylight. The king (who had obtained the fruit of *srota-āpanna*) became the head of the Brahma-gods, with the appellation of "the master of the doctrine Xuanzhong" 玄中法師. His wife, who had (also) listened to (the exposition of) the doctrine, ascended together with (the king) and became the *devarāja* Miaofan 妙梵. Later she was (re)born in Kashmir as a king with the name of Fentuoli 憤陀力. (This king) was killing and murdering (people) and (in all respects) destitute of right principles. The master of the doctrine Xuanzhong wanted to convert him; he transformed himself and was born in the womb of a woman named Li. After eighty-two years he ripped open her left arm-pit. At birth he had (already) a hoary head. Three months later he travelled to the West together with Yin Xi, riding a white deer. He retired into the Tante (Daṇḍaka) mountains. After three years the king Fentuoli (who in a former existence had been his wife) met him when hunting, and (tried to kill him) by burning and drowning, but Laozi did not die".[58]

(2) "*… Laozi subdued him by his divine power*".

Two fragments also speak about a manifestation of Laozi's supernatural powers by which he brought about the king's conversion. Both are passages from the *Wenshi zhuan*, a work which probably dates from the second half of the sixth century (cf. above, note 56).

(a) "… But Laozi went on reciting scriptures as before, whilst sitting on a lotus (in the midst of the fire and the water)".[59]

(b) "When Laozi was in Kashmir, he snapped his fingers, and (instantly) all *devarājas*, arhats and flying devas endowed with five supernatural powers came to (the place where he was dwelling)".[60]

The *Chuji* 初記 and the *Zaoli tiandi ji* 造立天地記 (probably two names for one and the same apocryphal work) make Laozi a use more drastic missionary device:

(c) "Master Lao became very angry: he slew[61] the seven sons of the barbarian king as well as one tenth of the population. Only then the king submitted...".[82]

In another version of the *Huahu jing* the king is apparently won over by Laozi's successful preaching in Southern India:

(d) It is said in the *Huahu jing*: 'When Laozi converted the barbarians, and their king did not accept his teachings, Laozi said: 'If your majesty does not believe (my words), I shall go to the South into India to instruct and convert (the inhabitants) of all countries (in that region). From this (your country) *Southward* (*NAN* 南) there will be none (*WU* 無) who is more venerated than the Buddha (*FO* 佛)'. The barbarian king still did not believe and accept (his words) and said: 'If you (really succeed) in the South to convert India, then I shall bow my head to the ground and (repeat your words) saying *NAN-WU-FO* (= *namo Buddhāya*)'."[63]

(3) "*The king begged for mercy and repented his sins. He personally shaved* (*his head*), *cut* (*his beard*) *and acknowledged his errors and faults*".

According to the *Chuji* (a) the king, deprived of his sons, orders his decimated population to become Buddhists. The version of the story as given in the *Guangshuo pin* 廣說品 (b) is more bizarre: king Fentuoli, who in a former life had been Laozi's wife, is converted to Buddhism *avant la lettre* and becomes nobody less than the Buddha Śākyamuni.

(a) "Only then the king submitted and ordered the population to receive (Laozi's) instructions, to shave their heads, to observe celibacy and to accept the two hundred and fifty commandments (of the monastic life)...[64]

(b) "The king submitted (to Laozi), shaved his head, changed his dress, and (assumed) the surname of Shi 釋 (Śākya), the personal name of Fa 法 (Dharma) and the appellation of Shamen 沙門 (Śramaṇa). He realized the fruit (of Enlightenment) and became the Buddha Śākyamuni. It was in the Han era that (his) doctrine spread to the East (and reached) China".[65]

(4) "*Master Lao in his great compassion had pity on his foolish delusion, and expounded to him an expedient doctrine*...".

In this text it is obviously Laozi himself who is acting the part of the Buddha and who personally preaches the doctrine to the Western barbarians. This was no doubt the original form of the *huahu* legend, as appears from the earliest references enumerated above (p. 291 sqq.). It is also confirmed by a passage from another Daoist work, the "Inner section of the dark mystery", *Xuanmiao neipian* 玄妙內篇 quoted in the *Yixia lun* 夷夏論 by the Daoist Gu Huan 顧歡 (ca. 470 AD).[66] This passage, which is one of the earliest known quotations from a work of the *huahu* type, runs as follows:

> "Laozi entered the (frontier)-pass and went to the country of Weiwei 維衛 (Kapilavastu)[67] in India. The wife of the king of this country was named Qingmiao 清妙.[68] Laozi, taking advantage of the fact that she was sleeping in the daytime, used the essence of the sun 日精 to enter into Qingmiao's mouth.[69] On the eight day of the fourth month of the next year, at midnight, he ripped open her right[70] arm-pit and was born. As soon as he had come down on the ground he walked seven paces, raised his hand and said, pointing to Heaven:
> (Among all beings) above and under Heaven
> I alone am venerable.
> All the Three Worlds are full of pain—
> What is there enjoyable (in them)?'[71]
> From that (moment onward) Buddhism took its rise".[72]

According to Zhen Luan's *Xiaodao lun* (570 AD),

> "It is said in both the *Huahu jing* and the *Xiaobing jing* 消冰經[73] that Laozi, when he converted (the people of) Kashmir, personally 身自 became the Buddha".[73]

At a rather early date two other traditions developed. One of these said that Yin Xi, after having accompanied Laozi on his journey to the West, became or was chosen by Laozi to be a Buddha with the name of Mingguang rutong 明光儒童 (? Āloka-māṇava). In a developed form this theory is found in some fragments from the *Wenshi zhuan* 文始傳, a work which is probably not older than the second half of the sixth century.[74] Here we read that Laozi, after the Indian king had repented his sins,

> "chose Yin Xi to be their master, and said to the king: 'My master is called the Buddha; the Buddha (in turn) served the Supreme Way'. The king followed (Yin Xi) and was converted by him; men and women shaved their heads and observed celibacy. Thus the Supreme Way, by the grace of the Buddha,[75] commissioned Yin Xi to be a Buddha in Kashmir with the appellation of Mingguang rutong 明光儒童".[76]

However, the theme may be much older. In the fragment from the *Jinshi zalu* translated above (p. 294 *sub* 2), which dates from the beginning of the fifth century and describes Wang Fu's forging the text of the *Huahu jing*, we read that according to Wang Fu

> "(Yin) Xi together with (Lao) Dan converted the barbarians *and became Buddha*",

which indicates that the story of Yin Xi becoming the Buddha is at least as old as the beginning of the fifth century, at which time it had already been incorporated in the *Huahu jing*. Actual quotations from the *Huahu jing* in which Yin Xi is transformed by Laozi into a "golden man" and remains in the West as the Buddha are not found in early works; they occur *e.g.* in the *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 of 1341.[77] However, that this legend occurred in the *Huahu jing* in the eighth century is proved by passages from two manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang which form part of the Fonds Pelliot in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[78] Pelliot 3404:

> "Laozi said: 'The Buddha is (my) disciple Yin Xi, to whom I have entrusted the (task of) preaching and conversion at this moment; although he has not yet reached perfection, he is also a Sage…".[79]

Pelliot 4502:

> "At the time of king Huan, in the year *jiazi* (which would be 716 BC), in the month with the one *yin* (*i.e.*, the fifth month of the lunar calendar), I shall order Yin Xi to use that essence of the moon (as a vehicle) to descend in Central India. (There) he will enter into the mouth of the wife of (king) Baijing 白淨 (Suddho[dana]); (thus) he will be born, availing himself of (the queen's body) as a shelter. He will be named Siddhārta. He will abandon the position of a crown-prince, and go into the mountains in order to cultivate the Way. (Finally) he will realize the unsurpassed Way, and obtain the appellation of Buddha…".[80]

We may conclude that there were various traditions concerning the role of Yin Xi. One version, according to which Yin Xi went to the West together with Laozi and there acted as the Buddha may have found its way into the *Huahu jing* as early as the beginning of the fourth century. This is also

said in the Dunhuang Ms. Pelliot 4502, which shows some affinity with the passage from the *Xuanmiao neipian* translated above (p. 301), where, however, it was Laozi himself and not Yin Xi who was born as Śākyamuni. In the other Dunhuang fragment (Pelliot 3404) Yin Xi is apparently not born as a Buddha at Kapilavastu, but, like in the still later version of the *Fozu lidai tongzai*, transformed into one by Laozi *in situ*, to be left behind for the benefit of the local population. This is also the case in the *Wenshi zhuan* where, however, Yin Xi does not become Śākyamuni, but the Buddha Mingguang rutong. In Ms. Pelliot 4502 the episode in question has become a part of a complicated frame-story: the scene has shifted to Khotan, where Laozi in the year 1028 BC assembles the gods and spirits and the kings of more than eighty Central-Asian and Indian kingdoms at a place called Pimo 毘摩, and in this assembly he predicts his eighty-one future *avatāra*s, the account of one of which contains the story of Yin Xi's incarnation translated above. The Ms. contains geographical names in Xuanzang's transcription,[81] so that this version of the story cannot be older than the second half of the seventh century, when this system of transcription started to supplant the older ones. However, at least one century earlier we find Khotan associated with Laozi's transformation into the Buddha, for the section on Khotan in ch. 90 of the *Weishu* (completed in 554 AD) already contains the entry:

> "Five hundred *li* to the West of Khotan there is the Bimo 比摩 monastery. It is said that this is the place where Laozi converted the barbarians and became Buddha".[82]

At present we shall not say more about Yin Xi's role in the *huahu* legends, merely hoping that in the future a systematic study of this literature based on all the available material will show us the way through this labyrinth of divergent and conflicting versions and traditions. Below we shall have opportunity to revert once more to this theme in connection with the *Zhengwu lun*.

Beside the theory that Laozi was the Buddha, and the one that Yin Xi was Śākyamuni (or Mingguang rutong) and that consequently Laozi was the master of the Buddha, we find a third theory, according to which Laozi became (Mahā-)Kāśyapa, one of the principal followers of the Buddha, who after Śākyamuni's death became the leader of the disciples. This theory probably found its origin in a kind of Buddhist counter-offensive against the Daoist assertions; it will therefore be treated in connection with other Buddhist "anti-*huahu*" theories.

(5) "...providing him with prohibitive and restrictive rules according to circumstances. He ordered all (barbarian converts) to practise asceticism and alms-begging in order to restrain their cruel and obstinate hearts;...to crush their ṭerce and violent nature;...to make an end to their rebellious seed".

Here we find a very peculiar conception of Buddhism: Laozi—Śākyamuni preached the doctrine among the Western barbarians not in order to save and emancipate them from the fetters of life and death, but in order to humiliate, to weaken or even to exterminate them. Several parallel passages are quoted or paraphrased in early Daoist and Buddhist treatises.

> "The barbarians have no (feelings of) altruism;[83] they are hard, obstinate, without decorum and in no way different from wild beasts. (Being such brutes) they (could) not believe in Emptiness and Non-being (which has no shape), and

therefore Laozi, having entered the (Western frontier-)pass, made images in order to convert them".[84]

"As the barbarians were primitive savages, (Laozi) wished to make an end to their evil seed. Therefore he ordered the men not to marry any women, and the women not to marry any men. Now if the whole country (of the barbarians) would submit to (this) doctrine, it would automatically cease to exist".[85]

"The barbarians were evil and savage. Therefore (Laozi) converted them to Buddhism, ordering them to shave (their heads), to (wear) reddish-brown (garments and to have no posterity".[86]

Special attention must be paid to the following passage from the anonymous *Zhengwu lun* 正誣論 (for which work see above, p. 15 *sub* 2) which very probably is the oldest Chinese Buddhist treatise in existence. It is a short polemic document devoted to the refutation of a lost Daoist essay. The use of the term *yunyun* 云云, "*etcetera*" at the end of (or sometimes also in the middle of) each of the opponent's arguments proves that we have to do with abridged quotations from this anti-Buddhist treatise which have been incorporated in the text of the *Zhengwu lun*. Since the *Zhengwu lun* may be placed around the middle of the fourth century, the anti-Buddhist treatise quoted in it must be at least as old as that, so that it must have been composed only a few decades after Wang Fu had written the *Huahu jing*. Now in the first section of the *Zhengwu lun* we find three quotations from the opponent's work, the text of which has no doubt directly been inspired by the *Huahu jing* passage translated above:

'"Yinwenzi 尹文子, endowed with supernatural powers (神通), grieved that among those barbarians father and son were living with the same wife,[87] that they were greedy, hard-hearted and violent, willing to risk their lives for the sake of profit without shame, encroaching upon (other people's rights) without ever being satisfied, and slaughtering and ripping open (the bodies of) all living beings…'. And also: 'He ordered a disciple who had obtained the Way to change and convert them', *etcetera*. And also: 'He forbade them to kill living beings, and (ordered them) to do away with marriage, so that they would have no posterity. What method could be better than this to attack the barbarians?', *etcetera*".[88]

The details of this fragment are far from clear; especially the reference to Yinwenzi, a philosopher of the late fourth century BC, is puzzling. Presently, when speaking again about this passage in another connection, we shall see that there is convincing evidence that Yinwenzi 尹文子 is a mistake for Yin Xi 尹喜.

In any case, the connection with the ideas expressed in our *Huahu jing* passage is unmistakable, and this is another indication that the latter may safely regarded as a fragment of the original text of Wang Fu.

Tang Yongtong (*History*, p. 464) has already noticed the interesting fact that some authors of the fourth and fifth century seem to have undergone the influence of this theory, resulting in a remarkable change in the traditional Chinese attitude towards and appreciation of the Indian "barbarians".

In the earliest sources the inhabitants of India are qualified as a friendly, if somewhat effeminate, people. They are "kind and full of love towards men",[89] they "adore the Buddha and therefore do not kill or attack others",[90] they are "weak and afraid of war".[91] The quotation from the *Huahu jing* and the corresponding passage from the *Zhengwu lun* translated above show that already in the first half of the fourth century the opinion had changed.

The same attitude towards the character of the Indians and a similar conception of the Buddhist doctrine as a kind of ideological antidote against their national vices appears from the following fragments, some of which we have already translated in a previous chapter.

When Wang Mi tries to defend the doctrine by adducing the favourable statements about the Indians made by early Chinese historians, Huan Xuan answers:

> "Is it not because the six kinds of barbarians are arrogant and obstinate and not to be converted by normal teachings, that (the Buddha) had to devise a mass of supernatural and strange (theories) in order to make them struck with awe and submissive, and that only after this was done they would obey the rules?" (cf. above, p. 265)

Around 433 AD He Chengtian writes to Zong Bing:

> "Those people of foreign countries are endowed with a hard and obstinate nature, full of evil desires, hatred and violence; that is why Śākyamuni severely restrained them with the five prohibitive rules", (cf. above, p. 265),

and some forty years later the Daoist Gu Huan 顧歡 says:

> "...Moreover, that Buddhism arose among the Western barbarians, is that not because the customs of these barbarians are usually evil? That the Way arose in China, is that not because the morals of China are basically good?"[92]

The fact that from the beginning of the fourth century strong nationalistic, racial and anti-foreign sentiments come to play a role in the *huahu* controversy brings us to the second fragment from the *Huahu jing*, equally quoted by Zhen Luan in his *Xiaodao lun*, a fragment which both in style and in contents so completely agrees with the one which we have translated and analysed in the preceding pages, that we are justified to regard it as another part of the original scripture. It forms a logical continuation of the last phrases of the other passage: granted that the "Buddhist" doctrine preached by Laozi to the Western barbarians actually was nothing but a device aiming at their repression and extirpation, what then could be greater folly than to introduce this deadly weapon into China?

> "It is said in the *Huahu jing*: 'Buddhism arose in a barbarian region. In the West the metallic fluid (金氣) prevails; therefore (people of that quarter) are hard and without decorum. The gentlemen of Shenzhou (China) have imitated their manners as a model and have erected Buddhist temples. Everywhere they treat the Buddhist scriptures with special veneration, and so they turn their back on what is essential and apply themselves to secondary matters. Their words are extravagant and do not agree with the wonderful doctrine (of Daoism). They adorn the sūtras and carve statues in order to deceive the ruler and his subjects. As a result, the world suffers from floods or drought, the weapons are (incessantly) used in mutual attacks. Within only ten years calamities have happened everywhere: the five planets have deviated from their fixed course, mountains have collapsed, rivers have dried up. That the transforming influence of royal (government) has not been peacefully (realized) is in all respects the result of the disorder (brought about by) Buddhism. Emperors and kings do not occupy themselves with their ancestral temples, and common people do not sacrifice to their ancestors: that is why the spirits of Heaven and Earth, the Way (of nature) and the fluids cannot be (propitiated or) restored to order".[93]

The nature of this fragment in its relation to the rest of the story of Laozi's

activities in the West is not quite clear: the speaker is obviously not Laozi, but the early fourth century author of the *Huahu jing* describing the deplorable course of events in his own time. The general impression is that of a fragment from a preface or a colophon.

In these lines we find another interesting argument brought forward; by the "unnatural" introduction of Buddhism, which as a doctrine of Western provenance is connected with the female principle (*yin*) and with metal, the hard and deadly element, the cosmic order and equilibrium are disturbed. This idea is also found (in a much more elaborated state) in a few other fragments from later works of this genre.

> "It is said in the *Laozi xu* 老子序: 'The Way of *yin* and *yang* by transformation creates the myriad things. Dao(ism) has originated in the East and corresponds to (the element) of wood and to *yang*; Buddhism has originated in the West and corresponds to (the element) of metal and to *yin*. (Thus) Daoism is the father, Buddhism the mother; Daoism is Heaven, Buddhism Earth; Daoism is birth (or: life 生), Buddhism death. Daoism is the primary cause (*yin* 因 = *hetu*), Buddhism the secondary cause (*yuan* 緣 = *pratyaya*). Together they form (a couple of) one *yin* and one *yang* which (can)not be separated. Thus Buddhism has been produced by Daoism, whereas Dao(ism) spontaneously exists and has not been produced by anything.[94] The Buddhist assembly has large seats which are square in imitation of Earth; the Daoist assembly has small seats which are round in imitation of Heaven. That the Buddhist monk does not wear arms is because the *yin* fluid is symbolized by the woman: therefore (the priest, associated with West = *yin* = woman) is not made to perform military or corvee duties. (In view of this) it is understandable why the Daoist (is allowed) to be a soldier. That the Buddhist monk does not bow when seeing the Son of Heaven or a king or a marquis symbolizes (that he is like) the woman who remains in the deep (seclusion) of the harem and does not interfere in government affairs. That the Daoist when seeing the Son of Heaven observes (the emperor's commands and bows down is because he does engage in government matters and is active as a subject and as an official. In the Daoist assembly the drinking of wine is not a sin; that in the Buddhist assembly it is not drunk is because a woman by drinking wine commits one of the seven (sins warranting) repudiation.[95] That the Daoist assembly knows no fasting is because (Daoism) is primarily concerned with life, and life requires food; that the Buddhist assembly observes fasting is because (Buddhism) is primarily concerned with death, and death is (the result of) abstinence from food, and also because the woman is moderate in eating. That the Buddhist priest sleeps alone is because women (have to) guard their chastity;[96] the Daoist spends the night in company and has therefore no restrictive rules (to observe in these matters)".[97]

And, in another passage from the same work:

> "Daoism is primarily concerned with life, Buddhism with death. Daoism eschews what is dirty, Buddhism does not. Daoism belongs to *yang*, to life, to the avoidance of what is dirty, Buddhism does the opposite. In this way pure and impure are as wide apart as Heaven (is from Earth), and (the doctrines pertaining to) life and to death are widely separated. Why then do you not observe the great Way of purity and emptiness instead of wishing to (follow) Buddhism, the dirty and evil doctrine of birth-and-death?"[98]

Finally, from the *Wenshi zhuan*:

> "Daoism has originated in the East and corresponds with Wood and male; Buddhism has originated in the West and corresponds with Metal and female".[99]

The formation of the earliest versions of the *Huahu jing* and the problems

connected with the development of this peculiar kind of literature are much too complicated to be treated adequately within the scope of this chapter; they deserve to be subjected to a more detailed analysis in a special study.

In this case our main objective was to draw the reader's attention to the anti-Buddhist arguments of a nationalistic and anti-foreign nature which came to play such an important role in the *huahu* tradition around the beginning of the fourth century, as appears from the composition of the *Huahu jing* itself and from several passages in the writings of anti-Buddhist authors of the fourth and fifth century.

When viewed against the background of the historical situation of ca. 300 AD, these sentiments become quite understandable and significant. The gradual infiltration of Hunnish and Tibetan tribes into Chinese territory and, shortly afterwards, their conquest of northern China must have intensified the anti-foreign sentiments among the Chinese gentry. One has only to read the treatise by Jiang Tong 江統 proposing "the deportation of barbarians" 徒戎論 of 299 AD to feel the atmosphere of fear and suspense and the awareness of acute danger.[100] Not without reason: around that date the infiltrated foreigners constituted one half of the population of Shanxi; the armies of the Chinese warlords consisted for a great part of non-Chinese mercenaries; in the North the Hun chieftain Liu Yuan had organized and unified the five hordes and was about to declare himself the legitimate heir of the Han empire and to start the conquest of Shanxi, assuming the title of emperor in 307. In the same year the exodus of the highest gentry was to begin, leaving the North to the barbarian invaders.

In spite of the fact that at that time the anti-foreign sentiments of the gentry must have been mainly directed towards the northern tribes, among which Buddhism at that early date does not appear to have had any appreciable influence, yet we may assume (as the passages translated above tend to confirm) that these feelings soon were extended to all "barbarians", including even those of Central Asia and India.

Two other factors must be taken into consideration when studying the earliest history of the Buddho-Daoist controversy. In the first place, the gradual expansion of Buddhism among the rural population must have undermined the power of the Daoist church and must have intensified the anti-Buddhist attitude of the Daoist masters and their spokesmen at court. In the second place, it is also around 300 AD that Buddhism started to become influential among the gentry and the highest strata of society, among the court nobility and the members of the imperial clan. This must necessarily have led to a grim rivalry between the two groups: the later conflicts between Daoism and Buddhism generally took place at court. In this connection it is important to note that (a) according to one tradition Wang Fu, the author of the *Huahu jing*, was a dignitary of the Daoist church, (b) that the controversy which led to the composition of the book took place in the (temporary) capital, and (c) that Bo Yuan, Wang Fu's Buddhist adversary, entertained close relations with at least one important member of the imperial-family (see above, p. 76).

Buddhist reactions

If we now turn to the Buddhist defence against the theory which in their eyes must have been the acme of blasphemy, two kinds of reactions may be distinguished.

The first one—chronologically speaking the second—consists of a refutation of the *huahu* theory on more or less rational grounds, *i.e.*, by demonstrating the obvious absurdity of the Daoist tenets. This kind of polemic argumentation does not seem to occur before the sixth century. Early bibliographical lists like the table of works included in Lu Cheng's *Falun* 法論 and that of Sengyou's *Fayuan zayuan yuanshi ji* 法苑雜緣原始集 (in *CSZJJ* XII) do not mention any works which, to judge from their titles, could have been devoted to a refutation of the *huahu* theory. It was only in the course of the sixth century and later, when the Daoist attacks upon Buddhism had become more violent, that the attention of the Buddhist apologetes was drawn to this dangerous and humiliating theory, and that the need was felt for its systematic and detailed refutation.

The second type of Buddhist reaction is of another nature. At a much earlier date, probably shortly after the composition of the *Huahu jing*, the Buddhists already attempted to neutralize the "slanderous talk" of the Daoists by applying their opponent's method. This brings us on the interesting subject of early Buddhist apocrypha, and more in particular on the various Buddhist theories concerning Laozi's relation to the Buddha, the Buddhist origin of Daoism and Confucianism, and the story of the "Three Saints going East".

It is unknown when the first Buddhist apocrypha were made. The earliest bibliography of Buddhist scriptures which has at least partially been preserved, Dao'an's *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理衆經目錄 (374 AD), contained in the section "suspected scriptures" (疑經錄) the titles of twenty-six works, amounting to thirty *juan*.[101] When Sengyou around the beginning of the sixth century compiled the *Chu sanzangji ji*, he reproduced Dao'an's list, but added twenty more works of this kind, arriving at a total of 46 apocrypha in 56 *juan*.[102] Less than a century later, in 594, the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 (T 2146) gives an enumeration of 53 forgeries (為妄) in 93 *juan*, and 29 "suspected works" (疑惑) in 31 *juan*.[103] For a general discussion of the various types of Buddhist apocrypha we may refer to the excellent summary given by Tang Yongtong (*History*, vol. II, pp. 594–600).

To judge from the remarks of the compilers of the various Buddhist bibliographies as well as from the fragments which have been preserved by being quoted in later works, and from the few specimens which have been found at Dunhuang, the early Buddhist apocrypha formed a rather heterogeneous literature. Several were said to have been written in trance under divine inspiration; other "sūtras" contained a kind of pseudo-Buddhist hodge-podge, in which fundamental notions of the Buddhist doctrine (such as the five prohibitive rules) were associated with the five elements, the five directions and other elements extracted from Chinese philosophy; another class is again formed by "messianic" scriptures which seem to have been modeled upon the Chinese "prognostication texts", *chan* 讖. It may be assumed that practically all these works originally had some propagandistic function, even if we find them most emphatically rejected as heterodox and misleading by serious Buddhist scholars.

It is here, on the fringe of Chinese Buddhist literature, that we get some glimpses of works which, in different versions and degrees of elaboration, contain the Buddhist counterpart of the Daoist *huahu* legend: the theory that Laozi, far from being the originator of Buddhism, actually was either a manifestation or a disciple of Śākyamuni, sent by the Lord to the East in order

to propagate a doctrine which, although in all respects inferior to the Buddhist *dharma*, could serve to prepare the way to its eventual revelation. In some cases also Confucianism is included, Laozi, Confucius, Yan Hui and even the rulers of the legendary era being qualified as Bodhisattvas.

In dealing with this subject we shall follow the same procedure as before, starting from the few third, fourth and early fifth century data which are at our disposal, and trying to interpret this nucleus of early material in the light of the more abundant information from somewhat later sources.

The *huahu* tradition was based on an existing theme in Daoist legend—the alleged journey of Laozi to the West. In a similar way, the Buddhist theories found their justification in some fundamental notions of Mahāyāna Buddhism: that of the Buddha's unlimited "skill in expedient means" (*upāya kauśalya*) and that of the magical manifestation of "illusory bodies" (*nirmāṇa kāya*) in the world by Buddhas or Bodhisattvas.

The various Mahāyāna speculations about the nature of the Buddha constitute a continuation and a further development of certain notions which, although already traceable in the earliest canonical scriptures, gained great prominence in the Buddhology of the Lokottaravādin school of the Mahāsāṃghikas. In the writings of the Mahāyāna scholiasts as well as in the canonical scriptures of this creed the Buddha has lost all human features: he is the essence of ultimate Reality, his nature is identical with Suchness (*tathatā*), the ungraspable true nature of all phenomena (*dharmatā*), in short, he is the embodiment of the Absolute itself which is neither existent nor non-existent, neither temporal nor eternal, devoid of both positive and negative characteristics and completely beyond all power of reasoning or imagination. Being in all respects supramundane (*lokottara*), his manifestation in this world is an illusory phantom: what seems to be a human teacher is a kind of mind-formed apparition which, being adapted to worldly conditions (*lokānuvartana*) and out of consideration for the limitations of the human mind, feigns to be born, to suffer, to decay and to die, whilst preaching a doctrine which, essentially being a "therapy" (*pratipakṣa*), is infinitely variegated to suit the various needs and various levels of understanding of the hearers.

The Bodhisattva doctrine bears the stamp of this development: in the course of his inconceivably long pilgrimage toward Enlightenment the future Buddha acquires the power to assume or evoke different bodies at will, by means of which he performs his task of preaching and conversion. By his "skill in expedient means" he is able to adapt his doctrine to the special circumstances and the mental characteristics of the persons to be converted.

It is only natural that in Chinese Buddhist circles the venerable sages of Chinese history and pre-history came to be regarded as manifestations of the Buddha or as *avatāra*s of Bodhisattvas. This seems to have started at a very early date. In one of the earliest extant Chinese biographies of the Buddha, the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 (T 185, translated 222–229) we find the following interesting phrase which in later apologetic literature is not seldom adduced by Buddhist authors in support of their views:

> "As to his transformations, he manifested himself in accordance with (the exigencies of) the times, sometimes as a saintly emperor, sometimes as the ancestor of the Forest of Literati (儒林之宗), or as the Daoist National Teacher (國師道士); everywhere he manifested his innumerable transformations".[104]

In a lengthy passage from his treatise "On the *śramaṇa* not paying homage to the ruler", Huiyuan develops this theme as follows:

> "It has always been my opinion that the Buddhist doctrine and Confucianism (名教), the Tathāgata and Yao-and-Confucius, in spite of their difference of starting-points latently correspond to each other, and that they eventually are identical although their points of departure are truly not the same.[105] Principles sometimes first agree with each other and later diverge, and sometimes they first diverge and later (come to) agree with each other. Initial agreement and later divergence (or differentiation): that is the case with the personal (manifestations) of the various Buddhas-Tathāgatas. Initial divergence and later agreement: such is the case with the class of the rulers and kings of all ages, princes who have not yet (succeeded in) realizing the highest (truth). How shall I make this clear?
>
> It is said in a sūtra: 'The Buddha is naturally endowed with a divine and wonderful method to convert (all) beings by means of expediency (*upāya*), widely adapting himself to whatever situation he may meet. Sometimes he will become a supernatural genie or a saintly emperor Turner of the Wheel (*cakravartin*), sometimes a chief minister, a National Teacher or a Daoist master'.[106] (Apparitions) of this kind are everywhere manifested, and there is none among the kings and (other) worthies who know who they (actually) are. This is what I mean by '(initial) agreement and later divergence' (: seemingly different doctrines being taught by different manifestations of one and the same divine power).
>
> (On the other hand,) there are some (Bodhisattvas) who have just undertaken the great task, but whose meritorious work of transformation (by preaching) has not yet reached perfection. (Being still imperfect), their outward actions show differences, and therefore (the retribution) which they receive is not the same: some are bound to obtain (the reward for) their merits after death, whilst others get a manifested response in the same year. The saintly kings who have modelled themselves after such (Bodhisattvas) and in this way accomplished their teachings cannot be counted either… This is what I call '(initial) divergence and later agreement' (: various doctrines being taught by different Bodhisattvas who, although still using different and imperfect methods, are all on the way to the same goal)…".[107]

As is usually the case with this kind of literature, the argument is stated as obscurely as possible. If we try to clear the basic content from the trappings of rhetoric under which it lies buried, we may conclude that Huiyuan distinguishes two processes: on the one hand the manifestations of great kings, statesmen or teachers evoked by the Buddha in order to direct by these means the course of moral development, on the other hand the beneficial activities of Bodhisattvas who, be it in a less perfect way, perform the same task by being born and reborn into the world and thus may become teachers or models to "saintly kings".

The fact that Huiyuan in paraphrasing the passage from the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* also mentions the "Daoist master" (which naturally refers to Laozi) among the manifestations of the Buddha may indicate that he does not exclude Daoism from his theory. However, here as elsewhere he is mainly concerned with proving the underlying unity of Buddhism and Confucianism, not as two ways of thought which more or less accidentally happen to show some similarities, but as two doctrines which, having originated from the same source, are finally destined to meet and to merge again. Huiyuan was the great champion of this idea, which we find repeated several times in the remaining fragments of his work.

It must be remarked that in doing so he did not merely repeat the words or opinions of his predecessors: in his case it was an insight won as the final result of a life-long mental evolution. In one of the most personal and interesting fragments of early Chinese Buddhist literature, Huiyuan's letter to his lay disciple Liu Chengzhi 劉程之, he discribes this evolution in a few words:

> "I often think how long ago, when I devoted myself to the study of the secular (= Confucian) scriptures (as a student in Xuchang and Luoyang), I regarded these as the most beautiful pleasaunce of our times. Then I became acquainted with (the writings of) Laozi and Zhuangzi, and I realized that Confucianism was no more than empty talk, adapted to the changing (needs of the times). Considered from (my) present (state), I realize that where the meaning of the deep(est) mysteries is concerned one cannot but give precedence to the principles of Buddhism. But if we bring these (doctrines) together as members of (one) clan, then the Hundred Schools are of one and the same nature".[108]

All these utterances are of a more general scope. As symptoms of the quite understandable tendency to identify the paragons of Confucianism and of Daoism with manifestations of Buddhist saints in the distant past, they may serve as a background to the more specific Buddhist theories, especially of the "anti-*huahu*" type, to which we will turn now.

The first glimpse which we perceive of such a theory probably dates from the middle of the fourth century. The anonymous author of the *Zhengwu lun* (see above, p. 304) answers to the assertion of his Daoist opponent who, it must be remembered, credits the philosopher Yinwenzi 尹文子 with the "conversion of the barbarians" and consequently with the creation of Buddhism:

> "Yinwenzi was a disciple of Laozi, and *Laozi was a disciple of the Buddha*",[109]

and, (*ib*.):

> "Therefore it is said in the scripture in question (故其經云): 'He (*i.e*., Laozi) heard (the exposition of) the Way in Zhuqian 竺乾. There was (in that country) a Master Gu 古先生 (or: 'an ancient master'?), who has skilfully entered *Nirvāṇa*. Without having either beginning or end, he will exist continuously'. (Now this country of) Zhuqian is India (Tianzhu)... If the Buddha would not have been prior to Laozi, why then would (Laozi) call him Master (先生 "elder-born"), and if Laozi would not have been prior to Yinwen, why then would (the latter) have asked the *Daode jing* from him?"

The last words of the second fragment prove beyond all doubt that the name Yinwen 尹文, here as well as in the passage translated on p. 304, is a mistake for Yinzi 尹子, *i.e*., Yin Xi 尹喜, the frontier guard who obtained the text of the *Daode jing* from Laozi and who, according to several versions of the *huahu* story, subsequently accompanied the Old Master to the Western Region.

The important fact here is that Laozi is represented as a disciple of a Western saint, who by the author of the *Zhengwu lun* is *expressis verbis* identified with the Buddha. The mysterious scripture quoted here is not necessarily a Buddhist forgery; it may have been a Daoist text in a Buddhist interpretation, and, in fact, there are strong reasons to suppose that this "scripture in question" was nothing but an early version of the *Xisheng jing*

西昇經, a Daoist work of the *huahu* type is quite often quoted in later Buddhist treatises.[110]

The basic point remains that Laozi, not only here, but as we shall see also in a great number of passages from the *Huahu jing* itself, is represented as a *disciple of the Buddha*, or, more specifically, as the disciple Mahākāśyapa. Such passages were of course extremely welcome to Buddhist apologetes who constantly made use of these as convincing arguments against the Daoist *huahu* theory.

It goes without saying that this theme deviates from and is even incompatible with the rest of the *huahu* story. Even if we would assume that we have to do with two distinct *avatāras* of Laozi (one as the Buddha or the Buddha's master, and one as the Buddha's main disciple)—a state of affairs which is indeed suggested by some of the passages in question—the fact remains that Laozi is here placed on a lower level than the Buddha. Moreover, we find in these passages Laozi singing the praises of the Buddha in the most unequivocal terms. As far as I can see, the only possible solution is to assume that there was a Buddhist counter-version of the account of Laozi's activities in the West in which he figured as Kāśyapa, a mere disciple of the Buddha, a theme which somehow must have crept into or have been interpolated into the original *Huahu jing* and kindred works. Let us take, by way of example, 'the following passages which—at least according to the authors of the *Xiaodao lun* and later Buddhist treatises—occurred in the *Huahu jing* of their times.

(1) "It is said in the *Huahu jing*: 'Among the great methods (術) in the world the Buddhist method is the first'."[111]

(2) "It is said in the *Huahu jing*: 'When Laozi converted (the people of) Kashmir, all of them accepted Buddhism (as preached by Laozi). Laozi said: "One hundred years after I am gone,[112] there will be another, *a real Buddha*, (now dwelling) in the Tuṣita heaven, who will let himself be born in the palace of king Suddhodana at Śrāvastī.[113] At that time I shall also send Yin Xi to be born below (on earth) to be a follower of the Buddha named Ānanda, who will compose the twelve classes of scriptures". One hundred years after Laozi had gone, a crown-prince was indeed born to the king of Śrāvastī. After having practised mortification for six years he realized the Way, and (acquired) the appellation of 'Buddha' and the *zi* of 'Śākyamuni'. When at the age of forty-nine[114] he was about to enter *Nirvāṇa*, Laozi again manifested himself in the world under the name of Kāśyapa. Between the two (Sāla) trees (where the Buddha was lying down to die) he took the initiative to ask the decisive answers to the thirty-six questions from the Tathāgata on behalf of the great Assemblies (of disciples, Bodhisattvas, gods etc. who were present).[115] Then the Buddha entered *Nirvāṇa*, and the Bodhisattva Kāśyapa burned the Buddha's corpse, assembled the relics, distributed them over (various) countries and built *stūpas* (over them). (Later) king Aśoka also erected 84.000 *stūpas*'…".[116]

(3) "It is said in the *Huahu jing*: 'under the Zhou (king) Zhuang, in the third year of the period *benchu* 本初 (an imaginary *nianhao*), in the year with the cyclical characters *bingchen*, the son of king Śuddhodana had reached full Enlightenment and obtained the name of Buddha Śākya(muni). When Laozi saw that (the Buddha) would leave the world, he was afraid that mankind would grow lax and negligent, and he descended again in the village of Duoluo 多羅[117] with the name of Kāśyapa. He became an intimate follower of the Buddha; (after the latter's *Nirvāṇa*) he burned his corpse and collected the bones, and erected *stūpas* (over these relics), distributing them (all over the country)'."[118]

(4) "It is said in the *Huahu jing*:

'I wish to pluck[119] the *uḍumbara* flowers,[120]
I wish to burn sandalwood,
to sacrifice to the bodies of a thousand Buddhas,
and to bow my head, paying homage to (the Buddha)Dīpaṃkara 定光'."[121]

(5) "It is said in the *Huahu jing*:

'Why is the Buddha born so late?
How early will his *Nirvāṇa* take place!
Since I do not see Śākyamuni
my heart is constantly afflicted'"

(for these stanzas, their different versions and their hypothetical interpretation cf. above, p. 295 sqq).

(6) "It is said in the *Huahu jing*: 'When Laozi realized that the Buddha was going to enter *Nirvāṇa*, he returned into the world under the name of Kāśyapa. He posed the questions on behalf of the *saṅgha* in the wood of sala trees (where the Buddha was dying).'"[122]

(7) "It is said in the "Scripture of Laozi's Ascension to the West" (*Laozi xisheng jing* 老子西昇經): 'My master wandered through India whilst converting (the people), and skilfully entered into *Nirvāṇa*'."[123]

(8) "Fuzi 符子 (*i.e.* Fu Lang 符朗, second half fourth century)[124] says: 'Laozi's master was called Śākyamuni'."[125]

As has been said above, we must assume that the theme in question is of Buddhist origin. This fact is furthermore illustrated by the fragment from the work of Fu Lang (above, nr. 8), who was a scion of the fervently Buddhist ruling family of the (Tibetan) Former Qin dynasty, and by the fact that the identification of Laozi with Mahākāśyapa is one of the basic features of the undoubtedly Buddhist theory of the "Three Saints" and related theories to which we shall turn now.

The theme that the Chinese sages of antiquity had been nothing else than manifestations of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas performing their pious task of "ripening the beings" was, as we have seen, already adumbrated by the famous passage from the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* translated above (cf. p. 309). At least from the end of the fourth century onward this idea was in various ways developed in a number of Buddhist apocrypha.

None of these curious works has survived; they are, however, regularly quoted in sixth and seventh century Buddhist literature. Here we find quotations from such works as the "Sūtra of the Practice of the Pure Dharma", *Qingjing faxing jing* 清淨法行經; the "Sūtra of the four Regions of Mount Sumeru", *Xumi siyu jing* 須彌四域經; the "Sūtra on Mount Sumeru with Illustrations (?)", *Xumi xiangtu shan jing* 須彌像圖山經; the "Sūtra of Laozi, the Bodhisattva of Great Expediency", *Laozi daquan pusa jing* 老子大權菩薩經; the "Sūtra of the Twelve Rambles", *Shi'eryou jing* 十二遊經; the "Sūtra of the Questions of Kongji", *Kongji suowen jing* 空寂所問經, etc.

To judge from the extant quotations, these works all agree in that they expound in a more or less developed form the theory that Laozi, Confucius and in most cases also Yan Hui 顏回, Confucius' favourite disciple, had actually been Buddhist saints, whereas sometimes an analogous story is built up

around the persons of some of the mythical "Emperors" who according to tradition laid the foundations of human culture at the dawn of history.

However, these stories do not present a unity: many of these scriptures appear to give their own version of the events, and it seems that the most important among the apocrypha mentioned above, the *Qingjing faxing jing*, existed in different recensions. The only fixed point is the identification of Laozi with Kāśyapa which we find repeated in all these texts. The lack of unity among these traditions becomes apparent when we compare the following patterns of identification which we find in four of these apocrypha:

	CONFUCIUS	YAN HUI	LAOZI
Qingjing faxing jing	Māṇava (Sumedha), 儒童菩薩	Bodhisattva Guangjing 光淨菩薩	Kāśyapa
id. (other version)	Bodhisattva Guangjing 光淨菩薩	Candraprabha, 月光菩薩	Kāśyapa
Kongji suowen jing	Māṇava (Sumedha), 儒童菩薩	Bodhisattva Guangjing 光淨菩薩	Kāśyapa
Anon. (trsl. nr. 1, quoted ca. 470 AD)	Kumāra Guangjing 光淨童子	—	Kāśyapa

It is not always clear why these and no other Buddhist saints came to be identified with Laozi, Confucius and Yan Hui. Mahākāśyapa was the oldest and most venerable among the Buddha's disciples; according to Buddhist tradition it was he who became the factual leader of the *saṅgha* after the *Nirvāṇa* of Śākyamuni, in which quality he is said to have presided the "Council at Rājagṛha". His advanced age may have been the only motive for his association to Laozi—there are, as far as I know, no other evident points of resemblance in the personality or the activities of the Elder Kāśyapa and those of the Chinese sage.

The identification Rutong—Confucius is based on quite another principle. Rutong 儒童, the Chinese translation of Māṇava(ka) (*i.e.*, "young man", esp. from a Brahman family), is commonly used to denote the Bodhisattva Sumedha (*var.* Sumati), whose life forms one of the most famous topics of Buddhist legend. Innumerable aeons ago, the Brahman youth Sumedha spent all his money to buy seven blue lotus flowers which he intended to offer to the Buddha Dīpaṃkara. Unable to reach the Buddha through the crowd of devotees which had gathered around him, Sumedha threw the flowers which did not fall on the ground but remained suspended in the air, miraculously attaching themselves to Dīpaṃkara's body. Sumedha, moved by this auspicious sign, spread his long hairs on the ground and let the Buddha walk over them, after which he received from Dīpaṃkara the solemn prediction (*vyākaraṇa*, 受記) of his future Buddhahood under the name of Śākyamuni.[126]

There is nothing in this famous *Jātaka* story which could be a clue to the identification Māṇava-Confucius, which is obviously based upon the use of the word *ru* 儒 in the Chinese translation of the word *māṇava*. *Ru* is here very probably used in the (rather exceptional) meaning of "young, weak", *i.e.*, as a graphic variant of 孺, but it could easily be interpreted as "Confucian", "Confucian scholar", which is indeed the normal meaning of the word. We cannot even exclude the possibility that the translation *rutong* originally was intended to convey a double meaning: "young/Confucian boy"—the Sanskrit word after all denotes a youngster from a Brahman family, which to the Chinese redactor of the text could only mean a boy from a family of *literati*. The peculiar use of the term *ru* in rendering Indian words may be illustrated by a note by the translator Zhi Qian, where he explains the title Śākyamuni as "Powerful Scholar" 能儒, specifying that "*śākya* means 'powerful', and *muni* has the meaning of '(Confucian) scholar'."[127]

The Bodhisattva Candraprabha(-kumāra) 月光[童子]菩薩 appears to have had a special connection with China, but not particularly with Yan Hui. He is a kind of messianic figure, whose future appearance in China is predicted in several sūtras. Some of these are already mentioned by Sengyou in the section of "suspected works" in the *Chu sanzangji ji*: the *Guan Yueguang pusa ji* 觀月光菩薩記 and the *Fobo jing* 佛鉢經 (var. *ji* 記) which according to Sengyou contained the account of "the great deluge of the year *jiashen* and the appearance of the Bodhisattva Yueguang".[128] In Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu* we find mention of a *Shouluo biqiu jian Yueguang tongzi jing* 首羅比丘見月光童子經 which is here also relegated to the section of the "forgeries".[129]

In the present canon there are two sütras in which this prediction is described. In the *Shenri jing* 申日經, another name for the *Candraprabhā*(*kumāra*) *sūtra* 月光童子經 (T 535, ascribed to Dharmarakṣa but probably translated by Zhi Qian),[130] we read how the crownprince Candraprabha tries to withhold his depraved father from attempting to poison the Buddha, and how the Buddha afterwards predicts that Candraprabha, when a thousand years after the *Nirvāṇa* the doctrine has degenerated and is about to disappear, will be born in China as a great monarch. He will restore Buddhism to its former splendour and convert the inhabitants of China and of the surrounding barbarian countries.[131] The same prediction is found in a much more elaborated form in the second chapter of T 545, the *Dehu zhangzhe jing* 德護長者經, translated about the middle of the sixth century by Nairendrayaśas.[132] The earliest trace of the legend or prediction of Candraprabha's coming to China in non-canonical literature is found in Xi Zuochi's letter to Dao'an (365 AD, cf. above, p. 189), in which he, after having extolled Dao'an's wisdom and zeal, declares: "This is what is called 'Candraprabha will appear, and the devine *pātra* is to descend'!" 所謂月光將出. 靈鉢應降 (*KSC* V 352.2.28, trsl. Link p. 23).

Thus the connection between Candraprabha and China is well-established. However, I fail to see why this Bodhisattva came to be identified with Yan Hui, Confucius' most gifted disciple who, after having followed his master for some years, prematurely died at the age of thirty-three.

I have been unable to find the legend behind the identification of Confucius or Yan Hui with the Bodhisattva Guangjing 光淨 (= Vimalaprabha? A Bodhisattva of that name does occur in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, ed. Suzuki-Idzumi 3.15).

The most important of the Buddhist apocrypha enumerated above seems to have been the "Scripture of the Practice of the Pure Dharma", *Qingjing faxing jing* 清淨法行經. It is mentioned by Fajing 法經 in his *Zhongjing mulu* (594 AD) and in several later catalogues among the "suspected scriptures".[133] In the *Chu sanzangji ji* it figures in the section of the "anonymous translations",[134] so that the work must already have been in existence at the end of the fifth century, when Sengyou gathered the materials for his catalogue. The *Qingjing faxing jing* is not mentioned in Dao'an's list of twenty-six spurious texts.

There is one phrase from another document which would prove that the scripture itself, or in any case the identification Māṇava = Confucius and Kāśyapa = Laozi existed at least one century before Sengyou. In the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Guang hongming ji* we find a complimentary letter, attributed to the famous painter and retired scholar Dai Kui 戴逵 (died 396 AD), to the *dhyāna*-master Huiming 惠 (*var.* 慧) 命. One of the first phrases of this letter contains the following significant words:

> "Thus (the Bodhisattva) Māṇava from Queli 闕里 (Confucius' birthplace) inaugurated the canon of Rites at (the banks of) the Zhu and the Ji, and Kāśyapa from Huxian 苦縣 (Laozi's birthplace) transmitted the wonderful doctrine across the Moving Sands…".[135]

This slight but unmistakable allusion would allow us to trace the Buddhist theory back to the latter half of the fourth century, if the authenticity of the document in question would not be open to doubt. Unfortunately this is the case. The monk Huiming who figures in the title of this letter was one of the most famous *dhyāna*-masters of the Liang period, and according to his biography in *Xu GSZ* (XVII 561.1.8) he was born in 529 AD, *i.e.*, more than 130 years after Dai Kui's death. Huiming lived at a monastery on Xiancheng Shan 仙城山, and since the letter as reproduced in *GHMJ* is addressed to "Huiming of Xianchengshan", the possibility that another *dhyāna*-master of this name is meant must be excluded.

It would be tempting to go one step further backward and to connect the origin of this pattern with a passage from the *Guanding jing* 灌頂經 (T 1331, ?*Mahābhiśekamantra*), a collection of *mantras* the translation of which is attributed to the famous Kuchean preacher Śrīmitra 帛尸梨蜜多羅 who was active at Jiankang in the first decades of the fourth century. In the sixth chapter of this text we find the following passage:

> "Within the borders of Jambudvīpa there is the country of Zhendan 震旦 (Cīnasthāna = China). I shall send three Saints 三聖 to that country in order there to convert and to guide (the inhabitants), so that the people (may become) tender and compassionate, and fully endowed with (the feelings of) decorum and righteousness…".[136]

Unfortunately, the attribution of the translation of the *Guanding jing* to Śrīmitra is far from certain. In the earliest catalogues the work does not occur at all. The *Lidai sanbao ji* of 597 and the *Da Tang neidian lu* of 664 are the first works in which this scripture is mentioned under the name of Śrīmitra, and both bibliographies refer to the (lost) *Jinshi zalu* 晉世雜錄 (early fifth century) for this information.[137] However, Śrīmitra's *Guanding jing* is neither mentioned in Sengyou's *Chu sanzangji ji* (completed ca. 515) nor in Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu* of 594. On the other hand, both Sengyou

and Fajing speak about a *Guanding jing* in two *juan* which is classed by them among the "suspected scriptures", adding that this work had been fabricated by the monk Huijian 慧簡 in the year 457.[138] In view of these facts a certain reserve regarding the date of the *Guanding jing* seems necessary; the passage from the letter of Xi Zuochi remains the earliest reference to the theory of the Buddhist Saints going to the East.

The other Buddhist apocrypha which we have mentioned above are certainly of a later date, being products of the fifth or sixth century. Whatever bibliographical data concerning these works could be gathered from the various Buddhist catalogues will be given in the notes to the translation of the fragments below.

In practically all cases the Buddhist theory is applied to the two patriarchs of the two rival systems of thought: Confucius and Laozi. Moreover, we often find Confucius' favourite disciple Yan Hui included, thus forming a group of three Buddhist Saints in Chinese guise.

(1) "Therefore it is said in a sūtra: 'Mahākāśyapa is there (in China) called Laozi, and (the Bodhisattva) Guangjingtongzi 光淨童子 is there called Zhongni (Confucius)'.... Thus Laozi and Confucius (actually) are emissaries of the Buddha".[139]
(2) "Therefore the Tathāgata sent Samantabhadra majestically to walk the way to the West,[140] (and in the same way he sent) the Three Worthies jointly to guide (the people) at the capital of the East. Hence it is said in a sūtra: 'The *mahāsattva* Kāśyapa—that is Laozi'. Thus (Kāśyapa), by an artful device, taught the doctrine of the Five Thousand (Words of the *Daode jing*) in order to protect and instruct (the people) of the Zhou era. When his task of (civilizing) transformation had been fulfilled, he returned to India and, by doing so, showed the outward appearance[141] of (a Chinese teacher) turning his back to the frontier pass (of China) and withdrawing to the West: (this assumption) led the Chinese *to compose the Huahu jing*".[142]
(3) "It is said in the *Qingjing faxing jing*: 'The Buddha sent three disciples to China in order to teach and convert (the people). The Bodhisattva Rutong 儒童 (Māṇava) is there called Confucius, the Bodhisattva Guangjing 光淨 is called Yan Yuan, and Mahākāśyapa is called Laozi'."[143]
(4) "It is said in the (*Qingjing*) *faxing* (*jing*): '(The Buddha) first sent out the Three Worthies in order gradually to instruct them with secular teachings, and afterwards he changed their heterodox (ideas) and made them follow the right (principles) by means of the Buddhist scriptures'."[144]
(5) "It is said in the *Kongji suowen jing* 空寂所問經 'Kāśyapa is Laozi, Rutong (Māṇava) is Confucius, Guangjing is Yan Hui'."[145]
(6) "It is said in the "Sūtra of Heaven-and-Earth of the Inner Canon", *Neidian tiandi jing* 內典天地經: 'The Buddha sent out Three Saints in order to convert that land in the East; the Bodhisattva Kāśyapa is there called Laozi'."[146]
(7) "It is said in the 'Sūtra of Laozi the Bodhisattva of Great Expediency', *Laozi daquan pusa jing* 老子大權菩薩經: 'Laozi is the Bodhisattva Kāśyapa; he wandered through China whilst converting (the people)'."[147]

There is, as far as I know, only one case in which Yan Hui's position in the pattern is occupied by another hero of Confucianism, the famous Duke of Zhou, a statesman whom Confucian tradition credits with the codification of the state institutions of the Zhou in the second half of the twelfth century BC. In an edict of emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, dated May 2, 504, it is said:

> "Although Laozi, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius were disciples of the Buddha, yet the outward manifestations of their doctrines are not correct, since they are limited to (the propagation of) what is good in this world (of men)".[148]

We cannot make out on what scripture the pious emperor based this assertion; it probably was a free variation on the well-known theme of Confucius—Laozi—Yan Hui rather than a quotation from or an allusion to a well-defined Buddhist apocryphal work containing another version of this legend.

Not contenting themselves with drawing the founders of Confucianism and Daoism into the sphere of Buddhist hagiography, the authors of these apocrypha applied the same method to two of the semi-divine beings who, according to Chinese tradition, in the most distant past had introduced the basic elements of human civilization: Fu Xi 伏羲 (trad. 2852–2737 BC) the inventor of the eight trigrams of the *Book of Changes*, who introduced cattle-breeding, fishing and hunting techniques etc., and the female Nü Gua 女媧, Fu Xi's younger sister, credited with the introduction of marriage regulations and the invention of musical instruments.

(1) "It is said in the Sūtra of the Four Regions of Mt. Sumeru, *Xumi siyu jing* 須彌四域經: 'The Bodhisattva Baoyingsheng 寶應聲 is named Fu Xi, the Bodhisattva Baojixiang 寶吉祥 is named Nü Gua'."[149]

(2) (from the same sūtra): "The Bodhisattva Yingsheng 應聲 is Fu Xi; the Bodhisattva Jixiang 吉祥 is Nü Gua".[150]

Here the Buddhist reinterpretation of history has reached its last conclusion: not only Confucianism and Daoism, but the very foundations of Chinese culture are reduced to the "civilizing influence" of Buddhist Saints in the distant past!

Who are these Bodhisattvas? It goes without saying that Nü Gua had to be identified with a female manifestation of a Bodhisattva. This is indeed what happened, for (Bao-) jixiang (tian) ）[寶]吉祥[天] is nobody else but Śrīmahādevī, *i.e.*, the godess Lakṣmī, who in Buddhist texts sometimes figures as a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta, 大勢至菩薩.[151] Now Mahāsthāmaprāpta is one of the two Bodhisattvas associated with Amitābha, the Buddha of the Western Paradise, the other one being Avalokiteśvara.[152] As is told in the next fragment, the two Bodhisattvas who became Fu Xi and Nü Gua were both sent by Amitābha, so that we may conclude that the cryptic (Bao) yingsheng 應聲 is a free and elsewhere not attested rendering of Avalokiteśvara (in which the Sanskrit name is read as *Avalokitasvara, "survey-sound", as is usually done in Chinese translations, and in which the first member of the compound is given the fancy rendering *ying*, "to respond", and the second member is translated by *sheng* "voice, sound" instead of by *yin*, "sound").

The following passage (apparently a paraphrase or a summary of the accounts of two Buddhist apocrypha) presents the same theme in a more elaborated form; it is an extremely interesting example of the way in which a new Chinese Buddhist legend is formed by a fusion of elements of Indian and Chinese provenance. It may be useful first to say a few words about the Indian Buddhist theory concerning the evolution of the world at the beginning of a new cosmic period, which in this story sets the stage to the *avatāras* of Fu Xi and Nü Gua.

The first phase of this evolution according to Buddhist cosmogony may be outlined as follows.

During the cosmic interlude which follows a previous "*kalpa* of destruction", nothing exists but empty space up to the Brahmā world. At the end of this period, the first beginning of a new development is marked by the appearance of the primordial winds which start to blow, gathering more and more force by the collective *karman* of all beings, until they have formed the cosmic whirlwind (*vāyumaṇḍala*), the base of the emerging "receptacle-world" (*bhājanaloka*). Into this world, which is still a *tohu-va-bohu* of water and darkness, the "Radiant Gods" (*ābhāsvaradeva*) from a higher world are born. They have luminous and immaterial bodies and lead a blissful existence for a long period. At a given moment the ocean starts to develop a kind of edible earth which floats like scum on the surface. The gods start feeding upon this substance and loose their radiance, after which sun and moon make their appearance. This marks the beginning of a process of moral degeneration which creates the need for social organisation.[153]

We shall now turn to the following fragment, in which the manifestation of Avalokiteśvara-Fu Xi and Śrīmahādevī-Nü Gua is described in terms of Indian Buddhist cosmogony.

(3) (*Bianzheng lun* by Falin):

> "The Emperor Fu Xi is the *Mahāsattva* Yingsheng 應聲 (Avalokiteśvara); the Empress Nü Gua is the Bodhisattva Jixiang 吉祥 (Śrīmahādevī)".
> (Commentary by Chen Ziliang, first half sevent century):
> "It is said in the *Xumi xiangtu shan jing* 須彌象圖山經 as well as in the *Shi'eryou jing* 十二遊經: 'The *kalpa* of evolution (成劫, *vivartakalpa*) had already passed, and the *kalpa* of duration (住劫, *vivṛttāvasthākalpa*) had come, and (of this *kalpa*) seven small *kalpas* (小劫, *antarakalpa*) had elapsed, when the Radiant Gods (光音天, *ābhāsvaradeva*) descended to feed upon the fat of the earth. These gods had a luminous shine behind their necks and on their backs; far and near they illuminated each other. Since they fed upon the fat of the earth, desire gradually developed in their hearts, in consequence of which they lost their radiance. The people were grieved at this. By that time Amitābha, the Buddha of the western quarter, said to the two great Bodhisattvas Baoyingsheng and Baojixiang; 'Go to those (people), create the sun and moon for them in order to open up their eyes, and make laws and rules for them'. (Thereupon) Baoyingsheng manifested himself as Fu Xi, and Baojixiang transformed herself into Nü Gua. Afterwards they made it appear as if their allotted (life) had ended and so returned to the West'."[154]

Before concluding this chapter, let us return once more to the *Huahu jing*. We have already ventured the hypothesis (above p. 312) that those passages of the *Huahu jing* which are of a definitely "pro-Buddhist" nature and which for this reason are often adduced by Buddhist apologetes as arguments *against* the *huahu* theory, are actually Buddhist interpolations. Among these passages we find some which most emphatically state that Zhang Ling 張陵, the reputed founder of the Daoist church, had worshipped the Buddha and that he had entertained close relations with various Buddhist divinities. The Buddhist provenance of these passages is obvious, especially in the fourth fragment translated below: after a summary account of the transmission of the Daoist doctrine from Mahākāśyapa down to the masters of the Han era (the filiation of whom is described in a way that defies all chronology), the famous legend

of the dream of emperor Ming in 64 AD and the introduction of Buddhism into China are predicted by Kāśyapa, and here Buddhism is clearly represented as a superior doctrine which finally has come to replace the degenerate teachings of the Daoist masters.

(1) "It is said in the *Laozi shengxuan jing* 老子昇玄經: 'The Heavenly Worthy 天尊 told (Zhang) Daoling to go to the East and to visit the Buddha (of the eastern quarter) in order to receive the doctrine'."[155]

(2) (Quotation from the same scripture): "The Tathāgata of the eastern quarter sent the *mahāsattva* Shansheng 善勝 to the Most High (太上, *i.e.*, Laozi) in order to say: 'The Tathāgata has heard that you have expounded the doctrine to Zhang Ling, therefore he has sent me to see you'. Then he said to Zhang Ling: 'Follow me to the Buddha's place of residence, (for there) I shall make you see things which you never have seen, and make you hear things which you never have heard'. Thereupon (Zhang) Ling paid homage to the *mahāsattva* and followed him to the Buddha's place of residence".[156]

(3) "It is said in the *Daoshi Zhang Ling biezhuan* 道士張陵別傳: 'When living in the Haoming mountains 鵠鳴山[157] he sacrificed to a golden statue and recited Buddhist sūtras'."[158]

(4) "It is said in the *Huahu jing*: 'The Bodhisattva Kāśyapa said: 'Five hundred years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Tathāgata I shall travel to the East and transmit the Way to Han Pingzi 韓平子, who will ascend to Heaven in broad daylight. Two hundred years later I shall transmit it to Zhang Ling; again two hundred years later I shall transmit it to Jian Pingzi 建平子, and again two hundred years later I shall transmit it to Wu Shi 午室.[159] Afterwards, at the end (*sic*!) of the Han, (the faith) with gradually disappear, and people will no longer accept my doctrine. And under the Han (emperor) Ming, in the seventh year of the *yongping* era (64 AD), in the year with the cyclical characters *jiazi*, a star will at daylight be visible in the West. At night, emperor Ming will dream about a divine man sixteen feet tall, with a halo (like) sunshine (behind) his neck. At dawn, he will ask his courtiers (about the meaning of his dream). Fu Yi 傅毅 will say: 'In the West, the crownprince of a barbarian king has realized the Way and acquired the name of Buddha'.[160] Emperor Ming will then send out Zhang Qian and others, who will go beyond the source of the (Yellow) River, pass through thirty-six countries and (finally) arrive at Śrāvastī. The Buddha will (at that time) already have realized *Nirvāṇa*. (The Chinese envoys) will copy sūtras to the amount of 605.000 words, and in the eighteenth year of *yongping* (75 AD) they will return'."[161]

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1] The first Chinese who is known to have mastered Sanskrit is the late fourth century translator Zhu Fonian (cf. p. 202); before that time, some Chinese monks and laymen like Nie Daozhen, Nie Chengyuan (cf. p. 68) and Bo Yuan (p. 76) appear to have acquired some linguistic training as assistants of foreign translators. On the other hand, some foreign missionaries were well-versed in Chinese (Kang Senghui, Zhi Qian, Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva). However, the most prominent Chinese masters and exegetes of this period (people like Zhi Dun, Dao'an, Zhu Fatai, Huiyuan etc.) ignored Sanskrit altogether. Cf. R. H. van Gulik, *Siddham, an Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan*, Nagpur 1956, esp. pp. 12–14.

[2] At least not in the South. In the North, ruled by "barbarian" dynasties, we do find some traces of revolutionary movements with a Buddhist tinge, cf. J. Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme* (Paris 1956), p. 278, and below, p. 183.

[3] For the terms *xuanxue* and "Neo-Daoism" cf. below, p. 87 and p. 289.

[4] Cf. E. G. Pulleyblank, '"Gentry Society'; some remarks on recent work by W. Eberhard", *BSOAS* XV (1953) p. 588 sqq.

[5] Wang Yitong 王伊同, *Wuchao mendi* 五朝門第 ("*The social, political and economic aspects of the influential clans of the Southern Dynasties*"), 2 vols., published by the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies of the University of Nanjing (金陵大學中國化研究所), Chengdu 1943.

[6] Cf. H. Franke, *Sinologie*, pp. 112–113 and the literature mentioned there.

[7] On this work see below, p. 10, *sub* (1).

[8] *GSZ* VI 358.1.6.

[9] *Ib*. VI 364.2.27.

[10] *Ib*. VI 365.1.9.

[11] *Ib*. VII 367.2.1.

[12] *Ib*. VI 362.3.15.

[13] *Ib*. I 327.3.8.

[14] *Ib*. VI 356.2.26.

[15] *Ib*. IV 351.1.6.

[16] *Ib*. V 356.3.8.

[17] Cf. H. Franke, "Some remarks on the interpretation of Chinese Dynastic Histories", in *Oriens* III (Leiden, 1950) pp. 113–122; about so-called "poverty" esp. p. 121 sqq.

[18] *E.g*., Faxian 法顯 (*GSZ* III 337.2.21), Daosui 道邃 (*ib*. IV 350.2.13), Dao'an 道安 (*ib*. V 351.3.4), Fakuang 法曠 (*ib*. V 356.3.7), Daoheng 道恆 (*ib*. VI 364.2.26), Sengche 僧徹 (*ib*. VII 370.3.3).

[19] *Ib*. I 327.1.13 and 327.2.29.

[20] *Ib*. IV 347.3.12.

[21] *Ib*. IV 350.3.12.

[22] *Ib*. V. 356.2.25.

[23] *Ib*. VI 363.1.29.

[24] *Ib*. IV 347.1.18.

[25] *Ib*. IV 348.2.8.

[26] *Ib*. V 351.3.3.

[27] *Ib*. VI 357.3.20.

[28] For the other important aspect of the *saṅgha*, that of "political neutrality", which is characteristic of at least one famous Buddhist centre in the late fourth century, cf. below, p. 216.

[29] Cf. *Hōbōgirin*, s.v. *Busshi*.

[30] The basic source for the Buddhist theory concerning the origin of the castes is *Aggañ-ñasutta*, Dīgha XXVII. 21 sqq. = *Dialogues* III. 77 sqq. For the parable of the ocean and the rivers see *e.g., Zengyi ahan* (T 125) XXI 658.3.10. Cf. also the fourth of the five dreams of the Buddha on the night before his Enlightenment, in which he saw that four birds of different colours, symbolizing the members of the four castes, came from the four quarters and, falling at the Buddha's feet, became white; *Aṅguttara* III. 240 = *Gradual Sayings* III p. 176; *Mvst*. II. 136, trsl. J. J. Jones vol. II p. 131.

[31] *GSZ* V 351.3.3.

[32] *Ib*. V 356.2.3; var. Tanwei 曇微. There is probably some chronological mistake here. According to the *GSZ*, Tanhui lived from 323–395; when he became a novice (according to these data in 333), Dao'an was only 21 years old and had not yet become a disciple of Fotudeng.

[33] *Ib*. V 356.2.17.

[34] *Ib*. VI 363.2.3.

[35] *Ib*. VI 363.2.22.

[36] *Ib*. 362.2.12.

[37] *Ib*. VI 361.1.23; Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 359–360.

[38] See P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 266, note 2.

[39] Cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1912, p. 392 and *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 266 note 1.

[40] For the theory of the survival of the soul after death see Tsuda Sayūkichi 津田左右吉, "Shin-metsu fu-metsu no ronsō ni tsuite" 神滅不滅の論争に就いて, *Tōyōgakuhō* XXIX (1942). 1 pp. 1–52, 2 pp. 33–80; Itano Chōhachi 板野長八, "Eon no shin-fu-metsu-ron" 慧遠の神不滅論 in *Tōhōgakuhō* XIV. 3, Tōkyō 1943, pp. 1–40; Zhu Bokun 朱伯昆, "Jin Nanbeichao shiqi wushenlunzhe fandui fojiaozhong linghun busi xinyangdi douzheng" 晉南北朝时期無神論者反對佛教中灵魂不死信仰的斗爭 *Beijing daxue xuebao* (Renwen kexue) 2, 1957, pp. 29–60; W. Liebenthal, "Shi Hui-yüan's Buddhism as Set Forth in his Writings", *JAOS* LXX (1950) pp. 243–259, the well-documented study by the same author "The Immortality of the Soul in Chinese Thought", *Mon. Nipp*. VIII (1952) pp. 326–397 (list of Chinese sources on this subject *ib*. pp. 338–340), and Tsukamoto Zenryū's remarks in his notes to "Wei Shou's Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism" (trsl. Leon Hurvitz), in *Yünkang*, vol. XVI, suppl. p. 33 sqq. We shall revert to the problem of *shen* 神 and its role in *xuanxue* and early Chinese Buddhism later on.

[41] T 1856; eighteen letters of Huiyuan with Kumārajīva's answers, written between 405 and 409, collected and edited at some date between 470 and 600 under the title *Dasheng da yizhang* 大乘大義章, var. *Jiumoluoshi fashi dayi* 鳩摩羅什法師大義 in 3 ch. Cf. below, p. 226 sqq.

[42] T 1856 ch. I (second letter) p. 123.3.1.

[43] *GSZ* VI 358.1.11; ca 357 AD.

[44] *Ib*. IV 347.1.18, cf. Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 234–238.

[45] *Ib*. V 355.1.25.

[46] *Mouzi* section XXVI, *HMJ* I 5.3.4; trsl. Pelliot *TP* XIX (1920) p. 316.

[47] Cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX (1920) pp. 269–271.

[48] In 牟子理惑論辨偽 (in his 佛學研究十八篇, part II) pp. 11–12.

[49] In his *Shina ni okeru Bukkyō to Jūkyō Dōkyō* 支那に於ける佛教と儒教道教, pp. 89–100.

[50] *Sibu zhengwei* ch. III, ed. by Gu Jiegang in 古籍考辨薹, p. 46.

[51] In ch. IV of his *Zhougao shulin* 籀高述林.

[52] In his 牟子理惑論檢討, in *YJXB* XX, 1936, pp. 1–23.

[53] In his 與周叔迦論牟子書, in *Lunxue jinzhu* vol. I, pp. 151–154.

[54] In his 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (hereafter referred to as *History*), pp. 76–77.

[55] In "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming; étude critique des sources", *BEFEO* X, 1901, pp. 95–130.

[56] "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés", *TP* XIX, 1920, pp. 255–286, and "Note additionelle", *ib.* pp. 429–433 (containing a refutation of Tokiwa Daijō's opinion mentioned above).

[57] In his *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究 (Tōkyō 1952), pp. 332–436.

[58] This may refer to his stay on Mt. Lu in 402 AD, when he took part in the collective "vow" before Amitābha, cf. *GSZ* VI 358.3.19 and below, p. 218.

[59] In *Mon. Nipp.* VIII, 1952, pp. 378–394.

[60] The text of the *Baihei lun* is not included in *HMJ* or *GHMJ*, but it is found in *Songshu* 97.6b sqq.; translated by W. Liebenthal in *Mon. Nipp.* VIII, 1952, pp. 365–373.

[61] In *JAOS* LXX, 1951, pp. 243–359; revised version in *Mon. Nipp.* VIII, 1952, pp. 354–365.

[62] In *Mon. Nipp.* VIII, 1952, p. 343, note 4 to his translation of this text.

[63] *JS* 82.6b.

[64] According to *JS* 82.7b, his youngest son Fang 放 was seven or eight years old when Yu Liang was military governor of Jingzhou, *i.e.*, 334–338 AD; consequently Fang had been born before 332.

[65] *JS* 82.7a.

[66] Cf. *JS* 92.19a.

[67] *JS* 10.6a.

[68] *JS* 85.7a–b.

[69] As is done by Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 352. There is another important source, frequently mentioned in our notes but not included in the list in this chapter because of its northern origin: the series of five (or four) treatises by Sengzhao 僧肇 composed at Chang'an between 404 and 414, *viz.*:

Wubuqian lun 物不遷論 ("On the immutability of things", ca. 410), *Buzhen konglun* 不真空論 ("On the emptiness of the unreal", ca. 410); *Boruo wuzhi lun* 般若無知論 ("On *prajñā* not having (conscious) knowledge", ca. 405), "Answer to Liu Yimin" 答劉遺民 (preceded by the text of the letter in question, written 408 AD by Liu Chengzhi 劉程之, one of Huiyuan's lay disciples on Lu Shan), *Nieban wuming lun* 涅槃無名論 ("On the namelessness of *Nirvāṇa*"; of doubtful authenticity, but in any case first half 5th cent.; cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 670 and Shi Jun 石峻, "Du Huida Zhaolunshu shu suojian" 讀慧達肇論疏述所見, *Beiping tushuguan tushu jikan*, new series V. 1, 1944, who both deny its authenticity; W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao* pp. 167–168 who regards it as an original work with later interpolations; survey of various opinions and arguments in favour of its authenticity by Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日 in *Jōron Kenkyū* 肇論研究, Kyōto 1955, p. 190 sqq.). All authorities reject the introductory chapter entitled *Zongbenyi* 宗本義 as spurious. The treatises were put together some time during the first half of the 6th century under the name of *Zhaolun* 肇論 (T 1858). Excellent Japanese translation by Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 (who dates the author 374–414) his collaborators in *Jōron Kenkyū* pp. 1–109; a very free and sometimes misleading translation has been given by W. Liebenthal in *The Book of Chao* (*Mon. Ser.* Monograph XIII, Beijing 1948).

CHAPTER TWO

[1] Liang Qichao in *Foxue yanjiu shiba pian* 佛學研究十八篇 ch. 2 (佛教之初輸入) pp. 1–2; cf. also Hatani Ryōtei 羽溪了諦, *Seiiki no bukkyō* 西域之佛教 (Chinese translation by He Changqun 賀昌羣: *Xiyu zhi fojiao*, 2nd ed., Shanghai 1933), p. 32, and Ono Gemyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* vol. XII p. 18. These scholars seem to have been influenced by Terrien de Lacouperie whom they repeatedly quote. The story of Shilifang figures as authentic history in Terrien de Lacouperie's *Western Origin of Early Chinese Civilisation* (London 1894), p. 208b (§ 231), but it had already been dismissed as a legend by S. Beal in 1882 (*Buddhist literature in China*, pp. 1–2).

[2] *Lidai SBJ* I, T 2034 23.3; Falin 法琳, *Poxie lun* 破邪論 in *GHMJ* XI 166.1.4 = *Fayuan zhulin* XII, T 2122 p. 379.1.6. All these sources refer to the catalogues of Dao'an and Zhu Shixing 朱士行. There is no trace of Shilifang in Dao'an's work (cf. below, note 65) as far as it has been incorporated in the *CSZJJ*. The so-called Han catalogue of Zhu Shixing 朱士行漢錄, regularly quoted in *Lidai SBJ*, is a late and highly unreliable product, perhaps made to replace a lost original of the third century. It is never mentioned in catalogues earlier than the *Lidai SBJ*, and since the compiler of the latter work himself declares that he did not see it, it probably never existed as an independent work. Cf. Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎, *Kyōroku kenkyū* 經録研究, Tōkyō 1941 pp. 241–281; Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, (*Gokan yori Sō Sei ni itaru*) *yakkyō sōroku* (後漢より宋齊に到る) 釋經總録, Tōkyō 1938, pp. 77–86. On Shi Li-fang see also Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 7–8.

[3] *Lidai SBJ* XV T 2034 127.2 in the list of "lost catalogues"; cf. *Da Tang NDL* X (T 2149) 336.2.12; *Kaiyuan SJL* X (T 2154) 572.3.5; *Zhenyuan SJML* (T 2156) 897.1.5; Bagchi, *Canon*, introd. xxxii–xxxiii; Hayashiya, *op. cit.*, p. 222 sqq. The work in question is never quoted or referred to, and has probably never existed even as a forgery.

[4] See *HS* 6.15a, H. H. Dubs, *HFHD* II. 63.

[5] Ed. *Eryou tang congshu* 二酉堂叢書 p. 5b (fragments collected by Zhang Shu 張澍, 1821).

[6] O. Franke, "Zur Frage der Einführung des Buddhismus in China", *MSOS* XIII, 1910, pp. 295–305.

[7] In *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 629–636, esp. p. 631 sqq.

[8] Quoted in *Chuxue ji* 初學記 VII, 12a.

[9] *GSZ* I 325.1.19.

[10] *Mingfo lun* 明佛論, *HMJ* II 12.3.8.

[11] *Weishu* 114.1a; J. R. Ware, "Wei Shou on Buddhism", *TP* 30, 1933, p. 110, trsl. Hurvitz p. 28: 及開西域.遣張騫使大夏.還傳其旁有身毒國.一名天竺始聞浮屠之教. Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 9–10; Ono Gemyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. XII, pp. 18–19.

[12] *GHMJ* II 101.1.19: 及開西域.遣張騫使大夏.還云.身毒天竺國有浮圖之教.

[13] *SJ* 110.18a; *HS* 94A.19b–20a and 55.7b; for *tu* 屠 Yan Shigu (581–645) gives the aberrant pronunciation *chu* (儲: *d̂i̯wo* with a palatal initial instead of 屠: *d'uo*). Xiuchu (either the name of a Xiongnu tribe or of a locality) is identified with Liangzhou 涼州, the present-day Wuwei 武威 in Gansu, by Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, I, p. lxviii. See further Hatani Ryōtei 羽溪了諦, "Kyūto-ō no kinjin ni tsuite" 休屠王の金人に就いて. *Shirin* III, 1918, fasc. 4. pp. 31–46, and Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "On the territory of the Xiongnu Prince Hsiu-t'u wang and his metal statues for Heaven worship", *Mem. of the Research Dept. of the Tōyō Bunko* no. 5, 1930, pp. 1–79; H. H. Dubs, "The 'Golden Man' of Former Han times" in *TP* 33 (1937) pp. 1–41, esp. p. 10 sqq.; postscript *ib.* pp. 191–192; J. Ware, "Once more

the Golden Man", *TP* 34, 1938, pp. 174–178, and Tsukamoto Zenryū's remarks in *Yünkang* vol. XVI, supplement p. 27.

[14] Quoted in Yan Shigu's commentary to *HS* 55.7b: 張晏云佛徒祠金人也.

[15] *Shishuo xinyu* comm. Ib/16b quoting *Hanwu gushi* 漢武故事; *Weishu* 114.1a, Ware, *op. cit.* pp. 107–109, cf. *Fayuan zhulin* XII, T 2122 p. 378.3; condensed version in *GHMJ* II 101.1.16.

[16] *SSXY* comm. IB/16a.

[17] In the review mentioned in note 7, p. 635.

[18] *Yanshi jiaxun* XVII (section 書證) p. 37 (ed. *Zhuzi jicheng*). In any case the passage in question was already used by Buddhists at the beginning of the fifth century for propagandistic purposes, cf. Zong Bing, *Mingfo lun* in HMJ II 12.3.8: 劉向列仙敘七十四人在佛經. In *Fayuan zhulin* XII (T 2122) p. 379.1 and C, p. 1028.3 we find a more detailed explanation based upon a passage from the *Wenshushili bannieban jing* 文殊師利般湼槃經 according to which the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī 450 years after the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* preached the doctrine to 500 *tīrthikas* (here rendered by 仙人 "Immortals"!) in the Himālayas 雲山. Daoshi 道世, the compiler of the *Fayuan zhulin*, then identifies these "Snow mountains" with the Congling 葱嶺 (the Pamir plateau) and concludes that the "immortals" mentioned here were inhabitants of Central Asian countries East of the Congling, whose fame had spread to the East in Former Han times when China had established relations with these countries.

[19] Bagchi, *Canon* p. xxxiii; Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 114; P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XXLV, 1924, p. 6 note 1; Hayashiya, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–232.

[20] H. Maspero, "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming, étude critique des sources", *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 95–130; Tang Yongtong, *History* ch. 2 (pp. 16–30).

[21] Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–130.

[22] *CSZJJ* VI 42.3.15 sqq.

[23] The *Han faben neizhuan* is mentioned for the first time in the description of a debate between Buddhists and Daoists at Luoyang, held under imperial auspices in 520 AD (*Xu GSZ* XXIII 624.3.26 = *GHMJ* I 100.3.10, cf. also below, p. 273) and seems to be a product of the North. Cf. H. Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 225–227 and *ib.* pp. 118–120; P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, pp. 388–389. The work consisted of five *juan*; a summary of its contents is given in *Xuji gujin fodao lunheng* 續集古今佛道論衡 T 2105, pp. 397.2–401.3, and in *GHMJ* I 98.3.11 sqq.; also quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* XVIII 416.3, XL 600.2 and LV 700.2. At the end of his summary the compiler of the *GHMJ* remarks that some critics regard the *Han faben neizhuan* as a recent product without any historical base, and he defends its authenticity by pointing to the *Wushu* 吳書 which also contains the story of the Buddho-Daoist contest in 69 AD. Nothing could be less surprising, for the so-called *Wushu* (also quoted in T 2105 and in *GHMJ* I) is another, still later, Buddhist forgery concocted from passages from *GSZ* and *Hanfaben neizhuan* (cf. below, note 150).

[24] *GSZ* I 324.2.27.

[25] *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.23 and XIII 97.2.14.

[26] *GSZ* I 326.3.3.

[27] *CSZJJ* XIII 98.2.11.

[28] *CSZJJ* XIII 96.1.20.

[29] *Ib.* 96.2.1; *GSZ* I 325.1.13.

[30] Colonies of foreigners, named after their place of origin, existed already on Chinese territory in Former Han times. Thus the chapter on geography of the *Hanshu* mentions a Yuezhi Dao 月氏道, one of the twenty-one prefectures (*xian*) of Anding 安定 commandery, in present-day Gansu (*HS* 28 B.5a), and a Qiuzi 龜茲 Xian in Shang 上 commandery (Shanxi) (*ib.* 6a). According to all commentators, these were settlements of Yuezhi and Kuchean immigrants (although these Yuezhi may have belonged to the "Small Yuezhi" of Western Gansu

rather than to the "Great Yuezhi" who after their trek around the middle of the second century BC had settled in Bactria). See also P. A. Boodberg, "Two notes on the History of the Chinese Frontier", *HJAS* I (1936), pp. 283–307, esp. pp. 286–291 for Qiuzi Xian in Gansu and an "Aqsu" in Shanxi, and H. H. Dubs, *A Roman city in Ancient China* (The China Society, London 1957) for a possible "Alexandria" (驪軒) in central Gansu (cf. *Hanshu buju*, large edition, 28 BI.16a). It is no doubt due to the presence of such early Western immigrants that some faint but unmistakable traces of Buddhist influence are to be found in early Han literature and art. Chavannes (*Cinq cents contes et apologues* vol. I, pp. xiv–xv) has already called the attention to the occurrence of Buddhist themes in *Huainanzi*; another remarkable example in the field of art is the representation of two six-tusked elephants on a bas-relief from Tengxian 滕縣 (S. Shandong) which probably dates from the middle of the first century (cf. Lao Gan 勞幹, "Six-tusked elephants on a Han bas-relief", *HJAS* XVII, 1954, pp. 366–369; picture of the relief *ib.* and in *Corpus des pierres sculptées Han*, Beijing 1950, vol. I, pl. 113). Of course the influence may have been very indirect, and the occurrence of such themes does not imply any knowledge about their Buddhist provenance and original significance.

[31] *CSZJJ* XIII 97.3.8; cf. *GSZ* I 325.1.27.

[32] *SGZ Comm., Weizhi* 30.366B quoting the *Xirong zhuan* of the *Weilue*. Cf. S. Lévi in *J.As.* 1897, I, pp. 14–20 and 1900, I, pp. 447–468; Ed. Chavannes in *TP* VI, 1905, pp. 541, 543, 547, notes; O. Franke, "Beitrage aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen in Zentral-Asien" in *Abh. der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Berlin 1904, p. 91 sqq.; Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, pp. 361–400; Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 98, note 2; Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 390, note 298; Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 49–51; L. de la Vallée-Poussin, *Linde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi*, Paris 1930, pp. 346–347.

[33] Ed. Chavannes "Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Wei-lio", *TP* VI (1905), pp. 519–576, esp. p. 380 sqq. Emendation proposed by Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 376: 博士弟子景憲便大月氏.王令太子口授浮圖經

[34] Tang Yongtong, *History* p. 51.

[35] *HHS* 77.11b sqq. Translation of Ban Yong's biography by Chavannes in *TP* VII, 1906, pp. 245–255; cf. also Chavannes in *TP* VIII, 1907, p. 218.

[36] *HHS* 77 (biogr. of Ban Zhao), p. 9b.

[37] *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 quoted in comm. to *HHS* 77.9b.

[38] *HHS* 118.18a: 班勇雖列其奉浮圖不殺伐.而精文善法導達之功靡所傳述; again quoted or paraphrased by Fan Ye *ib.* p. 10a: 修浮圖道不殺伐.

[39] The whole section on the Western Region of Fan Ye's *Hou-Han shu* (ch. 118) was indeed mainly based upon a report written by Ban Yong in 125 AD, cf. *ib.* p. 4b; Chavannes in *TP* VIII 1907, p. 145.

[40] About routes in Han times see Sun Yutang 孫毓棠, "Handai de jiaotong" 漢代的交通 in *Zhongguo shehui jingji shi jikan* 中國社會經濟史集刊 VII.1, 1944; Lao Gan 勞幹, "Lun Handai zhi luyun yu shuiyun" 論漢代之陸運與水運 in *ZYYY* XV, 1947, pp. 69–91; Utsunomiya Kiyoyoshi 宇都宮清吉, *Kandai shakai-keizai-shi kenkyū* 漢代社會經濟史研究, Tōkyō 1955, esp. ch. III (西漢時代の都市).

[41] Liang Qichao, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–10.

[42] As Maspero has pointed out (*J.As.* 1934, p. 90 note 1), it is better to take the term *Huang-lao* 黃老, when it occurs in Han texts, as referring to Huanglao (jun) 黃老君, the main deity of the early Daoist pantheon who was especially venerated by the Yellow Turbans, and not as denoting two persons, the Yellow Emperor and Laozi, which seems to be a later scholarly interpretation of the term.

[43] *HHS* 72.4b.

[44] Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 54.

[45] *Ib.* p. 55 and pp. 100–101.

[46] *GSZ* IX 385.3.4. = *JS* 95.12b (memorial of Wang Du 王度 and Wang Bo 王波 to the Hun ruler Shi Hu, ca. 335 AD). When Buddhism was persecuted by Sun Lin 孫綝 around the middle of the third century (cf. p. 52) this happened in the course of a campaign against "heterodox cults" in general. In the same way we find how in the edict of 446 ordering the extermination of Buddhism under the Wei the Buddhist cult is qualified as "worshipping the malign demon of the barbarians" 事胡妖鬼 (*Weishu* 114.6a; J. Ware, "Wei Shou on Buddhism" in *TP* XXX, 1933, p. 140; trsl. Leon Hurvitz pp. 66–67).

[47] *HHS* 12.5a; *Hou-Han ji* 10.4b; *Dongguan Hanji* 7.6a; *ZZTJ* 45.526B (reading 仁茲 instead of 仁祠). Chavannes in *TP* VI 1905, p. 450 sqq.; Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 388, note 2; Maspero, "Les origines de la communauté boudhiste de Luoyang", *J.As.* 1934, pp. 87–107, esp. pp. 88–89; Tang Yongtong, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–55; Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究, pp. 99–106; Maspero, *Essay sur le Taoïsme*, ch. III, "Le Taoïsme et les débuts du Bouddhisme en Chine", in *Mélanges posthumes* vol. II, 1950, p. 185 sqq.

[48] *SGZ*, *Wuzhi* 4.515b; *HHS* 103.11a; Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 103–105.

[49] 浮圖祠; here *si* 祠 clearly means "temple". Cf. p. 39 below.

[50] *Wuzhi* 垂銅槃九重.下為重樓閣道; the more polished *HHS* version reads 上累金盤.下為重樓. Ōtani Seishin 大谷滕真 (in "Shina ni okeru butsujizōritsu no kigen ni tsuite" 支那に於ける佛寺造立の起原について, *Tōyōgakuhō* XI, 1921, pp. 69–101, esp. p. 90) proposes to read 金 instead of 垂, but this emendation would make the syntactical structure of the phrase rather unclear; 垂 seems to occupy the verbal position. The *pan*, 槃, 盤 (often called "dew-receivers", 承露盤) are the flanges fixed to a central vertical shaft on the top of a *stūpa*, the Indian prototype of which we find *e.g.*, in the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā. Here the discs are apparently thought as "hanging" (垂) on the central staff.

[51] 悉課讀佛經. This and the following phrases down to "Whenever there was…" are lacking in *HHS*.

[52] 五千餘人戶; 人戶 must be a mistake for 人口 (Fukui, *op. cit.*, p. 93).

[53] This is the first mention made in Chinese sources of the annual festival of "bathing the Buddha" (浴佛, 灌佛會) held on the traditional date of the Buddha's birthday, *i.e.* on the eighth day of the fourth month of the lunar calendar. On this occasion a statue of the Buddha—preferably one showing Siddhārtha as a babe taking his first steps and uttering the famous stanzas of his first "lion's roar"—is washed with water perfumed with the "five kinds of incense" (五香水) under the singing of hymns. The ceremony is held in commemoration of the washing of the Buddha by gods and *nāga*s immediately after his birth (cf. *e.g.* the late second or early third century *Xiuxing benqi jing* ch. I, Kyōto ed. XIV. 3 p. 226 B 1). The liturgy is described in several canonical works which still figure in the Chinese *tripiṭaka*: T 695 *Guanxi foxingxiang jing* 灌洗佛形像經 (1 ch., ascribed to Faju 法炬, ca. 300 AD), T 696 *Mohechatou jing* 摩訶刹頭經 (1 ch., trsl. by Shengjian 聖堅 *var.* Fajian 法堅, ca. 400 AD), and especially the two versions of the *Yuxiang* (or *fo*) *gongde jing*, 浴像 (or 佛) 功德經 T 697 and 698, translated in the early eighth century by Ratnacinta (寶思經) and by Yijing respectively. It is puzzling that our text seems to imply that this (annual) ceremony was held more than one time by Zhai Rong (每浴佛輒多設飲飯; "whenever there was…, always…"), whereas according to his biography he cannot have been living in that region longer than one year. This may simply be due to the historian's lack of accuracy, or to his desire to stress Zhai Rong's prodigality. On the other hand, it may be that at the end of the second century the ceremony of "bathing the Buddha" had not yet become an annual religious festival only to be held on the eighth day of the fourth month. In T 698 it is described as a part of the daily cult, and this agrees with the Indian custom of which Yijing gives a detailed account in the fourth chapter of his *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 南海寄歸傳 IV, T 2125 p. 123.3.1; trsl. Takakusu p. 147.

[54] For the Chinese sources see note 48; the earliest source (mentioned by Li Xian 李賢 (651–684) in his *HHS* commentary *loc. cit.*) is the *Xiandi chunqiu* 獻帝春秋, compiled by Yuan Ye 袁曄 in the early third century. Cf. Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, pp. 394–395; Ōtani Seishin on pp. 85–91 of the article mentioned in note 50; Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 71–73; Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit.* pp. 93–99; Maspero in *J.As.* 1934, p. 92.

[55] Maspero, *loc. cit.*; Fukui *ib.* pp. 95–96.

[56] *Zhengwu lun* 正誣論 (first half fourth century), *HMJ* I 8.3.13. The Buddhist author of the *Zhengwu lun* hastens to declare that Zhai Rong violated the four most basic Buddhist commandments (not killing, not lying, not stealing and not drinking wine) and therefore was a wretched sinner. A Buddhist treatise by Huirui 慧叡 which probably was written about 428 AD, the *Yuyi lun* 喻疑論 (trsl. by W. Liebenthal: "A Clarification (Yü-i Lun)", *Sino-Indian Studies* V. 2, 1956, pp. 88–99) seems to allude to Zhai Rong's Buddhism where it says (*CSZJJ* V 41.2.10): "At the end of the Han and the beginning of the Wei, the chancellor of Guangling and the chancellor of Pengcheng joined the Order, and were both able to maintain the great light (of the Doctrine)" 漢末魏初.廣陵彭城二相出家. 並能任持大照. "The chancellor of Guangling" must refer to Zhai Rong, although, strictly speaking, at that moment this function was filled by another magistrate, Zhao Yu 趙昱 (cf. Fukui, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99, who thinks that this person is actually meant here). The chancellor of Pengcheng in 194 AD was Xue Li 薛禮 who indeed appears to have entertained relations with Zhai Rong; about his alleged Buddhist sympathies nothing whatsoever is known (cf. Tang Yongtong, *History* p. 73).

[57] H. Maspero, "Les origines de la communauté bouddhiste de Luoyang", *J.As.* 1934, pp. 87–107; cf. *Mélanges posthumes* vol. II pp. 188–189. Maspero's theory is based on the single fact that in a colophon of 208 AD (*CSZJJ* VII 48.3.9: 般舟三昧經記, for the date see Maspero, *ib.* p. 95 note 2) we find the name of a Xuchang monastery 許昌寺 at Luoyang, the name of which is identical with that of the grandson of a maternal uncle of Liu Ying, *viz.* the marquis Xu Chang 許昌, who in 58 AD became head of the Xu family. According to Maspero, the Xuchangsi originally was Xu Chang's mansion at the capital, which after Liu Ying's fall and the abolition of the kingdom of Chu he had given to the former clients of his uncle, some *śramaṇas* from Pengcheng who together with him had moved to Luoyang, and to which in commemoration of this gesture had been given the name of its donor. Maspero's construction is ingenuous and convincing: we may safely assume that the identity of the name of the Buddhist monastery with that of the nephew of the first known Chinese Buddhist devotee is not a matter of coincidence. Tang Yongtong, *op. cit.* p. 68, who seems to be unacquainted with Maspero's article, still envisages the possibility that Xuchang here refers to the city of that name in central Henan, but all early sources agree in saying that the name of this place was changed from Xu (Xian) 許[縣] into Xuchang only in 221 AD, and there is no reason to assume that the colophon in question was antedated. But Maspero goes certainly too far when he derives the rise of Buddhism at Luoyang *in toto* from the establishment of a single and no doubt very insignificant monastery or chapel (the name of which is never mentioned elsewhere) by a nobleman and some monks from the East of China, thus neglecting the two most important factors: the geographical situation and the existence of foreigners at the capital. Maspero is certainly wrong when he uses the close resemblance between the "Bouddhisme taoïsant" of Pengcheng and that of the later Church of Luoyang as an additional proof for his theory ("…je ne peux croire que ce soit par hasard que cette confusion bizarre se montre à un siècle de distance dans deux endroits,…un mélange aussi étrange, et reposant sur une série d'erreurs et d'incompréhensions monstrueuses", *ib.* p. 106). It would indeed be very surprising if this "Bouddhisme taoïsant" would show marked regional differences. The formation of early Chinese Buddhism was an almost nation-wide

process, the ideas and beliefs of the cultured part of the population were rather homogeneous, and everywhere, at Pengcheng, at Luoyang, (but, as we shall see, also at Dunhuang and in the extreme South of the empire) the same ingredients combined to form the same characteristic mixture.

[58] 展李, also called Zhan Huo 展獲, and commonly known as Liuxia Hui 柳下惠, a "magistrate" from the state of Lu 魯, seventh and sixth century BC, famous for his high moral standards and virtuous conduct; cf. *Lunyu* XV. 13 and XVIII. 2 and 8; *Mencius* II. B 9.2.

[59] *Wenxuan* II (ed. Wanyou wenku p. 45): 展李桑門.誰能不營; trsl. E. von Zach, *Übersetzungen aus dem Wenxuan*, Batavia 1935, p. 5: "Selbst Chan Huo oder ein Asket (śramana) müssen von ihnen bezaubert werden".

[60] *HHS* 89.1a.

[61] Liang Qichao, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 5–7; Tokiwa Daiiō 常盤大定 in "Kan-mei kyūhō-setsu no kenkyū" 漢明求法說の研究, *Tōyōgakuhō* X, 1920, pp. 25–41 and in *Yakkyō sōroku*, pp. 481–485; Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 in *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 1811.1; Sakaino in *Shina bukkyō seishi* p. 57.

[62] The resemblance between the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections" and the *Xiaojing* was noticed already by the anonymous author of the *Lidai SBJ* (T 2034 ch. IV p. 49.3); Liang Qichao (*loc. cit.*) draws a parallel between it and the *Daode jing*. We could also think of the *Lunyu* to which this "sūtra" with its short independent paragraphs (mostly introduced by "The Buddha said...") shows a certain similarity from a stylistic point of view. The work has none of the characteristics of a sūtra, but, as Tang Yongtong has pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 31), the earliest sources (the "Preface" in *CSZJJ* VI 42.3.22, third century?, and the Jiulu 舊錄 quoted *ib.* II 5.3.17, probably the catalogue of Zhi Mindu 支愍度, mid. fourth century) merely refer to it as "the forty-two sections of (= extracted from?) Buddhist sūtras" 佛經四十二章 and as "the forty-two sections of emperor Xiaoming" 孝明皇帝四十二章.

[63] T 784; trsl. by L. Feer. *Le Sūtra en Quarante-deux articles, Textes Chinois, Tibétain et Mongol*, 1878; S. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, London 1871, pp. 188–203; de Harlez, *Les quarante-deux leçons de Bouddha, ou le King des XLII sections*, Brussels 1899. Translation with critical notes by H. Hackmann, "Die Tekstgestalt des Sūtra der 42 Abschnitte", *Acta Orientalia* V, 1927, pp. 197–237. Translation of the "Preface" from *CSZJJ* VI by Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 99–100. Cf. furthermore Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 258 sqq. and p. 293 note 302; Tang Yongtong, *History* ch. III (pp. 31–46); Tang Yongtong, "The Editions of the Ssu-shi-erh-chang-jing", *HJAS* I, 1936, pp. 147–155.

[64] See Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 38–39.

[65] The most extensive study on Dao'an's catalogue is *Kyōroku-kenkyū* 經録研究 by Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎 (Tōkyō 1941, 1343 pp.) in which the author traces the earliest development of Buddhist bibliography in China, giving a reconstruction of Dao'an's catalogue and discussing the form and contents of this work in great detail. Dao'an completed his *Zongli zhongjing mulu* in 374 (cf. Pelliot in *TP* XII, 1911, p. 675), but there are several indications which show that he added some information after that date (Hayashiya, pp. 351–362). There probably were two versions of the catalogue, the final version in one chapter and a kind of preliminary copy in two *juan*, generally referred to as (*Angong*) *jiulu* [安公] 舊錄; both versions were still in existence at the beginning of the sixth century (*ib.*, pp. 363–381). However, Tokiwa Daijō (*Yakkyō sōroku* p. 90) regards this "old catalogue of Dao'an" as another name for the same work. The *Zonglizhong jing mulu* comprised about six hundred titles, beginning with the translations ascribed to Lokakṣema and An Shigao, and ending with the translators of the late third century. No titles of scriptures translated after ca. 300 are listed. Dao'an does not appear to have made a distinction between "archaic" and more "modern" translations;

the first known attempt to make such a classification was made by Sengyou (*CSZJJ* I 4.3–5.2).

[66] Cf. Hayashiya, *op. cit.*, part II (pp. 213–330).

[67] The following are the earliest documents containing information about translators and translations of Later Han times:

(1) *CSZJJ* X 69.3.19 沙彌十慧章句序 by 嚴浮 (var. 佛) 調, second half second century; the earliest known mention of An Shigao and his activities as a preacher and as a translator at Luoyang.

(2) *ib.* VII 47.3.4 道行經後記 (anon.); colophon dated November 24, 179 AD, copied in "second year *zhengguang*" 正光二年, probably a mistake for 正元二年 = 255 AD, cf. Tang Yongtong p. 67. Describes the circumstances of the translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* by Zhu Shuofo and Lokakṣema and their Chinese assistants; contains the names of Chinese donors.

(3) *ib.* VII 48.3.9 般舟三昧經序, colophon of 208 AD (cf. Maspero in *J.As.* 1934, p. 95 note 2) reproducing the original colophon which describes the translation of this scripture by Lokakṣema and Zhu Shuofo, also dated November 24, 179 AD (光和二年十月八日, cf. no. 2), which is somewhat puzzling. It may be that the translation of both sūtras was carried on during the same period, so that the completion of both texts was celebrated on the same day. In both colophons we find indeed the names of the same assistants (孟福字元士 and 張蓮字少安).

(4) *ib.* VII 50.1.6 法句經序 (first half third century, cf. below, p. 47 sqq.), probably written by Zhi Qian 支謙. Mentions two Han translators unknown elsewhere (藍調 and 葛氏), furthermore An Shigao, An Xuan and Yan Fotiao (here written 弗調).

(5) *ib.* VI 42.3.29 安般守意經序 by Kang Senghui 康僧會 (mid. third century), esp. p. 43.2.17 sqq.: eulogy on An Shigao.

(6) *ib.* VI 46.2.20 法鏡經序 by Kang Senghui, esp. p. 46.3.3 sqq.: a description of the activities of An Xuan and Yan Fotiao.

(7) T 1694 陰持入經注, preface (p. 9) to this commentary by a certain…Mi 蜜 (cf. below, p. 54), second half third century: eulogy on An Shigao.

(8) *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.17 合首楞嚴經記 by Zhi Mindu 支愍度 (ca. 300 AD): an account of the translation of this sūtra by Lokakṣema and its transmission by Zhi Liang.

[68] T 602, *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經.

[69] A very early exegetical work of this type, ascribed to An Shigao or An Xuan, has been preserved: T 1508, *Ahan koujie* (*shi'er yinyuan jing*) 阿含口解(十二因錄經). For this little work and its curious doctrine of the twelve "inner" and the twelve "outer" *nidāna*s see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. I p. 4 (article by Akanuma Chizen). For the recital and oral explanation of scriptures and the earliest Buddhist commentaries based upon such explanations see Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 114–119.

[70] The donors Sun He 孫和 and Zhou Tili 周提立 are mentioned in the anonymous 道行經後記, *CSZJJ* VII 47.3.7.

[71] Colophons in *CSZJJ* VII 51.2.12 (May 14, 289 AD) and *ib.* 50.2.8 (December 30 of the same year). But already in 266 there was another Baimasi, at Chang'an (colophon in *CSZJJ* VII 48.2.23: 於長安青門內白馬寺中…), and it seems that around the same date still another monastery of that name had been founded at Jingcheng 荆城 (S.W. of Zhongxiang 鍾祥 in central Hubei) by a third century An Shigao (*GSZ* I 324.1.18 quoting the fourth century *Jingzhou ji* 荆州記 by Yu Zhongyong 庾仲雍) whose biography seems to have become mixed up with that of his illustrious namesake of the second century (cf. Ōtani Seishin, pp. 78–80 of the artic le mentioned in note 50). In view of the localisation of the "ancient" Baimasi (outside the Yong gate 雍門, West of the city wall) it may be important to note that under the Wei (probably in 255 AD, cf. above, note 67 *sub* 2) we hear of a "Pusasi" 菩薩寺 at Luoyang, West of the city wall (*CSZJJ* VII 47.3.7).

[72] *CSZJJ* VII 48.3.14.

[73] Cf. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, pp. 344–346 (n. 64).

[74] Bagchi, *Canon* p. 8 note 1.

[75] *CSZJJ* VI 43.2.17 (Kang Senghui's 安般守意經序): 有菩薩者安清字世高

[76] *CSZJJ* X 69.3.25 (Yan Fotiao's 沙彌十慧章句序): 有菩薩者出自安息字世高… So also in T 1694.2 and *CSZJJ* VII 50.1:6.

[77] T 1694, *ib*.: 安候世高者普見菩薩也.損王位之榮. 安貧樂道. So also Kang Senghui in *CSZJJ* VI 43.1.1: 安息王嫡后之子.讓國與叔.馳避本土.

[78] This could be inferred from Kang Senghui's words (*ib*.): 馳避本土.

[79] *CSZJJ* XIII 95.1.28 sqq., *GSZ* I 323.2.13 sqq.; Ōtani Seishin, *op. cit*., p. 78 sqq.; Bagchi, *Canon* pp. 9–10, note 1. Cf also below, p. 208.

[80] An attempt is made by Léon Wieger in *Histoire des croyances religieuses*…, 1922, p. 351.

[81] Maspero in "Essay sur le Taoisme", *Mél. posth*., vol. II, p. 189.

[82] T 13, 14, 31, 36, 48, 57, 98, 105, 109, 112, 150a, 150b, 397, 602, 603, 605, 607, 792, 1557. One of the scriptures which Dao'an hesitatingly ascribes to An Shigao has also been preserved (T 32). It must be remarked that according to *Kaiyuan SJL* XIII 616.2.26 the two versions of the *Anban shouyi jing* listed by Dao'an and Sengyou actually belonged to the same text, one consisting of the first chapter of the other one (cf. Ōtani Seishin, "*An Seikō no yakkyō ni tsuite*" 安世高の釋經に就いて *Tōyōgakuhō* XIII, 1924, pp. 546–583).

[83] T 14 *Renben yusheng jing* 人本欲生經 (*Mahānidānasūtra*); T 602 *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經 (? *Ānāpānasmṛtisūtra*); T 603 *Yinchiru jing* 陰持入經 (? *Skandha-dhātv-āyatana-sūtra*); T 607 *Daodi jing* 道地經 (*Yogācārabhūmi*).

[84] Cf. P. Demiéville, "La *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṅgharakṣa", *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 340.

[85] First occurrence: *CSZJJ* VII 50.1.5 (法句經序, early third century): 安候世高都尉弗.譯胡馬漢…and *CSZJJ* VI 46.3.3 (Kang Senghui's 法鏡經序, mid. third century): 騎尉安玄…Biographical note about An Xuan in *CSZJJ* XIII 96.1.8 sqq., *GSZ* I 324.2.25 sqq. It is not clear why Liang Qichao (*op. cit*., vol. I, p. 9, note 2) questions the historicity of An Xuan whom he regards as identical with An Shigao.

[86] First mentioned as a translator in *CSZJJ* VII 50.1.6 (法句經序, early third cent.); biographical notes in *CSZJJ* XIII 96.1.16; *GSZ* I 324.3.4; see furthermore Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 228–229; Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, pp. 344–345 note 64. The custom of adopting the *ethnikon* of one's master by way of a "religious surname" (see below, p. 189 and p. 281) dit not yet exist; even as a monk Yan Fotiao is known under his normal surname. But his *ming* (or *zi*?) Fotiao = Buddhadeva is obviously a Buddhist appellation, which he may have assumed at his ordination.

[87] *CSZJJ* VI 46.2.19.

[88] The title of Yan Fotiao's work is not clear. The "ten (kinds or stages of) understanding" (*hui*) probably refer to what in the *Anban shouyi jing* is called the ten *xia*" 十黠, *viz*., the six acts which constitute the *ānāpānasmṛti* (數息 *gaṇanā*, 相隨 *anugama*, 止 *sthāna*, 觀 *upalakṣaṇā*, 還 *vivartanā*, 淨 *pariśuddhi*), and the Four Truths the realisation of which results from these practices. The word *xia* which occurs in archaic Buddhist terminology is indeed given in the early first century dialect-vocabulary *Fangyan* I.1a as an equivalent of *hui* (黠: **g'at* > *γat*; 慧: **g'iwəd* > *γiwei*), current in the region "East of the Passes" and in Zhao 趙 and Wei 魏, *i.e*., in Shanxi and Northern Henan. But the *shami* 沙彌 (*sa.mi̯ăr > ṣa.mjię = *śrāmaṇera*, probably via Kuchean *samāne* or *sanmir*, or via Khotanese *ssamanä*) in the title is puzzling, and I wonder whether this "commented exposition of the novice's ten (points of) understanding" (about which the author's preface says nothing specific) was not simply an enumeration of the "Ten Rules for the Novice" (沙彌十戒) with explanatory notes.

[89] Cf. *CSZJJ* VI 46.3.3 (Kang Senghui's 法鏡經序): 年在齠齔.弘志聖業, but this refers to both An Xuan and Yan Fotiao.

[90] *Nanji* 難繼; first occurrence as applied to An Shigao, An Xuan and Yan Fotiao in *CSZJJ* VII 50.1.6 (法句經序, early third century). Cf. *CSZJJ* VIII 52.3.12 (Dao'an's 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序) where Lokakṣema and An Shigao are qualified as *nanji* 南繫 (*sic*!).

[91] Tang Yongtong (*History* pp. 69–70) quotes the lateral text (側文) of the Sangong stela of 三公俾 181 AD as follows: 處士房土孟口卿.處士河口口元士. The colophon to the *Banzhou sanmei jing* (208 AD, *CSZJJ* VII 48.3.12) mentions a 河南洛陽孟福字元士 who also figures in the contemporary colophon to the *Daoxing jing* (*ib.* 47.3.5), and Tang Yongtong consequently proposes to restore the second phrase quoted above to 處士河南孟元士. Most collections of ancient inscriptions contain the main text of the Sangong stela, but a reproduction or transcription of the lateral text is seldom given. According to the *Shike tiba suoyin* 石刻題跋索引 compiled by Yang Dianxun 楊殿珣 (Shanghai 1941), p. 584, the lateral text is to be found in the first chapter of the *Changshan zhenshi zhi* 常山貞石志 by Shen Dao 沈濤 (1842), which I have not been able to consult; it is, however, reproduced together with some of the comments of the *Changshan* in the *Baqiongshi Jinshi buzheng* 八瓊室金石補正 by Lu Zengxiang 陸增祥, 5.26a and 32b.

The second text quoted by Tang Yongtong is the reverse (陰文) of the Baishi shenjun stela 白石神君碑 (183 AD) which is reproduced *i.a.*, in the *Liang Han jinshi ji* 兩漢金石記 by Weng Fanggang 翁方綱, ch. 11.16a. Here we find "the libationer Guo Zhi, (*zi*) Zibi 祭酒郭稚子碧, who in all probability was the same person as the "Zibi from Nanhai" 南海子碧 mentioned in the colophon on the *Daoxing jing* (*CSZJJ* VII 47.3.7). On the Daoist title *jijiu* ("libationer") cf. below, ch. VI note 34, but the early date of the inscription makes it very improbable that this title here refers to a high dignitary of the Yellow Turban hierarchy. In Han times the honorary title of *jijiu* was given to members of the local gentry, mostly "learned" (*i.e.*, cultured) individuals, who were used by the local government for consultation; they held no official post, and the title mainly served "to honour excellent people". See Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, *Handai difang xingzheng zhidu* 漢代地方行政制度, *ZYYY* XXV (1954) pp. 135–236, esp. pp. 154 and 177.

[92] *CSZJJ* II 6.2.10; anonymous colophon *ib.* VII 47.3.4 sqq. (cf. note 67 *sub* 2); preface by Dao'an to his commentary on the *Daoxing jing, ib.* VII 47.1.12. According to Dao'an, the translation was based on a manuscript which Zhu Shuofo had brought to Luoyang (*ib.* 47.2.16; 齎詣京師; the use of *ji* 齎 seems to imply that it was a material manuscript and not a memorized text). The title *Daoxing*, "the Practice of the Way", is a free translation of the original name of the first chapter (*Sarvākarajñatācaryā*). The earliest catalogues mention another Han time version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (or of part of it) in one *juan*, ascribed to Zhu Shuofo or to Lokakṣema, a fact which among students of Buddhist bibliography has given rise to the wildest speculations (cf. *e.g.*, Sakaino Kōyō 境野黄洋, paraphrased by Matsumoto Tokumyo, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-literatur*, 1932, pp. 18–19).

[93] *CSZJJ* II 6.2.12; anonymous colophon *ib.* VII 48.3.9 sqq. (cf. note 67 *sub* 3).

[94] First mentioned in the preface to a synoptic edition of four versions of this sūtra by Zhi Mindu (cf. note 67 *sub* 8), ca. 300 AD. *CSZJJ* II 6.11 and VII 49.1.14 indicate January 16, 186 (中平二年十二月八日) as the date of completion. The work had already been lost at the beginning of the sixth century.

[95] The textual history of the first Chinese versions of this scripture is very complicated; the various Japanese scholars who have studied this subject have reached widely divergent conclusions. Hayashiya Tomojirō (*Kyōroku-kenkyū*, pp. 544–578) discusses the opinions of former specialists (notably Sakaino Kōyō and Mochizuki Shinkō) and after a careful comparison of the two versions comes to the conclusion

that the version in three *juan* (T 418) is the original translation by Lokakṣema, the one in one *juan* (T 417) being an abstract made from the earlier more extensive text. Beside these there is still another short and archaic version of this sūtra (T 419, 拔陂菩薩經) which probably also dates from Han times. The *Banzhou sanmei jing*, which is mainly devoted to the cult of Amitābha and the means to effect the mental concentration during which the Buddhas are made to appear before one's eyes (現在佛悉在前立三昧, *pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi*), was to play a very important role in the late fourth and early fifth century among the adepts of the *buddhānusmṛti* in Huiyuan's Buddhist community on the Lu Shan; cf. Demiéville, *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 353 note 4, and below, p. 220 sqq.

[96] *CSZJJ* III 18.1.1. Sengyou (*ib*. II 6.2.13) mentions it as a work of Lokakṣema but adds the remark "now lost". Before Dao'an's time the translation was already ascribed to Lokakṣema by Zhi Mindu (*ib*. 49.1.22). As to the authenticity of the present text (T 624) the opinions vary. Sakaino Kōyō (*Shina-bukkyōshi kōwa* 支那佛教史講話, Tōkyō 1927, vol. I pp. 44–45) rejects the attribution to Lokakṣema; Hayashiya (*Kyōroku kenkyū* pp. 625–627) argues in favour of it.

[97] *GSZ* 324.3.7.

[98] Zhi Mindu in *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.24; *ib*. XIII 97.2.23 = *GSZ* 325.1.19. Cf. Dao'an's praising remark about him reported in *GSZ*, *loc. cit.*

[99] *GSZ* I 324.3.10. The Indian original of the *Zhong benqi jing* had been brought from Kapilavastu 迦維羅衛 by Tanguo 曇果 (this transcription *Jiaweiluowei*, AC *ka.i̯wilā.ji̯wäi*, is no doubt based on a Prākrit form; cf. Pelliot in *J.As*. 1914, p. 383, who suggests **kavilawai*). On the problem of the earliest Chinese Buddha biography cf. Pelliot, *TP* 1920 pp. 263–264, but his hypothesis about a very early, now lost life of the Buddha in Chinese is created *pour besoin de la cause*, *c.q*., to support the authenticity of the (in our view spurious) *Mouzi* as a late second century work. The present *Zhong benqi jing* shows some traces of later redaction in the inserted translations of Indian proper names (*e.g*., p. 149.1.15 [蚫] 蚫晉言寶稱; p. 156.1.9: [須達] 晉言善溫; p. 157.1.15 [瞿師羅] 晉言美言 (read 美音). These could be merely later additions, but it must be noted that in the last two cases the text itself goes on using the Chinese equivalents 善溫 and 美音 after their first occurence in the glosses. The *Xiuxing benqi jing* is not mentioned by Sengyou either on his own authority or on that of Dao'an, but this is very probably a mistake, since all later catalogues refer to Dao'an's bibliography for this sūtra.

[100] *CSZJJ* VI 43.2.27 (Kang Senghui's preface to the *Anban shouyi jing*).

[101] *HHS* 7.13b–14a; *Hou-Han ji* 22.12a; *Dongguan Hanji* 3.8b.

[102] See below, ch. VI, note 31.

[103] *HHS* 7.15a, in the historiographer's "judgment" (論) on emperor Huan: 設華蓋以祠浮圖老子, and *ib*. 118.10a (*Xiyu zhuan*): 後桓帝好神數祀浮圖老子.

[104] On this Daoist technical expression which in archaic Buddhist translations is sometimes used to render *samādhi*, cf. Maspero, *Essai sur le Taoïsme, Mél. posth*., vol. II, p. 141 sqq. and p. 196; Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 110–111.

[105] *HHS* 60B.18b. Cf. Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, pp. 387–389; Tang Yongtong, *History* pp. 55–57.

[106] Cf. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 407, note 366. Tang Yongtong (*History* pp. 57–61 and 104–114, and his "Du *Taiping jing* shu suojian" 讀太平經書所見 in *Guoxie jikan* V, 1935), has found in this Daoist scripture a great number of passages which testify of Buddhist influence. However, Daoist scriptures in general form a very unstable and unreliable material for this kind of research. As appears from Fukui Kōjun's very detailed study on the different versions of the *Taiping jing* (*Dōkyō no kisokuteki kenkyū*, pp. 214–255), the *Taiping jing*, like so many Daoist works, was subjected century after century to alteration and interpolation till the eventual fixation of the texts of the various versions by their inclusion in the Daoist canon. We have no guarantee that the passages mentioned by Tang Yongtong figured in the original text of the second century AD.

[107] *HHS* 35.7b–8a. Much later, in Tang times, the office partly functioned as a government inquiry office where information of various kinds concerning foreign countries was assembled and maps were made (cf. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires* pp. 110 and 199 note 2). At that time the close relation between the Honglusi and the Buddhist church is well-attested: until 842 all Buddhist and Daoist monasteries and temples fell under its jurisdiction (*ib*., pp. 348–385, 388, 390). From another source we hear about a Chinese official of this bureau who knew Sanskrit and who in the period 676–678 took part in the translation of Buddhist scriptures (a certain Du Xingyi 杜行顗, cf. T 2152 p. 368.3.20 and T 2154 p. 564.1.27).

[108] Maspero in *J.As*. 1934 pp. 97–98.

[109] Ōtani Seishin in the article mentioned above (note 50), esp. pp. 70–73; cf. also Mochizuki Shinkō in *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 1711.1.

[110] *CSZJJ* VII 48.3.9.

[111] T 32 [佛說] 四諦經 p. 814.3.3.

[112] *HS* 19A.8a mentions among the officials of the Honglusi an *yiguan ling* 譯官令 and an *yiguan cheng* 譯官丞. In this connection it is significant to note that the traditional explanation of the strange name of this office, *honglu* 鴻臚, is "transmitting the sounds", *hong* being explained as *sheng* 聲 and *lu* as *zhuan* 傳 (cf. gloss by Ying Shao 應劭 (mid. second century) in Yan Shigu's comm. to *HS loc. cit*.).

[113] *HS* 96A (*Xiyu zhuan*) pp. 4a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 16b, 20b; 96B pp. 8b, 9a, 9b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b, 17a. I have been unable to find any information about the official status of such interpreters in Han times. In *HS* 96 they only occur in countries under the jurisdiction of the Chinese governor-general in Central Asia.

[114] *GSZ* I 325.1.20.

[115] *CSZJJ* XIII 96.2.4 = *GSZ* I 325.1.17.

[116] *CSZJJ* XIII 96.1.25; *GSZ* I 326.2.24. The reading *lüyan* is found for the first time in *GSZ*. Jiangyan must be correct; it is confirmed by the contemporary preface to the *Dharmapada* (*CSZJJ* VII 50.1.10 and 50.1.25) and by Dao'an's catalogue (reproduced *ib*. II 6.3.12).

[117] *GSZ* I 326.2.14.

[118] Cf. S. Lévi, "L'Apramāda-varga; étude sur les recensions des Dharmapadas", *J.As*. 1912, pp. 203–204, esp. pp. 207–123.

[119] *CSZJJ* VII 49.3.20 sqq.; the preface has been translated by S. Lévi, *op. cit*. pp. 205–207, and partially by S. Beal in *Dhammapada* (London 1878), p. 29. In T 210 it has for inexplicable reasons been inserted between section 21 and 22 (T 210 p. 566.2), but here the preface shows traces of a fourth or early fifth century redaction, reading 譯梵為秦 (p. 566.3.2) where the *CSZJJ* version has 譯胡為漢. About the identity of the "master Ge" mentioned here nothing is known. Another unknown name figures in the following phrase from this preface: "But formerly Lantiao 藍調, An Shigao the marquis, the commander (An Xuan) and (Yan) Fotiao in translating the *Hu* language into Han (= Chinese) all had mastered the (right) method…" 唯昔藍調.安候世高.都尉.佛調.譯胡為漢.悉得其體… (*ib*. 50.1.6). Tang Yongtong (p. 65) regards the words *lantiao* as a corruption of the text, but there is no reason to do so. The two characters are both regularly used in Buddhist transcriptions, and it is quite likely that they stand for the name of an early translator who, like the "master Ge" mentioned above, does not figure in any other source.

[120] Cf. Tang Yongtong, *op. cit*. pp. 130–131.

[121] Cf. *Lunyu* VI.16: 子曰.質勝文則野.文勝質則史.文質彬彬.然後君子. For an analogous dictum about the right method of translating Buddhist texts see *CSZJJ* VII 49.2.28.

[122] *Daode jing* ch. 81: 美言不信.信言不美.

[123] *Yijing*, *Xici* part I (*zhushu* ed. 7.30b): 子曰.書不盡言.言不盡意.然則聖人之意其不可見乎.

[124] *CSZJJ* VII 50-1-12, trsl. S. Lévi *J.As.* 1912 pp. 206–207. S. Lévi translates 佛言依其義不用飾.取其法不以嚴 as follows: "Le Bouddha a déclaré que si on s'appuie sur le sens, il n'est pas besoin d'ornements; si on prend sa loi, ce n'est pas pour la parure". I do not know whether such a saying has ever been attributed to the Buddha. The traditional meaning of *foyan* as well as the force of *qi* 其 make it preferable to translate as I have done: "As to the *buddhavacana* . . . .".

[125] Biography in *CSZJJ* XIII 97.2.13, much shorter in *GSZ* I 325.1.18 (in the biography of Kang Senghui); earliest biographical information in Zhi Mindu's 令首楞嚴經記 in *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.22. The two personal names Qian 謙 and Yue 越 form a little problem. Earliest nomenclature: Zhi Mindu in *CSZJJ* 49.1.22: 支越字恭明: id. in VIII 58.2.21: 優婆基支恭明; Dao'an *ib.* VI 45.2.20: 高士河南支恭明; Dao'an *ib.* VIII 52.3.13: 支越; as author's name in the title of a preface *ib.* VII 51.3.17: 支恭明; letter to the monks by Sun Liang (of doubtful authenticity) *CSZJJ* XIII 97.3.17: 支恭明. "Zhi Qian" figures in Sengyou's bibliographical chapters (*ib.* II 7.1.25 and V 37.3.3) and in his biography in XIII 97.2.13: 支謙字恭明.一名越. In accordance with current usage we have here still used the name Zhi Qian, although the earliest sources without exception refer to him as Zhi Yue or Zhi Gongming.

[126] *CSZJJ* XIII 97.2.22 = *GSZ* I 325.1.22.

[127] Zhi Mindu in *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.24; *CSZJJ* XIII and *GSZ* I *loc. cit.*

[128] *CSZJJ* VI 46.2.8.

[129] *Ib.* XIII 97.3.5. According to a late tradition, the reigning family of Wu was already interested in Buddhism before the capital was moved to Jianye: the *Fozu tongji* XXXV (compiled 1258–1269; T 2035 p. 331.3.9) reports that in 229 Sun Quan's principal consort *née* Pan 潘夫人 founded the Huibao monastery 慧寶寺 at Wuchang, but our sources for the period are silent on this point.

[130] *GSZ* I 325.1.27.

[131] *Sanguo zhi, Wuzhi* 14.593A. It is not impossible that he had come into contact with Zhi Qian before 242, when he was already active at the capital as a *shangshu lang* 尚書郎 (*SGZ*, *Wuzhi* 20.633b).

[132] *Wuzhi* 20.633B and 14.595A.

[133] *CSZJJ* XIII 97.3.17; not in *GSZ*.

[134] *CSZJJ* 97.3.14; not in *GSZ*. Cf. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 393, note 302.

[135] Yu Falan's dates are not known. According to his biography (*GSZ* IV 349.3.22 sqq.) he came from Gaoyang 高陽 in Northern Hebei where he soon became famous. Like the Zhu Falan mentioned in Zhi Qian's biography, he lived in the mountains as a hermit. "Later" he went to the South and settled in the mountains of Shan Xian 剡縣 in Western Zhejiang; this most probably happened in the second decade of the fourth century when so many prominent monks fled from the North. The people of his time used to compare him to Yu Yuangui 庾元規, *i.e.*, Yu Liang 庾亮 (289–340) who must have been one of his contemporaries. He and his pupil Yu Daosui 于道邃 died at Xianglin in Indo-China during an unsuccessful attempt to reach India via the southern route. Since Yu Daosui at the age of fifteen became his disciple in the North, before Yu Falan had moved to Shanxian, (cf. his biography in *GSZ* IV 350.2.13 sqq.), and died together with his master at Xianglin at the age of thirty, it follows that less than fifteen years separate Yu Falan's crossing the Yangzi (310/320) from his death, so that we may conclude that Yu Falan's activities in the South fell in the period 310/320–325/335. Cf. also the late fifth century *Mingxiang ji* quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* (T 2122) XXVIII 492.1 and LIV 694.3, according to which Yu Falan was still active in the North (Zhongshan, cf. below, note 204) at a "clandestine" *vihāra* in the period 280–290 AD, but the story seems to be apocryphal.

[136] Zhi Qian's period of activity as a translator is indicated by Zhi Mindu (ca. 300 AD, *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.29) as "from the *huangchu* 黃初 era (220–226) to the

jianxing 建興 era (252–253)"; Sengyou (*ib*. XII 97.3.10) specifies "from the first year *huangchu* (220) onward". In the earliest sources the number of translations is variously given as 27 (Sengyou *ib*.) and 49 (*GSZ* I 325.2.2). Zhi Mindu seems to have had access to an ancient list of Zhi Qian's translations (cf. *CSZJJ* VII 49.2.1 where he says 自有別傳記錄亦云出此經), but he vaguely speaks about "several tens of works" 數十本 or, according to the Korean edition, "several tens of scrolls" 數十卷.

[137] T 54, 68, 76, 87, 169, 185, 198, 225, 281, 362, 474, 493, 532, 533, 556, 557, 559, 581, 632, 708, 735, 790, 1011. One of these (T 68) is not mentioned by Dao'an.

[138] Judgment on Zhi Qian's way of translating: Zhi Mindu in his 合首楞嚴, 經記 *CSZJJ* VII49.1.26: 以季時尚文.時好簡略.故其出經頗從文麗.然其屬辭析理文而不越.約而義顯; Dao'an in his 般若經抄序, *ib*. VII 52.3.13: 巧則巧矣, 懼竅成而混沌終矣; Sengzhao 僧肇 in his 維摩詰經序, *ib*. VIII 58.2.9: 恨支 [謙] 竺 [法護] 所出.理滯於文.常懼玄宗墮於譯人. Most severe is Huirui 慧叡 in his 思益經序 (403 AD, *CSZJJ* VIII 58.1.4): "In the earlier translation (of this scripture), Gongming (Zhi Qian) has much embellished the wordings of the text, thereby muddling its meaning, so that the Grand Model was preverted by a faulty text, and its excellent flavour was diluted by frivolous adornment" 恭明前譯頗麗其辭.仮迷其旨.是使弘標乘於謬文.至味淡於華艷.

[139] Zhi Mindu in *CSZJJ* VII 49.2.1; cf. Tang Yongtong p. 134.

[140] (*Da*) *mingdu (wuji) jing* [大] 明度 [無極] 經, *CSZJJ* II 7.1.8. On the glosses to its first chapter see p. 54. The use of *du* 度 (for 渡 "to cross") as a translation of *pāramitā* ("mastery, supremacy, perfection", derived from *parama*) is based on a false etymology which derives the word from *pāram* ("the other shore", "the opposite side") and *itā* ("gone", *fem*.), cf. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues* vol. I, p. 2. *Duwuji* 度無極 is actually a double translation. But the interpretation of *pāramitā* as "gone to the other shore" is certainly of Indian origin, cf. *Abh. Kosa* IV p. 231 and Lamotte, *Traité* p. 701; it has also given rise to the Tibetan standard equivalent of *pāramitā*, *pha.rol.tu phyin.pa*. A still more fantastic etymology, no doubt based on the half-understood explanations of his Indian informants, is given by Dao'an in the last phrase of his 摩訶鉢羅波羅蜜經抄序, *CSZJJ* VIII 52.3.25: 摩訶.大也. 鉢羅若.智也.波羅.度也.蜜.無極: *Mahā*, *i.e*., "great", *prajñā i.e*., wisdom, *pāra i.e*. "to go beyond", *mitā* "without limit". It seems that here the term was analyzed into *parā* + *amita*, "the further shore" and "immeasurable", neglecting the fusion of the two short *a* which would furnish **pārāmitā*.

[141] If Zhi Qian ever made such a version this does not prove that the "Sūtra in 42 sections" is based on an Indian original; he may simply have made a polished redaction of the existing Chinese text. But the tradition which ascribes such a version to Zhi Qian is highly suspect, cf. Pelliot, *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 393.

[142] *CSZJJ* XIII 97.3.12 = *GSZ* I 325.2.3.

[143] *CSZJJ* XII 97.2.2.

[144] Cf. *HHS* 118.8b (s.v. Da Qin) and 10a (s.v. Tianzhu); *Liangshu* 54 (introduction to the section on the "Southern barbarians") 1a.

[145] Cf. Chavannes in *TP* X, 1909, p. 202 note 2.

[146] Chavannes, *ib*. and in *BEFEO* III, 1903, p. 430, note.

[147] Pelliot in *BEFEO* III, 1903, pp. 271, 275–279, 303 and 430, and Chavannes, *ib*. p. 430, note.

[148] *Sanguo zhi, Wuzhi* 4 p. 518a. Cf. Hu Shi 胡適, "Yu Zhou Shujia lun Mouzi shu" 與周叔迦論牟子書 in *Lunxue jinzhu* vol. I, pp. 151–154; Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit*. pp. 109–110 and 391–395; Lao Gan 勞幹, "Lun Handai zhi luyun yu shuiyun" 論漢代之陸運與水運, *ZYYY* XV, 1947, pp. 69–91, esp. pp. 90–91. Hu Shi and Fukui are probably right in regarding these incense-burning *Huren* as Indian or Central Asian Buddhist monks employed by the governor—the use of the word *hu* 胡 points in that direction, the aborigines of the southern countries

being generally designated by the term *man* 蠻. We can hardly go as far as Fukui who, on account of a certain similarity with Buddhist ceremonies described by Faxian and other pilgrims, recognizes in this passage the description of a Buddhist procession. For Zhang Jin cf. *SGZ comm.* to *Wuzhi* 1.482B.

[149] Cf. Kang Senghui's preface to the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經序 in *CSZJJ* VI, esp. p. 43.2.24, and his preface to the *Fajing jing* 法鏡經序, *ib.*, esp. p. 46.3.9. It is not impossible that Kang Senghui had been living or roaming around in China for some time before he came to Jianye. According to Tang Yongtong (*History*, p. 136), his preface to the *Anban shouyi jing* was written before 229, *i.e.*, at least fifty-one years before his death in 280. Since Kang Senghui, as Tang himself observes (*ib.*) must have been in the middle years of his life when he wrote this preface, he should in that case have been at least some ninety years old when he died. This is by no means impossible, but the fact—apt to be recorded in Chinese biographical literature—is nowhere mentioned. However, Tang Yongtong's argument, *viz.* that Kang Senghui when speaking about the activities of An Shigao calls Luoyang "the capital" 京師, whereas after 229 (the year in which Sun Quan declared himself emperor of the state of Wu) "the capital" was no longer Luoyang but Jianye, is not valid. In connection with the same events Luoyang is in retrospect called "the capital" in an anonymous preface to a commentary to the *Yinchiru jing* 陰持入經注 (T 1694, cf. below, p. 54) which dates from the middle of the third century and which is certainly of southern provenance. Even more clear is the case of the anonymous *Zhengwu lun* (cf. above, p. 15) where the term *jingluo* 京洛, "the capital Luo(yang)" is used, although internal evidence proves that the polemic treatise in question was written in southern China at some date after 324, at least seven years after the transfer of the Chinese capital to Jiankang, and at least thirteen years after Luoyang had fallen into the hands of the Xiongnu invaders.

[150] *CSZJJ* XIII 96.2.1; somewhat more extensive in *GSZ* I 325.1.13, translated by Ed. Chavannes, "Seng-houei", *TP* X, 1909. pp. 199–212. Even more legendary is the account of Kang Senghui's missionary activities at the Wu court given in the late Buddhist forgery entitled *Wushu* 吳書, which probably dates from the second half of the sixth century, after the loss of the original *Wushu* (compiled by Wei Yao 韋曜 and others in the third quarter of the third century); cf. Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 108–109. The (Buddhist) *Wushu* is extensively quoted in the *Xuji gujin fodao lunheng* 續集古今佛道論衡, T 2100 p. 402.1.9 sqq. (trsl. by Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 109–110) and in *Fayuan zhulin* LV 700.3; extract in *GHMJ* I 99.3.13 sqq. It is not improbable that the *Wushu* was chosen as the base for this Buddhist forgery precisely because of Wei Yao's alleged connection with Zhi Qian (cf. above, p. 49). The important role played in the pseudo-*Wushu* by Sun Quan's director of the palace writers Kan Ze 闞澤 (died 243, *Wuzhi* 8.543b) who there is made to extol the excellence of the Buddhist doctrine is perhaps connected with another late (13th cent.) tradition according to which this magistrate had founded the Derun monastery 德潤寺 at Mt. Siming 四明 (Zhejiang) in 242 (*Fozu tongji* LIII, T 2035 p. 463.2.25); a tradition which may have originated from the fact that the name of this monastery, Derun, was also the *zi* of Kan Ze.

[151] For this shrine cf. Lu Bi 盧弼, *Sanguo zhi jijie* 三國志集解 (Beijing, 1957) 64.28b.

[152] *Wuzhi* 19.629a, cf. *Liangshu* 54.5b.

[153] *Wuzhi* 14.593b: 修黃老之術.篤養神光.

[154] *Wuzhi* 2.497a–b.

[155] *CSZJJ* XIII 97.1.11 = *GSZ* I 326.1.18.

[156] Translated by Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues*, vol. I, pp. 1–347.

[157] For the first time mentioned in his biography in *GSZ* I 326.1.21; translated by Chavannes, *op. cit.* pp. 347–428.

[158] *CSZJJ* II 7.1.28; in his biography *ib*. XIII 97.1.14 called *Daopin* 道品, and *Xiaopin* 小品 in *GSZ* I 326.1.20.

[159] Kang Senghui's commentary to this scripture is mentioned by Sengyou in his biography (*CSZJJ* XIII 97.1.13) together with several other works, of which only the *Liudu jijing* and the *Wupin* are mentioned in his biographical chapters (*ib*. II 7.1).

[160] Of these introductory sections, Chavannes (*Cinq cents contes*…, vol. I) has only translated no. 1 (*dāna*, pp. 2–3), no. 2 (*śila*, p. 91) and no. 4 (*vīrya*, pp. 213–214): Section 3 (*kṣānti*) and 5 (*dhyāna*) have not been translated (vf. *ib*. p. 154, note 1 and p. 267, note 1). The section on *dhyāna*, which should be studied together with Kang Senghui's preface to the *Anban shouyi jing* in *CSZJJ* VI, is one of the most important documents of third century Chinese Buddhism.

[161] Quotations from the *Da mingdu jing* in T 1694: pp. 10.2.13; 13.2.22; 21.2.19; quotation from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* p. 15.1.18.

[162] It is not improbable, as Tang Yongtong suggests (*History* p. 134), that these glosses were added by Zhi Qian himself. Zhi Qian was also active as a commentator: a commentary by him on the *Liaoben shengsi jing* 了本生死經 is mentioned by Dao'an and by Sengyou in *CSZJJ* VI 45.2.21 and XIII 97.3.13 = *GSZ* I 325.2.4.

[163] Cf. Tang Yongtong p. 138.

[164] None of these translators is mentioned by Dao'an or by Sengyou; with the exception of An Faxian who does not occur in sources earlier than the *Lidai SBJ* (597 AD), they all figure for the first time in *GSZ* I 324.3.15 sqq. Since all later bibliographies refer to the (lost) *Weishi lu* 魏世錄 (compiled by Shi Daoliu 釋道流 and completed by Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 around 419 AD, cf. Pelliot in *TP* XXII, 1923, p. 102) we may assume that this was the source on which the account of the *GSZ* was based. Sengyou nowhere quotes or refers to the four catalogues (*Weishi lu* 魏世錄, *Wushi lu* 吳世錄, *Jinshi* (*za-*) *lu* 晉世 [雜] 錄 and *Hexi lu* 河西錄) of Daoliu and Daozu, and seems to have been ignorant of their existence.

[165] Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 225 sqq.; cf. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 344 note 64.

[166] 設復齋戒; *fu* 復 seems to be a deformation of *she* 設 (the cursive forms of the two characters being almost identical) which has crept into the text.

[167] *GSZ* I 324.3.28: 亦有衆僧夫稟歸戒.正以剪落殊俗耳.設復齋戒事法祠祀.

[168] The *Karmavācanā* (the Skt. equivalent of Pāli *Kammavācā*, cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* 866.3.6), the formulary of "acts" (*karman*) in question-and-answer form, to be recited in the *upasaṃpad*(*ā*) ceremony, is the basic text for the ordination of monks. For the versions in various languages see H. W. Bailey, "The Tumshuq Karmavācanā", *BSOAS* XIII, 1949/1950, p. 549 sqq. The transcription *Tanwude* 曇無德 (AC. **d'ām.mi̯u.tək*) for *dharmaguptaka* probably represents a Prākrit form **dhammauttaka*, cf. Bagchi, *Canon* p. 79. The works translated by Kang Sengkai and Tandi mark the beginning of the introduction into China of the canonical scriptures of the Dharmaguptaka sect, a branch of the Mahīśāsaka, founded by Dharmagupta, but traditionally even traced back to the Buddha's disciple Maudgalyāyana. In later times the greater part of their canon was translated into Chinese: certainly their whole *vinaya* (T 1428 *Sifen lü* 四分律—the division in four parts is characteristic of this *vinaya*—trsl. early fifth century by Dharmayaśas), whereas the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (T 1 長阿含經, trsl. Dharmayaśas) and the Abhidharma treatise called the *Sāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* (T 1548, trsl. Dharmayaśas and Dharmagupta) probably also belong to this school. Cf. A. Bareau, *Les sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, 1955, p. 190 sqq.

[169] Mentioned in the *Falun mulu* 法論目錄 by Lu Cheng 陸澄 (ca. 465 AD), *CSZJJ* XII

83.1.2 and 85.1.12, cf. *HMJ* XIV 96.1.3; Tang Yongtong pp. 125–126; K. P. K. Whitaker, "Tsaur Jyr and the Introduction of Fannbay 梵唄 into China", *BSOAS* XX, 1957, pp. 585–597, esp. p. 589.

[170] K. P. K. Whitaker (see preceding note); furthermore Tang Yongtong pp. 133–134; *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *Bombai* pp. 95–96; *GSZ* XIII 415.1.13, *Fayuan zhulin* T 2122 p. 576.1.

[171] *Baopuzi* II (論仙), ed. *Zhuzi jicheng* p. 4.

[172] *GHMJ* V 118.3.21 sqq.; critical edition by Ding Yan 丁晏 in *Caoji quanping* 曹集銓評 (1865), reprint Beijing, 1957, pp. 155–159.

[173] *Weishu* 114.3a; Ware, "Wei Shou on Buddhism", *TP* XXX, 1933, pp. 121–122; trsl. Leon Hurvitz p. 46.

[174] *JS* 26 (*Shihuo zhi*) p. 8a, cf. Lien-sheng Yang, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin dynasty", *HJAS* IX, 1945–'47, pp. 107–185, esp. pp. 115–116 and 168–169.

[175] Comm. to *Weizhi* 13.176a quoting the *Weilue; Songshu* 14.17b sqq.

[176] *JS* 3.9a and 24.8b–9a.

[177] *JS* 3.5b, 6b, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14b.

[178] *JS* 97 (section on Ferghana, 大宛) p. 8a; cf. Chavannes in M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, Appendix A, p. 545.

[179] See document N. xv. 93 a.b., fragment of an official letter found at the Niya site, text and translation by Chavannes in Stein, *op. cit*., Appendix A, p. 537. Chavannes' interpretation (acc. to which the titles enumerated in this document belonged to one person, *viz*. Longhui 龍會, king of Qarašāhr) is not correct; since Wang Guowei (*Liusha zhuijian*, *buyi kaoshi* pp. 2b–3b) has joined to this fragment another one which contains the rest of the opening words of this official letter, it appears to be either a proclamation jointly issued by "The kings of Shanshan, Qarašāhr, Kuchā, Kashgar and Khotan, who are provisionally appointed by the Jin as Palace attendants and Grand Commandants, (invested as) Grand Marquises Who Uphold-the-Jin (dynasty), allied to the Jin" 晉守侍中大都尉奉晉大侯親晉鄯善焉耆龜茲疏勒于寘王…, or a Chinese imperial edict transmitted to these rulers. Another interesting fact, not mentioned by the Chinese annals, but referred to in some fragments of official correspondence found by Stein in Central Asia, is that in 268 AD the Chinese government held a military expedition against Gaozhang (Turfan), cf. Maspero, *Les documents chinois de la troisieme expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie centrale*, London 1953, p. 60.

[180] For text and translation of documents of the Western Jin period found at Niya and Loulan found by Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin see Chavannes in *Ancient Khotan* (cf. note 149) pp. 537–545; Chavannes, *Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*, Oxford 1913, pp. 155–200; A. Conrady, *Die Chinesischen Handschriften und Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Loulan*, Stockholm 1920; Maspero, *op. cit*., (cf. note 150) pp. 52–78; Wang Guowei 王國維 and Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 in *Liusha zhuijian* 流沙墜簡, second revised edition (shortly before 1935; no date).

[181] *JS* 26 (*Shi-huo zhi*) p. 4b; L. S. Yang, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin dynasty", *HJAS* IX, 1945–'47, pp. 154–155. The reforms in question are attributed to the energetic prefect of Dunhuang, Huangfu Long 皇甫隆 (appointed ca. 251).

[182] In the fourth century several Chinese versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 8.000 and in 25.000 lines had already been made, and the bewildering variety of what was rightly regarded as more or less expanded versions of one and the same basic scripture was enhanced by the vague rumors about the existence of still other versions in India. The Chinese (clerical) *literati*, inveterate bibliographers, tried to elucidate the filiation of these texts by means of various theories. The earliest explanation was that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'* was an abstract made from the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*. Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366): "I have heard all previous scholars transmit (the theory) that, after

the Buddha's decease, the small version (小品, in 8.000 lines) was made as a summary of the large version (大品, in 25.000 lines)" (大小品對比要抄序, *CSZJJ* VIII 55.2.16). In the same way, Dao'an: "After the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*, an eminent scholar abroad (外國高士) summarized the ninety sections (of the 25.000 *p'p'*) into the *Daoxing pin* 道行品, (= 8.000 p'p')" (道行經序, *CSZJJ* VII 47.2.15). I do not know of any Indian counterpart of this theory. On the other hand, it is only natural that the Chinese, at a time when the making of such "abstracts" of Buddhist scriptures was much en vogue, came to conclude—contrary to the opinion of modern scholarship—that the smaller version was a secondary product based upon the more comprehensive one. However, Zhi Dun also mentions another explanation (*ib.* 56.1.23): "But formerly I have heard (the following theory). The large as well as the small version are both derived from the basic version (本品). The text of the basic version comprises 600.000 words; at present it circulates in India and has not yet reached China. Now these two abstracts (the 8.000 and 25.000 *p'p'*) also come from the large text; the way of derivation is not the same, but the small version is the earlier product (of the two). Although these two scriptures both derive from the basic version, yet from time to time there are differences, as the small version contains passages which are lacking in the large one, and *vice versa*...". There can be little doubt as to the identity of this "basic text" mentioned by Zhi Dun: he must somehow have heard of the existence of the most exuberant product of Mahāyāna literature, the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 100.000 lines. The number of 600.000 words (*zi* 字) is certainly a mistake; elsewhere this number is given to denote the extent of the Indian text of the 25.000 *p'p'* (cf. above, p. 63). The (perhaps much later) tradition that the largest *Prajñāpāramitā* was found by Nāgārjuna in the realm of Nāgas (Tāranātha's *Rgya-gar chos-'byuṅ* paraphrased by M. Walleser, "The life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources", *As. Maj.*, Hirth Anniversary volume pp. 1–37, esp. p. 10, cf. also Et. Lamotte, *Traité* p. 941) was probably not yet known in China at that date; it is for the first time mentioned in the "biography" of Nāgārjuna 龍樹菩薩傳 (T 2047 p. 184.3) wrongly ascribed to Kumārajīva. Jizang 吉臧 (549–623) in his *Dapin jing youyi* 大品經遊意 (T 1696 p. 67.3.29) identifies the largest version of the *p'p'* with the original text of the *Guangzan jing* 光讚經 (T 222, trsl. by Dharmarakṣa), but his is certainly wrong. The *Guangzan* is nothing but an incomplete version of the 25.000 *p'p'* (which, moreover, in Zhi Dun's time was still unknown, cf. p. 70), and Jizang's theory is probably based on an equally incomprehensible passage in *Da zhidu lun* 67 (T 1509 p. 529.2.23): "(in the *p'p'* scriptures) there are some with many and some with few chapters, there are the higher (the larger, 上), the middle and the lower (the smaller, 下) version), (*viz.*) the *Guangzan*, the *Fangguang* and the *Daoxing*" 卷有多有少.有上.中.下.光讚.放光.道行. If the *Da zhidu lun* is really based on an Indian original, the translator may here simply have substituted the names of three well-known Chinese *p'p'* versions, but the last words may as well be an interpolated gloss by Kumārajīva. In any case it is important to note that in Zhi Dun's words we have an allusion to the existence of the *Śatasāhasrikā p'p'* in the first half of the fourth century, more than three centuries before its translation by Xuanzang in 660–663.

[183] According to Zhu Shixing's biography in *CSZJJ*, *GSZ* and all later sources, he went to Khotan in 260 AD. However, our earliest document (*CSZJJ* VII 47.3.11, an anonymous colophon to the *Fangguang jing*) mentions 260 as the year of his ordination. In that case his journey to Khotan took place some time after 260. This may be correct; it would explain why Zhu Shixing sent his copy of the 25.000 *p'p'* as late as 282, twenty-two years after his departure.

[184] *Pañcaviṃśat*(*isāhasri*)*kā Prajñāpāramitā*, hereafter abbreviated as 25.000 *p'p'*.

[185] According to the Tibetan tradition, which in some essential points agrees with the account of Xuanzang, Buddhism was introduced into Khotan by a monk from Kashmir named Vairocana under the reign of the (almost certainly legendary) king Vijayasaṃbhava of Khotan.

Cf. W. W. Rockhill, *The life of the Buddha*, London 1884, p. 230 sqq.; Babu Sarat Chandra Das, "Buddhist and other legends about Khotan" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1886, I, pp. 193–203; S. Lévi, "Notes chinoises sur l'Inde", V. *BEFEO* V, 1905, p. 256 sqq.; Stein, *Ancient Khotan* p. 151 sqq.; *ib.* Appendix E (p. 581 sqq.): "Extracts from Tibetan Accounts of Khotan" by F. W. Thomas; Hatani Ryōtei 羽溪了諦 (Jin, trsl.; *Xiyu zhi fojiao* 西域之佛教) p. 202 sqq.

186 For the history of its discovery and for bibliographical information concerning the Ms. Dutreuil de Rhins see S. Lévi in *J.As.* 1912, pp. 213–215 and H. W. Bailey, "The Khotan Dharmapada", *BSOAS* XI, 1943–'46, p. 488 sqq.

187 *HHS* 118.5b.

188 *HHS* 77 (biography of Ban Zhao) pp. 3a and 7b.

189 *HHS* 118.15b sqq.

190 *SGZ*, *Weizhi* 30. 366b *comm.* quoting the *Xirong zhuan* 西戎傳 of the *Weilue*. The Chinese and *kharoṣṭhī* documents found at Niya, half-way between Khotan and the Lop-nor region, clearly show how this was a meeting-place of influences from East and West; cf. Maspero, *Documents chinois* p. 53. On the one hand the flourishing of Buddhism is attested by the numerous remains of stūpas and the occurrence of typically Buddhist names of monks and laymen (Budhamitra, Dhaṃñapāla, Puṃñadeva, Anaṃdasena) in the *kharoṣṭhī* documents, on the other hand we find, besides the early Prākrit idiom which at this period functioned as a *lingua franca* in Central Asia, the Chinese language used in edicts of indigenous rulers (cf. note 179) and even in the private correspondence between members of the royal family at Niya (Chavannes, *Documents chinois*, 940–947).

191 Anon. 放光經記, *CSZJJ* VII 47.3.11. Biography of Zhu Shixing (mainly based upon this colophon) in *CSZJJ* XIII 97.1.18 and *GSZ* IV 346.2.10.

192 *CSZJJ* II 11.3.9; *ib.* IX 61.1.1 and XIV 104.1.19.

193 *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳, T 2085 p. 857.2, trsl. Beal xxv–xxvii, trsl. Giles pp. 4–7.

194 This is indeed the opinion of Hatani (*op. cit.*, p. 212) and Mochizuki (*Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 222.3).

195 *GSZ* X 389.2.16 (cf. *Fayuan zhulin* XVIII 417.2.12 quoting the late fifth century *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記).

196 *Mingxiang ji* quoted in *Fayuan zhulin, ib.*

197 *Mingxiang ji* quoted *ib.*

198 *GSZ* IV 346.3.12. We find the story about Zhu Shixing's conflict with the Hīnayānists and the ordeal at Khotan for the first time in the *Yuyi lun* 喻疑論, a polemic treatise written by Huirui 慧叡 around 428 (*CSZJJ* 41.3.26, trsl. Liebenthal in *Sino-Indian Studies* V. 2, 1956, pp. 94–95). The wording of this passage is almost identical with that of the *GSZ*; both accounts are obviously based on one common source (the story as told or written down by Fayi?), if the compiler of the *GSZ* did not directly copy the *Yuyi lun*. The tradition concerning Zhu Shixing's cremation at Khotan reported by Fayi is already alluded to by Sun Chuo 孫綽 in his *Zhengxiang lun* 正像論, a fragment of which is quoted in *GSZ* IV 346.3.13. The story of the ordeal and of Zhu Shixing's cremation figured also in the late fifth century *Mingxiang ji*, cf. *Fayuan zhulin* XXVIII 491.1.

199 *CSZJJ* VII 47.3.13.

200 *GSZ* IV 346.3.6.

201 The name is variously transcribed as 弗如檀 **pjuət*(-δ)*.ńźi̯wo.d'ān* (colophon *CSZJJ* VII 47.3.14), 不如檀 **puət*(δ)*.ńźi̯wo.d'ān* (biogr. *CSZJJ*), and, with assimilation of the t(δ), 分如檀 **pjuən.ńźi̯wo.d'ān* (Dao'an in *CSZJJ* VII 48.1.4). Sakaino's restitution *Puṇyatāra* (*op. cit.* p. 102) is highly improbable. We may hesitate between *Puṇyadhana* and *Pūrṇadharma*; in the latter case the final -t (δ) renders, as often, a foreign *r* (cf. Karlgren in *TP* XIX, 1920, pp. 108–109). The reading *Pūrṇadharma* is

nearer in meaning to the Chinese translation of the name, *Farao* 法饒, but *-dharma* is normally rendered by 曇 **d'ām*.

[202] *CSZJJ* XIII 97.1.29.

[203] *Ib.* VII 48.1.15.

[204] The Chinese master Kang Falang 康法朗 (second half third century) came from Zhongshan; after having travelled to the Western Region he returned to China and settled again at Zhongshan with several hundreds of disciples (*GSZ* IV 347.1.28 sqq.; for his journey to the West see also *Mingxiang ji* quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* XCV 988.1). Zhongshan was also the place of origin of the psalmodist Bo Faqiao 帛法橋, born ca. 260 (*GSZ* XIII 413.2.25). According to *GSZ* IX 387.1.8, Fotudeng's famous disciple Zhu Faya 竺法雅 was also a native of Zhongshan, but elsewhere (IV 347.1.18) he is said to have come from Hejian 河間 (Hebei), some hundred miles more to the East (cf. A. F. Wright, "Fo-t'u-teng", *HJAS* XI, 1948, p. 367 and p. 349 note 52). Cf. also the probably apocryphal story about a secret *vihāra* at Zhongshan in the period 280–290 AD in *Fayuan zhulin* XXVIII 492.1 and LIV 694.3 (quoting the late fifth century *Mingxiang ji*).

[205] Sakaino (*op. cit.* vol. I p. 107) proposes to identify this "master Zhi" with Zhi Xiaolong 支孝龍, who according to the *GSZ* studied the *Fangguang jing* together with Zhu Shulan during its revision in 303–304 (cf. p. 64). This is improbable: according to the *GSZ* (IV 346.3.7 and 23) Zhi Xiaolong personally took part in the work of revision at Cangyuan, whereas Dao'an expressly states that "master Zhi from Zhongshan" sent people to Cangyuan to have copies made.

[206] At the end of the third and in the first decades of the fourth century several persons were enfeoffed as king of Zhongshan. In 311, when Liu Yuan's successor, the Hun emperor Liu Cong 劉聰, usurped the throne of the still expanding Xiongnu empire, he conferred this title upon his nephew Liu Yao 劉曜 (*JS* 102.2a.); in 323 the same title was given to the Hun general Liu Yue 劉岳 (*JS* 103.8b.), but little more than one year later he was vanquished and probably killed by his rival, the Hun warlord Shi Le 石勒 (*JS* 103.10a. For this battle cf. *GSZ* IX, biography of Fotudeng, p. 384.1.28 sqq., trsl. Wright p. 343.). When Shi Le had overthrown the Liu and ascended the throne of the "Later Zhao", he made his nephew Shi Hu 石虎 king of Zhongshan in 331 (*JS* 105.7a). But hardly anyone of these three can have been the king to whom Dao'an refers. Shi Hu, whose dealing with the Buddhist master Fotudeng are well-known, must be ruled out—it is highly improbable that the ceremonial entrance of a newly translated sūtra as described by Dao'an took place some forty years after its publication. Before Fotudeng went to Shi Le (311 AD) he had stayed at Luoyang, where the *Fangguang jing* was already much *en vogue*, and the fact that the copyists were sent to Cangyuan proves that this event took place when the translators had just finished their task. As to Liu Yao, no member of the Xiongnu house of Liu seems to have had any connection with Buddhism, whereas Liu Yue spent the few months during which he bore this title in campaigns against Shi Le, and probably never lived at Zhongshan.

[207] *JS* 3.9b.

[208] *JS* 4.2a.

[209] *CSZJJ* VII 47.3.16.

[210] According to *CSZJJ* VII 47.3.23, Zhu Shulan revised the *Fangguang jing* together with a (further unknown) monk named Zhu Faji 竺法寂. In *GSZ* IV 346.3.7 Zhi Xiaolong 支孝龍 is said to have taken part in the revision, whereas Zhu Faqi is not mentioned (cf. Tang Yongtong, *History* p. 166). This may well be a copyist's mistake, but Zhi Xiaolong seems actually to have been at Cangyuan at this time. In his biography (*ib.* IV 346.3.23) it is said that he investigated the text of the *Fangguang* immediately after its publication during more than ten days, after which he was able to explain its meaning. Cf. note 205.

[211] *GSZ* VII 47.3.16.

[212] *GSZ* I 327.3.13, cf. Bagchi, *Canon* p. 83 note 2. The term *gaozuo* "elevated seat" (of the expounder of the *dharma*) occurs already in this sense in the late second century *Zhong benqi jing* 中本起經, T 196 ch. II, p. 157.3.7 and 8.

[213] The mysterious mid. third century Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (above, p. 49; a Chinese?) and Zhu Fahu are the first known examples. Chinese monks like Yan Fotiao 嚴浮調 (above, p. 34) and even Dharmarakṣa's contemporary Zhu Shixing 朱士行 retained their normal surnames after their ordination.

[214] Anonymous colophons *CSZJJ* VII 50.2.6, VIII 56.3.16, IX 63.2.14; Zhi Mindu in *CSZJJ* VII 49.2.8.

[215] *CSZJJ* XIII 97.3.23; cf. *GSZ* I 326.3.6.

[216] *HS* 96A.1a; comm. to *SGZ*, *Weizhi* 7.97a quoting the *Hanshu* (read: *Hou-Han shu*) by Xie Cheng 謝承 (first half third century).

[217] *CSZJJ* VII 50.3.27, VIII 57.3.20, IX 63.2.14; cf. *GSZ* I 327.1.12.

[218] *CSZJJ* II 7.2.7–9.3.4; biogr. *CSZJJ* XIII 98.1.2; *GSZ* I 326.3.13.

[219] It is doubtful whether the so-called (*Zhu*) *Fahu* (*zhongjing) mulu* [竺] 法護 [衆經] 目錄, mentioned in *Lidai SBJ* and later sources, ever existed; it is never quoted. In *CSZJJ* IX 63.2.11 Sengyou mentions in passing a *Hugong lu* 護公錄, but no work of this kind is listed among Dharmarakṣa's works in *CSZJJ*, and this *Hugong lu* may as well refer to the list of translations of Dharmarakṣa in Dao'an's or Sengyou's own catalogue.

[220] On this catalogue see Hayashiya, *op. cit*., p. 296 sqq.

[221]
(1) Anon. 須真天子經記, 266 AD, Chang'an; *CSZJJ* VIII 48.2.22.
(2) Dao'an, 合放光光讚略解序, about the translation and transmission of the *Guangzan jing* (trsl. 286 AD, Chang'an) *CSZJJ* VII 48.1.1; *id.* in Dao'an's 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序, *ib.* VIII 52.2.8 sqq.
(3) Anon. 普曜經記, 308 AD, Chang'an; *ib.* VII 48.2.27.
(4) Anon. 賢劫經記, 300 AD, Chang'an?; *ib.* 48.3.2.
(5) Zhi Mindu, 合首楞嚴經記, quoting colophon on 勇伏定經 (= *Sūraṃgama-samādhisūtra*), trsl. 291 AD, Chang'an; *ib.* 49.1.22.
(6) Wang Sengru 王僧孺 (465–522), 慧印三昧及濟方等學二經序讚, reproduces colophon on 濟方等學經, date unknown, Jiuquan?; *ib.* 50.3.27.
(7) Anon. 阿維越致遮經記, 284 AD, Dunhuang; *ib.* 50.2.1.
(8) Anon. 魔逆經記, 289 AD, Luoyang; *ib.* 50.2.6.
(9) Anon. 聖法印經後記, 294 AD, Jiuquan; *ib.* 50.2.4 and 51.1.27.
(10) Anon. 文殊師利淨律經記, 289 AD, Luoyang; *ib.* 51.2.8.
(11) Anon. 正法華經記, trsl. 286, Chang'an; revised 288 (?, reading, with Tang Yongtong, 九年 inst. of 元年) at Chang'an; *CSZJJ* VIII 56.3.16.
(12) Anon. 正法華經後記 (describes the copying and oral explanation of this scripture at Luoyang in 290 AD); *ib.* 56.3.25.
(13) Anon. 持心經記, 286 AD, Chang'an; *ib.* 57.3.19.
(14) Anon. 漸備經十住胡名并書叙 (probably by Dao'an), quoting colophon on 漸備一切智德經, 297 AD, Chang'an; *CSZJJ* IX 62.2.5.
(15) Anon. 如來大哀經記, 291 AD, Chang'an; *ib.* 63.2.13.
(16) Anon, colophon on the 修行道行經, 284 AD, Dunhuang; T 606 ch. VII p. 230.2 (not in *CSZJJ*). Trsl. by P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, pp. 348–349.

Earliest biographies (mainly based on the colophons) in *CSZJJ* XIII 97.3.20 and *GSZ* I 326.3.2.

[222] *CSZJJ* XIII 98.1.3 = *GSZ* I 326.3.45: 經法所以廣流中華者.護之力也.

[223] T 606 ch. VII p. 230 (cf. note 221 nr. 16). *Hou* 侯 is perhaps a title and not a part of the name; cf. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 348 note 1.

[224] *CSZJJ* 50.2.3 (cf. note 221 nr. 7).

[225] Dao'an in *CSZJJ* VII 48.1.2 and IX 62.3.1 (note 221 nrs. 2 and 14). The latter document

figures in *CSZJJ* as "anonymous", but its contents prove that it was written by Dao'an; cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 198.

[226] *CSZJJ* VII 51.2.8 (cf., note 221, nr. 10).

[227] *Ib*. 48.3.2 (note 221, nr. 4).

[228] Cf. note 221, nrs. 7 and 16.

[229] Cf. note 221, nrs. 10 (May 14, 289), 8 (December 30, 289) and 12 (November 3, 290).

[230] Cf. note 221 nr. 9.

[231] Cf. Facheng's biography in *GSZ* IV 347.3.5 sqq.

[232] Fifty-nine works enumerated by Dao'an in the section of his catalogue entitled 涼土異經錄, reproduced by Sengyou in *CSZJJ* III 18.3.3 sqq.; in his time (early sixth century) only six of these had been preserved. Cf. Hayashiya, *op. cit*., p. 1038 sqq.

[233] Note 221, nr. 3. The *Lalitavistara* was probably translated at Chang'an, for the colophon names as Dharmarakṣa's assistant (筆受) the *śramaṇa* Bo Faju 帛法巨 who also figures in the colophon on Dharmarakṣa's version of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* 漸備一切智德經 in *CSZJJ* VII 48.2.27, translated at Chang'an in 297 AD (note 221, nr. 14).

[234] *GSZ* X 388.1.25.

[235] Falin's *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (626 AD), T 2110, ch. III p. 502.3.11.

[236] *GSZ* IX 383.2.18; trsl. Wright, *HJAS* XI, 1948, p. 337.

[237] Dao'an in *CSZJJ* VII 48.1.19 (note 221 nr. 2) and IX 62.2.25 (note 221, *ib*.).

[238] Mentioned by Dao'an and Sengyou in *CSZJJ* II 9.3.5 and in his biography, *ib*. XIII 98.1.23 = *GSZ* I 327.1.3. Dharmarakṣa's original, more extensive, version (*CSZJJ* II 8.3.15) counted also two *juan*; Nie Chengyuan seems to have only reduced the number of repetitions and to have added some stylistic improvement. His version has been preserved (T 638).

[239] *GSZ* I 327.1.1.

[240] Cf. Hayashiya, *op. cit*., pp. 285–290.

[241] Indians: Zhu Li 竺力 at Chang'an, Zhengruo 征若 at Dunhuang; Kuchean; Bo Yuanxin 帛元信 at Chang'an, perhaps also Bo Faju 帛法巨 (although this person was active as a *bishou* 筆受 noting down the Chinese text; if he was a foreigner he must have been thoroughly sinicized); Yuezhi: Zhi Fabao 支法寶 at Dunhuang; Khotanese: Gītamitra; Sogdian: Kang Shu 康殊 (again active as a *bishou*).

[242] Cf. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, pp. 348–349, and above, note 221 nr. 16. I see no way to separate the names and to define their number; Tang Yongtong (p. 158) punctuates as follows: 賢者李應榮.承索烏子.剡遲時.通武.支晉.支晉.寶等三十餘人 . . .

[243] *CSZJJ* VIII 56.3.21 (note 221, nr. 11). Their role as donors is indicated by the formula 共勸助歡喜.

[244] Biogr. *CSZJJ* XIII 98.1.11; *GSZ* IV (biogr. Facheng) 347. 2.25.

[245] Kumārajīva on the fundamental difference between the doctrine of the *Lotus sūtra* and other Mahāyāna scriptures in his correspondence with Huiyuan, *Dasheng da yizhang* 大乘大義章, T 1856, ch. I p. 126.3.5 and ch. II p. 133.2.19. For the relation between the doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Lotus* and on the *ekayāna* see Sengrui's (or rather Huirui's) preface to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'* (僧叡, 小品經序), *CSZJJ* IX 54.3.22, his colophon on the *Lotus sūtra* (法華經後序) *ib*. 57.2.24, and Huiguan's 慧觀 "Essentials of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*" 法華宗要 (*ib*. 57.1.4). It appears very clearly that Kumārajīva and these members of his school were well aware of the special character of the *Lotus sūtra*, the contents of which they regarded, in accordance with *Da zhidu lun* ch. 100 (T 1509 754.2.20) as a "secret doctrine" (*guhyadharma*), different from and even conflicting with other scriptures.

[246] Before Dharmarakṣa's time there was, as far as we know, only the still extant very incomplete anonymous translation entitled *Satanfentuoli jing* 薩曇芬陀利經 (T 265, 1 ch.)

which corresponds to sections 10–12 of Dharmarakṣa's and Kumārajīva's versions, *i.e.*, the 11th *parivarta* of the present Sanskrit text. In view of the inserted translator's glosses it seems to date from late Han or Sanguo times.

[247] Documents mentioned in note 221, nrs. 11 and 12.

[248] Cf. the preface to Jñānagupta's translation of the *Lotus sūtra*, 添品妙法蓮華經, T 264 p. 134.3.

[249] Cf. above note 229.

[250] *CSZJJ* VIII 57.1.1.

[251] Dao'an in *CSZJJ* VII 48.1.2 and IX 62.3.1 (祇多羅); Sengyou in *CSZJJ* II 12.1.19: 祇多蜜 (here by mistake placed among the translators of the Eastern Jin). Cf. Tang Yongtong, p. 159.

[252] Documents mentioned in note 221, *sub* 2.

[253] *CSZJJ* VII 48.1.11.

[254] *CSZJJ* II 9.3.19–10.1.3.

[255] *CSZJJ* XIII 98.1.27.

[256] T 2034 VI 66.3–68.1; T 2154 II 499.2.2 sqq. Cf. Bagchi, *Canon* pp. 136–147.

[257] *CSZJJ* IV 30.2.26 (= T 2146 I 121.2.12; T 2147 I 153.1.4; T 2148 I 184.3.8; T 2149 IX 319.3.18).

[258] For Zhi Jiangliangjie see T 2034 V 56.3; T 2149 II 227.1.23 T 2151 I 352.2.23; T 2154 II 491.2.24; T 2157 III 788.3.22; Ono Gemyō, *op. cit.* vol. XII p. 47. According to T 2151 and T 2154, his *Fahua sanmei jing* was mentioned in the (apocryphal) catalogue of Zhu Shixing and in the early fifth century *Weishi lu* 魏世錄 by Zhu Daozu 竺道祖. The *ethnikon* Zhi 支 points to an Indoscythian origin of the translator. The transcription of his name is not clear; it is translated as (*Zheng*) *wuwei* [正]無為. Bagchi (*Canon* p. 308) suggests Kālaśiva (**ki̯ang.li̯ang.ts'i̯äp*), the first two syllables being a nasalised "Southern" transcription of *kāla*, such as we also find in the name of the early fifth century translator Kālayaśas 畺良[疆梁]邪舍 (trsl. 時稱, *GSZ* III 343.3.11; T 2149 IV 260.1.15). S. Lévi (*J.As.* 1934, p. 16) points out that in the name of Jianglianglouzhi 疆梁婁至 this same element is translated as *zhen* 真, and proposes to read this part of the name as Kalyāṇa-. For Jianglianglouzhi (**ki̯ang.li̯ang.ləu.tśi*: Pelliot and Bagchi: *Kālaruci*; S. Lévi: *Kalyāṇaruci*, trsl. as 真喜) see T 2034 VI 65.1; T 2149 II 236.1.8 and 243.2.6; T 2151 II 354.1.26; T 2154 II 497.2.18; T 2157 xIV 794.3.6; Pelliot, "La théorie des Quatre Fils du ciel", *TP* XXII, 1923, pp. 97–126, esp. p. 100 sqq.; Bagchi, *Canon* pp. 114–116; S. Lévi, *loc. cit.*; Ono Gemyō, *op. cit.*, vol. XII p. 58. It may be that Zhi Jiangliangjie and Jianglianglouzhi stand for the same Indian name; *jie* 接, which very rarely figures in Buddhist transcriptions, could be a mistake for *lou* 婁 (written 娄). However, as Bagchi remarks, only one of these men is given the *ethnikon* Zhi, and the translation of the names is quite different.

[259] Seeming exceptions are the *Mouzi* 牟子 (cf. ch. I p. 13 sqq.) and the no doubt spurious "letter of Cao Cao" for which see above, p. 56.

[260] *HMJ* XII 81.2.7.

[261] 蕃王, either meaning "enfeoffed relatives of the emperor" or "rulers of the outlying territories", as in the translation. Here the term probably refers to non-Chinese rulers like Shi Le, Shi Hu and Fu Jian.

[262] *HMJ* XII 76.3.23.

[263] Biography of Bo Yuan in *CSZJJ* XV 107.1.24 and *GSZ* I 327.1.12; biography of Bo Fazuo in *GSZ* I 327.2.29. The whole of the latter part of this section of the Korean edition of the *CSZJJ*, comprising the story of Bo Yuan's discussion with Wang Fu, the life of Bo Fazuo and that of Wei Shidu 衛士度, has been copied from the *GSZ*. The other editions, which no doubt represent the original text, only contain a few concluding phrases about the erection of stūpas over Bo Yuan's remains and about the translations made by him. See also below, ch. VI note 33.

[264] *CSZJJ* XV 107.2.3 = *GSZ* I 327.1.18.
[265] *CSZJJ* VII 48.2.1 (note 221 nr. 3).
[266] Zhi Mindu in *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.24; *ib*. XIII 97.2.23 = *GSZ* I 325.1.19.
[267] *CSZJJ* XV 107 note 37 (read 道楞嚴 inst. of 音楞嚴); *GSZ* I 327.2.28.
[268] *CSZJJ* XV 107.2.5 = *GSZ* I 327.1.20.
[269] *CSZJJ* has the correct reading 俊又其盛; *GSZ* Korean edition has 後又..., all other editions 俊叉...
[270] *CSZJJ* and *GSZ*, *loc. cit.*
[271] *CSZJJ* XV 107.2.9; *GSZ* I 327.2.6.
[272] *GSZ* I 327.3.4. In *CSZJJ* his name is always written 法作; in view of the use of the character 祖 (with radical 113) in the religious name of his elder brother, the reading 祚 seems preferable. Maspero (*BEFEO* X p. 224 note 3), who misspells the name as 法祐, proposes to identify Bo Yuan's brother with the Fazuo 法祐 who occurs once in Fotudeng's biography as one of the latter's disciples (*GSZ* IX 384.3.9; trsl. Wright p. 348). But a monk named Fazuo 法祚 also occurs twice in this same biography (384.2.2 and 386.3.7; trsl. Wright pp. 343 and 364). However, this monk can hardly have been identical with Bo Yuan's younger brother: the scene in which he figures here took place only a few days before Fotudeng's death (January 13, 349), more than forty years after the date at which Bo Yuan's brother was killed according to his biography.
[273] *GSZ* I 327.3.5; Fajing's 法經 *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 ch. VI, T 2146 148.2.12.
[274] *GSZ* IV 347.3.14.
[275] *Ib*. 348.1.12.
[276] *Weishu* 114.6b; trsl. Ware p. 141, where his explanation of the names Liu Yuanzhen and Lü Boqiang ("*i.e.*, our Jack Robinson and John Doe") is absurd; trsl. Hurvitz p. 67.
[277] *CSZJJ* VII 51.2.13; note 221 nr. 10.
[278] *CSZJJ* II 10.1.19; *GSZ* I 327.3.7.
[279] Biography of Zhu Shulan in *CSZJJ* XIII 98.2.3; less extensive in *GSZ* IV 346.3.1. The original form of his Indian name is not known; hypothetical reconstructions like Śuklaratna (Bagchi, *Canon*, p. 121, note 1), or even Saṅgharakṣa (Matsumoto, *Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur* p. 23) are not convincing. *CSZJJ* goes into great detail about Zhu Shulan's grandfather and about his father and uncles, but various elements in this history are organically connected with the obviously legendary account of Zhu Shulan's own descent into Hell when he was seemingly dead for a short time, a common theme in Chinese Buddhist hagiography which is also set forth in great detail in Zhu Shulan's biography. Sengyou may have taken this story from a collection of edifying tales such as the *Mingxiang ji*; its late date is betrayed by the fact that the name of Zhu Shulan's father, Dharmaśiras, is followed by the explanation "in the language of Qi, Fashou" 齊言法首, Qi being the name of the dynasty that reigned from 479 to 501 AD. In the other biographies in *CSZJJ* such glosses are generally introduced by *ci yun* 此云, "here called...".
[280] Cf. Yue Guang's biography in *JS* 43.12a–13b.
[281] *CSZJJ* XIII 98.2.19.
[282] *CSZJJ* II 9.3.12. Zhu Shulan's translation of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* was not mentioned by Dao'an in his catalogue. The attribution probably goes back to the catalogue of Zhi Mindu (first half fourth century), who also mentions it in his 合首楞嚴經記, *CSZJJ* VII 49.2.8.
[283] *GSZ* IV 346.3.13: 少以風姿見重.加復神彩卓犖.高論適時.
[284] Biography in *JS* 49.3a–4a.
[285] Biography in *JS* 50.4a–5a.
[286] *JS* 49.14b–15a.

CHAPTER THREE

[1] *Xirong lun* 西戎論 by Jiang Tong 江統 (died 310), *JS* 56.1a sqq.

[2] *JS* 97.10a. For the very complicated early history of these immigrated groups, their spread and their routes of infiltration see *e.g*., the two excellent studies by Tang Changru 唐長孺: "Wei Jin zahu kao" 魏晉雜胡考 and "Jindai Beijing gezu 'bianluan'de xingzhi ji wuhu zhengquan zai Zhongguode tongzhi" 晉代北京各族变亂的性質及五胡政權在中國的統治 in his *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi luncong* 魏晉南北朝史論藂, Beijing 1955, pp. 127–142 and 382–450.

[3] For Liu Yuan's ancestral lineage see Peter A. Boodberg, "Two Notes on the History of the Chinese Frontier", *HJAS* I (1936), pp. 283–307, esp. pp. 291–294.

[4] A typical case is the revolt of Zhang Chang 張昌, described in *JS* 100.2b sqq. In 303 the harvest had been abundant in the region of Jiangxia 江夏 (the modern Anlu 安陸 in Hubei), and, as a result, thousands of vagebonds had flocked there together. A local adventurer, Zhang Chang, established a revolutionary movement, changed his name into Li Chen 李辰 (presumably in order to pose as a descendant of Laozi?), defeated all government troops and made Jiangxia his headquarters. He announced that "a Saint will appear to be the Lord of the people", and used to this end a magistrate whose name he changed into Liu Ni 劉尼 and whom he introduced as the expected Saint and as a descendant of the Han imperial family. His success was overwhelming; he built up an elite army of 30.000 "immortal" soldiers who wore red caps and false beards. Within a few months the revolution spread over five provinces. However, in the same year (303) the Jin general Tao Kan 陶侃 routed the armies of Zhang Chang and exterminated all leaders, and the whole movement collapsed as suddenly as it had started.

[5] Translation by W. B. Henning, in "The date of the Sogdian ancient letters", *BSOAS* XII, 1948, pp. 605–606.

[6] Most handbooks give 267–330 as the dates of Wang Dao's life; these are based on *JS* 65.5b (biography of Wang Dao) where he is said to have died in the fifth year *xianhe* 咸和 (330) at the age of 64 (Chinese way of reckoning, *i.e*., 63 real years). However, in the Annals (*JS* 7) he is mentioned several times after 330 (p. 5a *sub* 335, 6a *sub* 338), whereas his death is mentioned (*ib*. 6a) under the year 339 with the exact date (seventh month, day *gengshen*, *i.e*., September 8) and with a detailed description of his burial and posthumous honours. The *xianhe* 咸和 in the biography is obviously a mistake for *xiankang* 咸康, the fifth year of which corresponds to 339 AD.

[7] People like Gu Rong 顧榮, Ji Zhan 記瞻 and He Xun 賀循, whose biographies are all in *JS* 68.

[8] *ZZTJ* 90.1065b. This entry apparently refers to the whole official hierarchy established in that year, down to the clerks and scribes; otherwise the enormous number would remain inexplicable. I have found no corresponding passage in *JS* 6 (annals of emperor Yuan) or 24 (section on officials).

[9] Cf. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, "*Yanyi zhi bian*" 言意之辨, in his *Wei Jin xuanxue lungao* 魏晉玄學論稿, Beijing 1957, pp. 26–47, esp. p. 34.

[10] Among the founders of *xuanxue*, Zhong Hui and He Yan (cf. below) were high magistrates and politicians; Wang Bi died too early to reach a high post, but he had already begun his official career. He Yan was, moreover, an expert ritualist. For the more practical, *i.e*. political and social, aspects of their theories see ch. XI of Xiao Gongquan 蕭公權, *Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiang shi* 中國政治思想史 (reedition Taibei 1954), and the extremely biased pamphlet by Tang Yongtong and Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, *Wei Jin xuanxuezhong shehui zhengzhi sixiang luelun* 魏晉玄學中的社會政治思想略論, Shanghai 1956.

[11] Cf. *Baopuzi*, *waipian*, section 25 (疾謬, pp. 146–150) and 27 (刺驕, pp. 151–154). For Ge Hong's position in medieval Chinese thought see Tang Changru, *Du Baopuzi tuilun nanbei*

xuefeng de yitong 讀抱朴子推論南北學風的異同, in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi luncong*, pp. 351–381, and Hou Wailu 侯外廬 and others, *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi* 中國思想通史 vol. III, pp. 263–306. By his curious mixture of Daoist religion and Confucian traditionalism, Ge Hong stands outside the main current of medieval Chinese thought. In the two sections of his *Baopuzi* mentioned above he inveighs against the high-class idlers who disregard the rules of decorum and moral behaviour and who waste their time in noisy gatherings "falsely quoting *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*". He uses the term *qingtan* 清談 in its old sense of "social criticism".

[12] On the early history of *xuanxue* in general see *e.g.*, the nine articles by Tang Yongtong published or reprinted in his *Wei Jin xuanxue lunkao* (Beijing 1957); Feng Youlan (trsl. Derk Bodde), *History of Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton 1953), vol. II pp. 168–236; Tang Changru, *op. cit.*, pp. 311–350 (魏晉玄學之形成及其發展); Hou Wailu, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–62 and 95–122; He Changqun 賀昌群, *Wei Jin qingtan sixiang chulun* 魏晉清談思想初論 (2nd ed, Shanghai 1947). As we are mainly concerned with the development of *xuanxue* in the late third and early fourth century, we shall not speak here about the first beginnings of this trend of thought, which can be traced back to the late Han period. There is no doubt an historical connection between the earliest phase of *xuanxue* and the late second and early third century centre of *guwen* studies at Jingzhou, the residence of Liu Biao 劉表, cf. Tang Yongtong, *Wang Bi zhi Zhouyi Lunyu xinyi* 王弼之周易論語新義 in *Tushu jikan* IV (1943) pp. 28–40, reprinted in *Wei Jin xuanxue lunkao* pp. 84–102, translation by W. Liebenthal in *HJAS* X (1947) pp. 124–161, and Wang Yao 王瑤 in *Zhonggu wenxue sixiang* 中古文學思想 (vol. I of his *Zhonggu wenxue shilun* 中古文學史論, 6th ed., Beijing 1953) pp. 44–79, esp. p. 51 sqq. The characteristic combination of *Yijing* and *Laozi* studies dates also from Later Han times: the famous scholar Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166 AD) was the first Confucian exegete known to have written a (no doubt Confucian) commentary on the *Daode jing*; cf. He Changqun, *op. cit.*, p. 14 sqq.

[13] *Yijing* ch. I, *wenyan* to hexagram 1 (乾); trsl. Legge p. 417.

[14] *Yijing*, *Xici* appendix I (*zhushu* ed. p. 28b): 易有太極.是生兩儀, trsl. Legge p. 373.

[15] Wang Bi as quoted by Han Bo 韓伯 (died ca. 385) in his commentary to *Xici* I (*zhushu* ed. p. 20a, to the text 大衍之數五十.其用四十有九), cf. Tang Yongtong, "Wang Bi Dayanyi lueshi" 王弼大衍義略釋, in *Wei Jin xuanxue lunkao*, pp. 62–71 and Feng Youlan/Bodde vol. II p. 182 sqq.

[16] *Yijing*, *Xici* I (*zhushu* ed. p. 26b): 開物成務; trsl. Legge p. 371.

[17] *JS* 43.8a (biogr. of Wang Yan 王衍).

[18] Commentary to *Yijing, Xici* I (*zhushu* ed. p. 11a): 一陰一陽之謂道 cf. Feng Youlan/Bodde vol. II p. 183.

[19] Wang Bi's comment to *Yijing*, hexagram 24 (復), *zhushu* ed. 3.19b.

[20] Ming 冥 (darkened, latent, obscured, obliterated) is one of the basic terms of *xuanxue*. It denotes the "nameless" source of all phenomena *versus* the phenomena themselves, the "substance" *versus* the "function", and, as applied to the mind of the Sage, his inner state of non-activity and intuitive unity with the process of Nature. Cf. the many examples given by Hou Wailu, *op. cit.*, pp. 232–233.

[21] *Yijing, Xici* I (*zhushu* ed. p. 30b): 子曰.書不盡言.言不盡意.然則聖人之意.其不可見乎; trsl. Legge p. 376.

[22] *Ib.* 31a. For the argumentation of both parties see the treatise *Yanjin yilun* 言盡意論 (as quoted in *Yiwen leiju* 19.7b and *SSXY comm.* IB/15b) by Ouyang Jian 歐陽健 (died 300 AD).

[23] Cf. Wang Bi's well-known words (聖人體無.無又不可以訓.故不說也) reported in the biography of Wang Bi by He Shao 何劭 (died 301 AD), which is quoted in the commentary to *SGZ, Weizhi* 28.337b, and Guo Xiang in the preface to his *Zhuangzi*

commentary: 莊生雖未體之.言則至矣. For the problem of the relation between words and ideas in medieval Chinese thought see the article by Tang Yongtong mentioned in note 9.

[24] *E.g.*, the passage which says that "the Master's words about (human) Nature and the Way of Heaven cannot be heard" (*LY* V. 12), Confucius' words "I would prefer not to speak" and "does Heaven speak?" in *LY* XVII.19, and his statement "My doctrine has one (principle) which goes through it" 吾道一以貫之 in *LY* IV. 15.1 and XV.2.3. In the same way, the "expedient" character of Confucius' teachings could be inferred from passage like *LY* I. 5–8 where the master gives each time a quite different definition of "filial piety" to different persons, *LY* XI.21 where he gives two contradictory answers to Zilu and Ran You, motivating this by saying "Qiu (*i.e.*, Zilu) is reserved, so I urged him on; Yu has (the energy) of more than one man, so I held him back", and finally his dictum that "the highest subjects may be announced to those whose talents are above mediocrity" and not to less gifted persons (*LY* VI. 19).

[25] Cf. the treatise *Chongyou lun* 崇有論 by Pei Wei 裴頠 (267–300) quoted in his biography, *JS* 35.5b sqq.

[26] On the philosophy of Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang, and on the complicated problem of the real authorship of the *Zhuangzi* commentary, see Feng Youlan, "Some characteristics of the philosophy of Guo Xiang" in the appendix to his *Zhuangzi*, *a new selected translation* (Shanghai 1933), pp. 145–157; Feng Youlan/Bodde vol. II pp. 205–236, and esp. Hou Wailu, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–262.

[27] Cf. the *Da Zhuang lun* 達莊論 by Ruan Ji (*QSGW* 45.9a), and the way in which Xi Kang contrasts the teachings of Laozi and Zhuangzi with each other in his *Buyi* 卜疑:寧如老聃之清淨微妙.守玄抱一乎.將如莊周之齊物變化.洞達而放乎 (*Xi Kang ji* 嵇康集, ch. III p. 2a in Lu Xun's edition, photolithographic reproduction of the manuscript, Beijing 1956). Cf. also the controversy between Xi Kang and Xiang Xiu, the actual author of the *Zhuangzi* commentary, documents translated by D. Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi Kang*, Leiden 1957, p. 92 sqq.).

[28] This particular use of the word *fen* occurs already occasionally in the *Zhuangzi* text itself, *e.g.*, V.1a: 以道觀分而君臣之義明. Cf. P. Demiéville in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 48me année, p. 159, and the many examples listed in Hou Wailu, *op. cit.*, p. 244 sqq.

[29] *E.g., comm.* 1.5a (故乘天地之正者...); *ib.* 3a (遺彼忘我...); *ib.* 19a: the Sage is 萬物性分之表. All references are to the *Sibu beiyao* edition of the *Zhuangzi* commentary. For critical notes on the various editions see Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Guo Xiang Zhuangzi zhu jiaoji* 郭象莊子注校記, Academia Sinica monograph nr. 33, Shanghai 1950.

[30] *Comm.* I.15a.

[31] 遣之又遣之以至於無遣, cf. *Daode jing* 48: 損之又損之以之於無為.

[32] *Comm.* I 18a.

[33] *Comm.* I 6a.

[34] This use of *suoyi* 所以, and especially that of *ji* and *suoyi ji* is extensively discussed by Hou Wailu, *op. cit.*, p. 230 sqq. Like *fen*, the terms *ji* and *suoyi ji* occur already in the text of *Zhuangzi*: V.26b.

[35] *Comm.* I 11b (無既無矣則不能生有...); *ib.* 25a (請問夫造物者有邪無邪...); VII. 29a (非唯無不能化而為有也...). Reasoning of this type must have paved the way for the works of Mādhyamika scholastic which were so enthusiastically received and studied by later Chinese clerical *literati*.

[36] *Comm.* III 6b.

[37] *Comm.* VII.27a: 物物者無物. The term *wuwu* 物物 is again borrowed from *Zhuangzi*, IV. 21b.

[38] *Comm.* I. 5a: 天地者萬物之總名也.天地以萬物為體, cf. *ib.* 11b: 故天也者萬物之總名也.

[39] *Comm*. I. 12a–b (物各自然…), cf. *ib*. 3a (夫趣之所以異…).

[40] *E.g*. *Comm*. I. 6a, I–21b and IV.11b; several examples given in Hou Wailu, *op. cit*., pp. 232–233.

[41] *E.g*. *Comm*. I. 5b, 6a, 6b, 8a; II. 15a; III.IIb; IV. 15b; V.12b; IX.17a.

[42] *Comm*. II.3b.

[43] *Comm*. I.13a.

[44] *Comm*. II.21a. Cf. VIII.29b (夫物皆前有其命 . . .) and III.1b (物無非天也 . . .)

[45] *Comm*. II.7b (至於自然之報 . . .). The course of Nature, which is Fate, works completely arbitrarily. Cf. the theme for debate posed by Yin Hao 殷浩 (?–356) at a *qingtan* meeting: "Nature, when endowing (us with our inborn qualities) does so without any conscious intention—why then are there just so few good people and so many wicked ones?" (*SSXY* IB/22b). Dai Kui 戴逵 (?–396) says in his *Shiyi lun* 釋疑論, in which he questions the reality of karmic retribution, that "wisdom and foolishness, good and evil, excellencies and defects, success and failure are all destiny 分命, and are not the result of accumulated deeds (in the past)" (*GHMJ* XVIII p. 222.1.21).

[46] Here again we shall not speak about the earliest history of *qingtan*, its relation to the "pure judgments" of Later Han times etc., and as far as possible restrict ourselves to a very summary discussion of *qingtan* as it was practised during the period under consideration, *i.e*., the fourth century AD. General studies on the subject: Liu Dajie 劉大杰, *Wei Jin sixiang lun* 魏晉思想論 (Shanghai 1939), esp. pp. 167–220; Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Tao Yuanming zhi sixiang yu qingtan zhi guanxi* 陶淵明之思想與清談之關係 (Beijing 1945); Et. Balazs, "Entre révolte nihiliste et évasion mystique", in *Etudes Asiatiques* (1948), pp. 27–55; the studies by He Changqun and Wang Yao mentioned above, note 12; Tang Changru, *op. cit*., pp. 289–298 (清談與清議); Hou Wailu, *op. cit*., vol. III, pp. 26–45 and 74–94.

[47] *Shishuo xinyu*, by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444); commentary by Liu Jun 劉峻 (better known as Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標, 462–521). The original title of the work was *Shishuo* 世說 or *Shishuo xinshu* 世說新書; it was anciently divided in 8 or 10 *juan*. The present-day title seems to date from the Song period. It is a collection of more than 950 anecdotes grouped together under 36 headings; nowadays (probably since Dong Fen's 董弅 edition of 1138) divided in three *juan*, each of which consists of two parts, in our references indicated as IA, IB etc. We have used the *Sibu congkan* photolithographic reproduction of Yuan Jiong's 袁褧 edition of 1535. For further bibliographical information cf. W. Hung's preface to the Harvard-Yenching index to the *Shishuo xinyu* (Index Series no. 12, Beijing 1933) and V. T. Yang, "About Shih-shuo hsin-yü", in *Journal of Oriental Studies* II (1955), pp. 309–315. On the historical background of the work see Utsunomiya Kiyoyoshi 宇都宮清吉 in *Kandai shakai keizaishi kenkyū* 漢代社會經濟史研究, Tōkyō 1955, ch. XII (p. 473 sqq.), W. Eichhorn, "Zur chinesischen Kulturgeschichte des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts", *ZDMG* XCI (1937) pp. 452–483, the study of Et. Balazs mentioned above (note 46) and Yoshikawa Kōjirō, "*Shishuo xinyu* and its style", *Tōhōgakuhō* X (1939) pp. 86–110. The text of the *SSXY* has been very imperfectly transmitted and many passages have been altered or re-phrased in later times, as clearly appears from a comparison of the present text with an incomplete copy of a Tang manuscript of the *SSXY* (reproduced in the second volume of the 文學古籍刊行社, Beijing 1956) and with quotations preserved in early works (cf. Yuan Jiong's preface to his edition of 1535, and the examples given by W. Hung, *loc. cit*.). In spite of this, the *SSXY* and its commentary remain sources of primary importance for the cultural history of medieval China. Unfortunately, a considerable number of anecdotes—mainly *bons mots*, short and intentionally cryptic sayings and fragments of conversation alluding to contemporary personalities and happenings—are extremely difficult to understand and to interpret, and this difficulty is enhanced by the use

of rare vernacular expressions and syntactic structures. It is only fair to admit that to the Western sinologue at least one third of the book is more or less ununderstandable, and a new extensive commentary on the *SSXY*, compiled by Chinese scholars with their immense historical and lexicographical knowledge, would be a very important contribution to the study of medieval Chinese history.

[48] For the role of "characterization" in *qingtan* see Tang Changru, *op. cit*., pp. 289–297 and Hou Wailu, *op. cit*., vol. III p. 86 sqq. It remained important as a means to influence the "public" (*i.e*., gentry-)opinion. For the primary importance of this "public opinion" for the official career in medieval times cf. the many examples collected by Zhao Yi 趙翼 in *Nianer shi zhaji* 廿二史劄記 VIII (section 九品中正) p. 6a sqq. (ed. *Guangya congshu*).

[49] *SSXY* IIB/3a.

[50] *Ib*. IIB/4b.

[51] *Ib*. IIB/6a.

[52] *Ib*. IIB/16b.

[53] *Ib*. IIB/16b.

[54] *Ib*. IIB/36b.

[55] *Ib*. IA/44b.

[56] *Ib*. IA/45a.

[57] 林無靜樹.川無停流. These two lines do not occur in any of Guo Pu's poems collected in the *Han Wei liuchao bosan mingjia ji*.

[58] *SSXY* IB/32a.

[59] *Ib*. IIIB/11b.

[60] The deer's tail fly-whisk 麈尾 was, as the instrument which dispels "impurity", the attribute of the *qingtan* adept; cf. Wang Yitong, *op. cit*., vol. I, pp. 93–95; Hou Wailu, *op. cit*., p. 66 sqq.

[61] *SSXY* IB/15b–16a.

[62] *Ib*. IB/25b–26a.

[63] *JS* 98.1b (biogr. of Wang Dun).

[64] *JS* 73.2b (biogr. of Yu Liang), cf. *ZZTJ* 93.1097b.

[65] *JS* 73.4b (biogr. of Yu Liang).

[66] *JS* 77.4a (biogr. of He Chong).

[67] So called in order to distinguish it from the Wang clan from Taiyuan 太原 (Shanxi), which was also one of the most powerful clans in medieval history; cf. the special study devoted to the vicissitudes of the Wang from Taiyuan from Later Han to Tang times by Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄, *Rikuchō mombatsu no ichi kenkyū* 六朝門閥の一研究 (Tōkyō 1951).

[68] *GSZ* IV 350.3.11.

[69] His name is given as Zhu Daoqian in all editions of the *GSZ* except the Korean edition which writes Zhuqian 竺潛; the *SSXY* passages mentioned below refer to him as "the monk Fashen" 僧法深, Zhu Fashen 竺法深 and Master Shen 深公. The main source for his life is *GSZ* IV 347.3.14; furthermore *SSXY Comm.* IA/10b (no source mentioned, but very probably the *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* 高逸沙門傳 (cf. notes 288–290 below) which is also quoted in connection with Zhu Daoqian in *SSXY Comm.* IA/34b and IIA/18b). According to *GSZ* he lived from 286–374, and consequently reached the age of 88 (89, according to the Chinese way of counting). The *SSXY Comm*, IA/10b gives 79 as the age at which he died, but this can hardly be correct. According to the *GSZ* (IV 348.1.9), emperor Xiaowu (373–397) contributed 100.000 *cash* to his funeral, and the text of the imperial decree is quoted here, so that it is certain that Zhu Daoqian died in or shortly after 373. On the other hand he is said to have explained Buddhist scriptures at the age of 24 when still living in the North (*i.e*., not later than ca. 307–310, the early years of the *yongjia* period), which points to the years 284–287 as the date of his birth. All this perfectly agrees with the dates 286–374 given in the *GSZ* biography.

[70] *GSZ* IV 347.3.17.

[71] Cf. *SSXY* IA/10b, where Huan Yi speaks about the friendship between his father (Huan Ying) and Zhu Daoqian. The name of Huan Yi's father, about whom practically nothing is known, is in *JS* 74.1a given as Huan Hao 桓顥.

[72] *GSZ* IV 347.3.22.

[73] *SSXY* IIA/18b.

[74] *GSZ* IV 350.3.17; cf. *Meisōdenshō* 7b–8a. In the period 363–365 he left the capital and settled with more than a hundred disciples on the Bao Shan 保山 at Shining 始寧 (South of the modern Shangyu 上虞 in N.E. Zhejiang), from where he was again summoned to the capital in 375 by emperor Xiaowu (cf. below, p. 151).

[75] *GSZ* IV 347.1.2.

[76] *SSXY* IA/35b–36a.

[77] Quoted in *SSXY Comm.* IA/36a and IB/36a–b, both times as *Renwu lun* 人物論; in the second passage the author's name is given as Yu 庾 Fachang, where 庾 is obviously a copyist's mistake for 康. The work is not mentioned by Lu Cheng, but it still figures in the *Da Tang NDL* of 664 AD (T 2149 ch. III p. 248.3.21 and *ib.* ch. X p. 330.1.13). Another work of the same title and probably of the same genre is mentioned in *GSZ* V 354.2.26 as a work by the northern monk Zhi Tandun 支曇敦 who lived at the Tai Shan (Shandong) in the second half of the fourth century.

[78] The *GSZ* devotes only a few words to him (IV 347.1.6); there is furthermore one passage in *SSXY* of doubtful historicity: IIIB/27b, cf. note 88. The *comm.* (*ibid.*) quotes some laudatory phrases from the *Mingde shamen timu* 名德沙門題目 and the *Mindu zan* 愍度贊, both by Sun Chuo 孫綽 (cf. below, note 262), and from a third unspecified source. For his catalogue and his teachings see below, notes 79 and 85. The name is variously written as 敏度 (*GSZ* and *CSZJJ*), 愍度 (*SSXY*) and 愍度 (Korean ed. of *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.17). The character 慜 is preferable, 敏 and 慜 being substitute forms for the Tang taboo 愍, see Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 266.

[79] Cf. Hayashiya Tomojirō, *Kyōroku kenkyū* pp. 305–325, and, by the same author, the article "Shimindo-roku" 支敏度録 in Ono Gemyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. IV, p. 168.

[80] *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.16: 合首楞嚴經記 and VIII 58.2.21: 合維摩詰經記. His synoptic editions of these scriptures are also mentioned by Sengyou in *CSZJJ* II 10.1.11, where he specifies that they comprised eight and five *juan* respectively. According to Zhi Mindu's own words, the synoptic edition of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was based on three versions (those of Zhi Qian, Dharmarakṣa and Zhu Shulan), and that of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* on four (those of Lokakṣema, Zhi Qian—actually a revised and "polished" edition of the first one—Dharmarakṣa and Zhu Shulan).

[81] The first known case is Zhi Qian's combined edition of three *dhāraṇi* texts, the preface of which has been preserved in *CSZJJ* VII 51.3.18 sqq. (合微密持陀遴尼總持三本), cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 132.

[82] Zhi Mindu in his colophon on the synoptic edition of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*: 今以越 (*i.e.*, Zhi Qian) 所定者為母.護 (i.e. Dharmarakṣa) 所出為子.蘭 (Zhu Shulan) 所譯者繫之, etc. (*CSZJJ* VII 49.2.10).

[83] Other fourth century examples are Dao'an's 合放光光讚略解 (preface in *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.1) and Zhi Dun's 大小品對比要抄 (preface in *CSZJJ* VIII 55.1.13).

[84] On these different versions see Edward Conze, *Literary History of the Prajñāpāramitā* (typed copy privately distributed, London 1954) of which the part dealing with Chinese translations and commentaries (pp. 109–115) is rather inaccurate and much too short; the same holds good for Matsumoto Tokumyo, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur*

(Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft I, Stuttgart 1932). See also the excellent survey of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature and its evolution by Hikata Ryusho in the introduction to his edition of the *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-paripṛcchā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Fukuoka, 1958), pp. XIII–LI. As usual, students of Buddhism have been interested mainly in the Chinese translations as secondary material serving to establish the textual history and evolution of the Indian texts; up to now, nobody has attempted to study the earliest Chinese versions as documents of the highest importance for the doctrinal history of early *Chinese* Buddhism.

85 Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Zhi Mindu xueshuo kao" 支愍度學說考, in *Academia Sinica, Cai Yuanpei Memorial Volume* (Beijing 1933), part I; Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 266–272; W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao* (Beijing 1948), pp. 149–152; Feng Youlan/Bodde vol. II, pp. 252–256; Tang Yongtong in *Wei-Jin xuanxue lungao*, pp. 48–61 esp. pp. 57–58.

86 *Fangguang jing* (T 221) ch. I (section 2) p. 4.3.18.

87 It must be remarked that Zhi Mindu's theory has nothing to do with the Buddhist dogma of the non-existence of a permanent ego (無我, *anātmya*). He does not deny the existence of a "soul" or "spirit" 神, but only that of "conscious thought" 心 in the mind of the Sage which is "tranquil" 靜 and "vast like empty space" 豁如太虛. Zhi Mindu's idea comes nearer to *śamatha* than to *anātmya*; there is some confusion on this point in Tang Yongtong's discussion in *Wei-Jin xuanxue lungao*, p. 58.

88 According to *SSXY* IIIB/27b and *comm.*, *ib*: "When the monk Mindu was about to cross the Yangzi, he had as his companion a monk from the North (傖). Together they made a plan, saying, "If we go to the South with nothing to (expound) but the old exegesis 舊義, we shall perhaps not manage to make a living". Then together they created the theory of non-existence of (conscious) thought 心無義". Later, when both priests were living comfortably, the other monk sent a messenger to Zhi Mindu to tell him that they had now both enough to eat and that it would be indecent and even blasphemous to go on with this trick, but Zhi Mindu continued to propagate his new theory. It is of course very probable that this story has no historical base whatsoever, and that it originated in the ranks of the opponents of Zhi Mindu's theory. For other forms of opposition cf. the heated debate between Tanyi 曇一 and the *xinwu* adherent Daoheng 道恆 at Jingzhou (ca. 365 AD; *GSZ* V 354.3.13), and the correspondence between Liu Yimin 劉遺民 (*i.e.*, Liu Chengzhi 劉程之) and Sengzhao in 409 AD, which forms part of the present *Zhaolun* (cf. W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao*, p. 90 sqq.; Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 and others, *Jōron kenkyū* 肇論研究, p. 36 sqq.).

89 Biographical note in *GSZ* IV 346.3.28; furthermore *SSXY* IB/23a, IIIA/17a and IIIB/6b.

90 *SSXY* IB/23a, where only the debate is mentioned, and not the "Buddhist and secular scriptures" as in *GSZ* IV 347.1.9.

91 *SSXY* IIIB/6b = *GSZ* IV 347.1.11.

92 Probably Yu Yuanzhi 庾爰之 or Yu Fangzhi 庾方之 who were banished to Yuzhang in 345 (below, p. 110); cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 170.

93 *SSXY* IIIA/17a, cf. *GSZ* IV 347.1.13.

94 Zhu Fayun 竺法蘊, *alias* Zhu Fawen 竺法溫, cf. below p. 139.

95 Biography in *GSZ* I 327.3.12 and *CSZJJ* XIII 98.3.17; furthermore *Gaozuo zhuan* 高坐傳 quoted in *comm. SSXY* IIB/5a and IIIA/50b, and *Gaozuo biezhuan* 高坐別傳 quoted *ib.* IA/32a; Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 171. The name is written in various ways: 帛尸梨密多羅 in *GSZ*, 尸梨蜜 in *CSZJJ*, 尸黎蜜 in *Gaozuo biezhuan*; translated as Jiyou 吉友 in *GSZ*; in the text of the *SSXY* always called (the monk) Gaozuo 高坐(道人). The *Tasi ji* 塔寺記 (quoted in *comm. SSXY* IA/32a) says that *Gaozuo* was (also?) the name given to Śrīmitra's

grave; it is certainly wrong in saying that this grave had been adorned with a *caitya* by emperor Yuan and not, as in *GSZ*, by emperor Cheng.

[96] "Biography of Śrīmitra" quoted in *TPYL* 653.3a, probably the same work as the *Gaozuo zhuan* quoted in *SSXY comm.* (cf. note 95), and as the "biography" 傳 referred to in *GSZ* I 327.3.14.

[97] Cf. *SSXY* IA/32a: "The monk Gaozuo did not speak Chinese. When somebody asked why, (the future emperor) Jianwen said: "(He does so) in order to reduce the trouble of answering".

[98] *GSZ* I 328.1.11. Cf. the curious passage in *GSZ* I 328.1.3 where it is told how at the death of Śrīmitra's admirer Zhou Yi 周顗 (*i.e.*, in 322 AD) the master himself went to visit the orphans, chanted three pieces of "hymns in a foreign language" 胡唄三契, then recited several thousands of words of "spells" in a loud voice, and finally wiped his tears and went away. Identical story in *CSZJJ* XIII 99.1.5; shorter version in *Gaozuo biezhuan* quoted in *comm. SSXY* IA/32a.

[99] According to *CSZJJ* II 10.1.16 he translated two versions of the *Mahāmāyūri-vidyā-rājñi* entitled *Dakongquewang shenzhu* 大孔雀王神呪 and *Kongquewang za shenzhu* 孔雀王雜神呪. Both works were lost at an early date, cf. *KYSJL* III, T 2154, p. 503.1.5. The *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyā-rājñi*, which later became one of the basic texts of Tantrism (cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 688, s.v. *Kūjaku myōōgyō no hō* 孔雀明王經法) was very popular in Chinese Buddhism long before the development of Tantrism in China. In the *Taishō-daizōkyō* we find no less than seven translations of this work (T 982–988) executed between the fourth and the eighth century. The earliest non-anonymous and approximately datable version is that made by Kumārajīva (T 988), but it must be noted that this scripture does not figure among Kumārajīva's thirty-five translations listed in *CSZJJ* II 10.3–11.1. In later catalogues (*LDSBJ, KYSJL* etc.) the translation of a third still existing collection of spells, the *Guanding jing* 灌頂經 (T 1331, ?*Mahābhiśekamantra*) is attributed to him. This attribution is almost certainly wrong, cf. below, pp. 316–317.

[100] *GSZ* I 328.1.12.

[101] Cf. *CSZJJ* XI 81.2.27 (anonymous colophon); Mili's spurious *vinaya*-text is still mentioned in Fajing's 法經 *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 of 594 AD: T 2146 ch. V p. 141.1.5.

[102] *SSXY* IB/5a. Cf. also the story of Wang Dao and the clerical Methusalem reported in *Fayuan zhulin* XXXVIII 585.3 (source not indicated).

[103] *CSZJJ* XIII 99.1.8: (Wang Dao) 外國正當有君一人而已耳, (Śrīmitra) 若使我如諸君. 今日豈得在此. Somewhat shortened and stylized in *GSZ* I 328.1.6 (here translated): (Wang Dao) 外國有君一人而已, (Śrīmitra) 我如諸君豈得在此. Another slightly different version in *Da Tang NDL* (T 2149) III 244.3.8.

[104] *GSZ* I 328.1.15 sqq. (not in *CSZJJ*).

[105] *Bianzheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.15. Falin (*ib.* p. 504.2.8) also enumerates eight kings (enfeoffed near relatives of the emperor) who according to him sponsored Buddhism. Six of these cannot be identified, since Falin simply refers to them as "the king of . . ." without indicating their personal names. The remaining two are Sima You 司馬攸 (248–283 AD, biogr. in *JS* 38.6b–9b) and Sima Jian 柬 (262–291 AD, biogr. *JS* 64.1a), but neither their biographies nor those of other early Sima kings contain anything which might corroborate Falin's statement.

[106] *GSZ* V 354.3.25, cf. *ib.* XIII 410.1.18.

[107] *Bianzheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.16.

[108] *CSZJJ* II 11.3.9 and *GSZ* II 335.2.29.

[109] *CSZJJ* II 11.3.26.

[110] *BQNZ* I 936.2.13.

[111] *Fayuan zhulin* (T 2122) XLII 616.2.5; in XXXI 526.2 virtually the same story is given as a quotation from the *Nanjing siji* 南京寺記.

[112] Allusion to *Zhuangzi* II (*Ch'i wu-lun*) p. 6.

[113] *HMJ* XII 76.3.23, cf. *GSZ* V (biogr. Dao'an) 352.2.24.

[114] *Guhua pinlu*, ed. *Meishu congshu* III/6 p. 109, trsl. W. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting* (Leiden 1954), p. 29.

[115] Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (completed 847 AD), ch. V (not in Acker's trsl.), ed. *Congshu jicheng* p. 173.

[116] Pei Xiaoyuan 裴孝遠, *Zhenguan gongsi huashi* 貞觀公私畫史 (mainly a description of the paintings in the former Sui imperial collection, preface dated 639), ed. *Meishu conshu* II/3 p. 7.

[117] *JS* 77.7b–8a.

[118] *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 63; *CCW* 38.6b.

[119] According to Falin, emperor Cheng also founded two monasteries at the capital (Zhongxingsi 中興寺 and Luyesi 鹿野寺) where he assembled a hundred (*var.* a thousand) monks specialized in translation and exegesis (*Bianzheng lun*, T 2110, III 502.3.18). This Zhongxing monastery may have been the one at which the *dhyāna*-master Dharmamitra (347–443) stayed during his first visit to the southern capital (ca. 425 AD; *GSZ* III 343.1.1). On the other hand we find that (another?) Zhongxingsi was completed under emperor Xiaowu of the Liu-Song dynasty (454–465 AD; *CSZJJ* XIV 106.1.22, cf. *KYSCL*, T 2154, ch. V p. 529.3.4). A Luye monastery is, as far as I know, not mentioned before the year 457 (*CSZJJ* V 39.1.23, cf. *Da Tang NDL*, T 2149, ch. IV p. 261.1.20, and *Zhongjing mulu*, T 2146, ch. IV p. 138.3.25).

[120] *GSZ* IV 347.3.24.

[121] *Ib.* 348.2.24, cf. below, p. 117.

[122] Preserved in *HMJ* XII 79.2.12 sqq., and in *Ji shamen buying baisu dengshi* 集沙門不應拜俗等事 (T 2108) I 443.3.18 sqq. They consist of a short introduction by an unknown compiler, the first memorial sent in by He Chong and his partisans, a decree promulgated by Yu Bing (on behalf of the emperor) in answer to this memorial, He Chong's second memorial, a second edict issued by Yu Bing, and a third memorial of He Chong, altogether six pieces.

[123] Biography of Cai Mo, *JS* 77.7a–9b.

[124] *GHMJ* VI 126.3.7 (section 列代王臣滯惑解).

[125] The reading Xia 翜 is the correct one; *HMJ* has everywhere 翌.

[126] *Zi* Mouyuan 謀遠, biogr. *JS* 77.5b–6b. He was an uncle of He Chong's partisan Chu Pou 褚裒 (cf. p. 109).

[127] *Zi* Daoming 道名, biogr. *JS* 77.iia–12a; cf. *SSXY* IIA/39a and IIB/5a.

[128] *SSXY* IB/19a.

[129] *JS* 77.5a (biogr. He Chong).

[130] *Comm. SSXY* IIIB/12b.

[131] An anachronism, cf. p. 150.

[132] *SSXY* IIIB/6b.

[133] *Ib.* IIIB/12b. Cf. also the story about He Chong's devotion and his frequent visits to Buddhist temples, in the biography of Gu Zhong 顧衆 (274–346 AD), *JS* 76.11a.

[134] *JS* 93.5b.

[135] *BQNZ* I 935.3.16.

[136] *BQNZ* I 936.1.6.

[137] *BQNZ* I 935.3.28.

[138] *GSZ* IV 350.1.19. In 361 emperor Mu was dying, and Fakai was summoned to cure him, but "as soon as (Yu Fakai had observed his pulse, he knew that (the emperor) would not rise any more, and he did not want to go in again" (in accordance with the general practice to abandon incurable patients, cf. *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *byō* 病 p. 232.1 and P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 401, note 3). The enraged empress issued an edict, saying "As soon as the emperor was slightly

unwell, we have called master Yu to investigate his pulse, but he went only as far as the door and did not proceed, with all kinds of cowardly excuses; he shall be arrested and delivered to the commander of the police". Then the emperor died indeed, and Yu Fakai escaped with a whole skin; he retired to the Shicheng Shan 石城山 in the Shan mountains (Zhejiang).

139 *BQNZ* I 936.1.23. According to his biography, Sengji lived from 330 to 397 AD, but we can hardly assume that the monastery was founded for a fifteen years old novice. There must be a mistake somewhere: either Sengji was born earlier, or the monastery was founded later than 345, or it was not founded for this nun.

140 *GSZ* VII 366.3.6.

141 *GSZ* VII 367.1.1. However, the change of the name may have happened some time before 430. According to *CSZJJ* III 21.1.28 (= *Da Tang NDL*, T 2149, IV 257.3.16), Buddhajīva translated the (?) *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T 1421) "at the Longguang monastery" in 423/424 AD.

142 *Bianzheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.18.

143 *JS* 32.3b = *ZZTJ* 103.1215; *TPYL* 99.4b quoting the *Xu Jin yangqiu*.

144 *Jiankang shilu* quoted by Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 349.

145 The Huan came from Longkang 龍亢, the modern Huaiyuan 懷遠 in Anhui. The family claimed to descend from Huan Rong 桓榮, a magistrate of the Later Han (*JS* 74.1a, biogr. of Huan Yi 彝), but this tradition seems very unreliable. In fact, nothing is known about the eight generations between this Huan Rong and Huan Ying 穎 (or Hao 顥, cf. above, note 71), the father of Huan Yi. When Huan Xuan in 402 had usurped the throne, he was unable to fill his imperial ancestral temple with the required number of tablets for the *manes* "because the names and ranks of those (ancestors) from before his great-grandfather were not illustrious" (*JS* 99.8a, biogr. of Huan Xuan).

146 *JS* 73.12b (biogr. of You 翼), cf. *ZZTJ* 97.1146A.

147 In 371, and again in 372 after an attempt of the Yu to regain their power, *JS* 73.9b (biogr. Yu Xi 希).

148 *JS* 98.11a (biogr. of Huan Wen).

149 *JS ib.*; *ZZTJ* 99.1175 A.

150 For a detailed account of this famous battle see Li Jiping 李季平, *Feishui zhi zhan* 淝水之戰, Shanghai 1955.

151 *GSZ* IV (biogr. of Zhi Dun) 348.2.10: Zhi Dun characterized by Wang Meng as 造微之功不減輔嗣 (*i.e.*, Wang Bi); id. in *SSXY* IIB/12a–b; *comm. ib.* quoting *Zhi Dun biezhuan* 支遁別傳 (cf. note 154): 王仲祖 (*i.e.*, Wang Meng) 稱其微之功不異王弼. In the same way the monks in the audience of Zhi Dun are qualified by Wang Meng as "Wang Bi and He Yan behind the alms-bowls" 缽釪後王何人也, *SSXY comm.* IIB/13b–14a quoting *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* (cf. note 289); somewhat different version in *GSZ* IV 349.1.4.

152 *Comm. SSXY* IIIB/22a quoting 支遁傳 = *GSZ* IV 348.2.16. But according to *SSXY* IIIB/22a, Xie An himself absolutely denied ever to have spoken such words, and declared that Pei Qi 裴啟 (the author of the *Yulin* 語林, a now lost collection of anecdotes like the *SSXY*, completed in 362 AD) had invented the story. The ideal of a cursory way of reading the classics without detailed philological studies (章句) was much en vogue in the fourth century; it agreed with the prevailing *xuanxue* opinion that the written text is only an imperfect and expedient expression of the hidden wisdom of the Sage, and that the student must try to grasp the general principles 理 underlying the words rather than indulge in a careful and painstaking study of the letter of the text. For this custom cf. Tang Yongtong, *Wei-Jin xuanxue lungao*, pp. 30–31.

153 Thus among the persons mentioned here as friends during his first stay at the capital (ca. 340 AD) we find Xi Chao 郄超 (born 336) and Wang Tanzhi 王坦之 (born 330), which is obviously impossible. In the same way it is said in Zhu Daoqian's biography (*GSZ* IV 348.1.6)

that He Chong conversed with Zhu Daoqian during the reign of emperor Ai (362–366), *i.e.*, at least seventeen years after He Chong's death.

[154] In the case of Zhi Dun, the *SSXY* is at least as important as the *GSZ* as a source of biographical information. Among the 28 short episodes in which his biography in *GSZ* (IV 348.2.8–349.3.20) can be divided, there are only eight which do not figure in the *SSXY* or in the works quoted in the *SSXY* commentary. On the other hand, the *SSXY* contains no less than 82 passages dealing with or mentioning Zhi Dun, and most of these have no counterpart in the *GSZ* biography. Sources quoted in the *SSXY comm.* are *Zhi Dun biezhuan* 支遁別傳 (*comm.* IIB/1la; IIB/12a–b); *Zhi Dun zhuan* 支遁傳 (IIB/33a; IIIA/11a–b; *ib.* 12a; ib. 22a) and *Zhi Fashi zhuan* 支法師傳 (IB/20a); one of these works is probably identical with the biography of Zhi Dun written by Xi Chao after the master's death (cf. *GSZ* IV 349.3.7). Furthermore we find quotations from the *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* 高逸沙門傳 (IA/38b–39a; IB/21a–8b; *ib.* 21b; *ib.* 22a; IIA/32a–b; IIB/13b–14a; IIIB/8a), from the *Yulin* 語林 (IB/22a; IIIA/5b–6a; IIIB/21b), and some fragments of Zhi Dun's own writings (IA/42b; IB/18b–19a; *ib.* 19b). Tang Yongtong, History, pp. 177–181.

[155] *GHMJ* XXX 350.1.17.

[156] Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 178.

[157] First in the Wozhou 沃州 mountains (E. of Xinchang 新昌, Zhejiang), where he wrote an "Inscription to the Right of (the Teacher's) Seat" 座右銘 in order to admonish and stimulate his hundreds of disciples (text in *GSZ* IV 348.3.10 sqq.); later at the Shicheng Shan where 石城山 he founded the Qiguangsi 棲光寺. According to his biography it was here that he wrote his most important works (*ib.* 348.3.21).

[158] *The Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 as quoted in *TPYL* 653.7a says that Xu Xun had changed his two mansions at Shanyin and at Yongxing 永興 into monasteries; both were large and splendid buildings (a fact which strangely contrasts with Xu Xun's "poverty" as a recluse, reported elsewhere!). When the re-building had been finished, he officially reported this feat to emperor Xiaowu (reigned 373–397). I have not been able to consult the still existing but rare *Jiankang shilu* (by Xu Song 許嵩, in 30 ch.) itself.

[159] *SSXY* IIB/15b: 王敬人是超悟人. For the expression *chaowu* cf. the words spoken to Kumārajīva by the Tibetan ruler Yao Xing (*GSZ* II 332.2.11): 大師聰明超悟.天下莫二… Wang Xiu was the son of Wang Meng, an able calligrapher and *qingtan* specialist in spite of his youth; he died at the age of 23. (*JS* 93.6b). Connections with Buddhism: *SSXY* IB/20b–21a where he holds a heated debate with Xu Xun at the "Western Monastery" 西寺 at Kuaiji, Zhi Dun acting as a host, and *SSXY* IB/26a–b where he discusses the well-known *xuanxue* problem whether "the Saint has emotions or not" 聖人有情不 with a certain monk Sengyi 僧意 (elsewhere unknown) at the Waguansi at Jiankang.

[160] *SSXY* IIB/16b.

[161] *Ib.* 32a.

[162] *Ib.* 11a.

[163] *SSXY* IA/38b–39a; *GSZ* IV 348.2.23.

[164] *SSXY* IA/42b; *GSZ* IV 348.2.25.

[165] Zhi Dun describes the Chang Shan 長山 at Dongyang 東陽 in a few words (*SSXY* IA/45a); characterizes the essential difference between Northern and Southern scholarship by means of a clever metaphor (IB/17a); funny remark about his endless conversation with Xie Yi 謝奕 (IB/21b); id. about playing chess (IIIA/34a); ridicules Wang Tanzhi 王坦之 (IIIB/21b); pungent remark about Wang Huizhi and Wang Xianzhi 王徽之.王獻之 (IIIB/23b); puts Wang Meng in his place (IB/21b, cf. IIB/11b and *GSZ* IV 349.1.2).

[166] For the term *dujiang* cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 117.

[167] *SSXY* IB/21a–b; *GSZ* IV 348.3.25.

[168] *SSXY* IB/20a–b; cf. *GSZ loc. cit.* where this passage has become mixed up with the one translated above. The unknown disciple of Zhi Dun who wrote the preface to the commentary on the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* (cf. below, p. 140) speaks also about "the Three Vehicles" 三乘 as one of the basic subjects of Zhi Dun's teachings. Perhaps something more can be known about it. The *SSXY comm. ibid.* gives a rather long discussion about the difference between the three *yāna*, quoted, as the *Comm.* says, from the "Lotus sūtra" 法華經. This is, however, certainly not the source of the question; it is obviously a fragment of some early treatise or commentary written by a Chinese, and the fact that it figures here might indicate that it was written by Zhi Dun himself. The first words 法華經曰 could of course easily be a mistake for 法華注曰 or 法華[經]論曰. Now we find in the table of contents of Lu Cheng's *Falun* (*CSZJJ* XII 83.1.4 sqq.) a list of works of Zhi Dun (cf. below, note 213), and among these a "Discussion of the Three Vehicles" 辯三乘論 (*ib.* 83.3.12). Moreover, this work is immediately preceded by a *Fahua jing lun*, without author's name, but followed by a continuous series of five works by Zhi Dun. It seems probable that the fragment quoted in the *SSXY comm.* was part of one of these treatises. Doctrinally, the fragment is not very interesting; it is mainly an attempt to define the meaning of the terms 聲聞 (*śrāvaka*), 錄覺 (*pratyekabuddha*) and 菩薩 (*bodhisattva*). A somewhat more detailed and interesting description of the Three Vehicles can be found in the preface to a commentary on the *Anban shouyi jing* by the contemporary Buddhist scholar Xie Fu 謝敷 who also belonged to the circle of Zhi Dun (cf. below, p. 136 and note 283): *CSZJJ* VI 44.1.14 sqq. For the speculations about the Three Vehicles and the stages of the Bodhisattva career in early Chinese Buddhism see Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日 in *Jōron Kenkyū*, pp. 184–186.

[169] The relation between "talents" 才 and "(human) Nature" 性, about which four different views (四本) existed, was one of the most important themes of discussion and speculation in the third century; in the fourth century it still formed, in a more abstract and theoretical way, one of the most fashionable topics of *qingtan* (cf. *SSXY* IB/19b; *ib.* 23b–24a; *ib.* 27a). See Tang Changru, *op. cit.*, pp. 298–310 and D. Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi Kang*, pp. 8–9.

[170] *SSXY* IB/23b–24a.

[171] The title of ch. XXXI of the *Zhuangzi*.

[172] *SSXY* IB 25a–b.

[173] *ib.* IB/20b–21a.

[174] *SSXY* IB/22a–b and IIIB/12b–13a.

[175] *Yulin* 語林 quoted in *comm. SSXY* IIIA/5b–6a.

[176] 七尺之軀, lit. "(my) body of seven feet" (in Han times the foot was only ca. 23 cm.); the expression occurs for the first time in *Xunzi* ch. I pp. 7–8.

[177] *SSXY* IIIB/11a.

[178] *ib.* 23b.

[179] 縁布單衣; I have not been able to find the meaning of the character 縁 in any dictionary.

[180] 鄭康成, *i.e.*, the famous Confucian scholar and exegete Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 AD).

[181] *SSXY* IIIB/21b, and *comm. ib.* quoting the *Yulin* 語林; here the words mentioned in note 179 do not occur.

[182] *SSXY* IIIB/22b.

[183] *SSXY* IIB/32b.

[184] *Fei Zhuang lun* 廢莊論, quoted in his biography, *JS* 75.4a–5a.

[185] *SSXY* IB/18b–19a.

[186] *SSXY* IB/20a; *GSZ* IV 348.3.4.

[187] *JS* 80.4a.

[188] *JS ib.*

[189] *The Lantingji xu*, a typical *xuanxue* product with the transitoriness of all feelings and emotions as its central theme, has been reproduced in Wang Xizhi's biography (*JS* 80.4a–b); a condensed and somewhat different version is quoted in the *SSXY comm.* (IIIA/8b) under the title *Linhe xu* 臨河序. The *JS* version is the one which is found in all *guwen* collections. Translations: Zottoli, *Cursus litteraturae Sinicae* (Shanghai 1880), vol. IV, pp. 295–297; W. Grube, *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*, pp. 253–254; G. Margouliès, *Le kou-wen chinois* (Paris 1926), pp. 126–128.

[190] *GSZ* IV 349.1.2.

[191] *GSZ* IV 349.1.12 sqq.

[192] As a priest, Zhi Dun has or claims to have the privilege to use his personal name (*ming*) when addressing the emperor, instead of saying "your subject" 臣, as all other people with very rare exceptions were obliged to do. This habit of "not calling oneself 'subject'" 不稱臣 symbolizes the independent and un-worldly position of the monk in his relation with the temporal authorities.

[193] 彫淙 "to carve purity" (*i.e.*, to make ornaments, to adorn what is originally pure and simple?) does not make sense, especially not as a parallel to the following 反朴 "to revert to simplicity". The text is probably corrupt.

[194] 內聖外王 "Saintliness within and kingliness without", the ideal of the ruler who, whilst inwardly endowed with the highest wisdom of the Sage, at the same time exerts the "transforming influence" of perfect government in the outside world. Cf. *Zhuangzi* ch. XXXIII (天下), p. 216, and Guo Xiang in his preface to the *Zhuangzi comm.*; cf. Feng Youlan/Bodde, vol. II, pp. 172–173.

[195] *GSZ* IV 348.2.25 (quoting a letter by Xie An in which he tries to persuade Zhi Dun not to leave him and to go to the Shan region) *ib.* 349.3.1 (at the end of his life Zhi Dun cherishes the memory of their friendship); *SSXY* IB/25a–b (they are together present at a *qingtan* meeting at Wang Meng's home); *SSXY* IIB/ 32b–33a cf. *GSZ* IV 349.1.6, *SSXY* IIB/33b, 34b, 36a (Xie An "characterizes" Zhi Dun).

[196] Apparently an illusion to *Zuozhuan*, 27th year of duke Xiang (*zhushu* ed. 38.12a): 其祝陳信於鬼神無愧辭 (Couvreur vol. II p. 488). According to Kong Yingda's commentary, this phrase must be interpreted as "His (*i.e.*, Fan Wu's) liturgists explain the truth (in their eulogies about his conduct) to the spirits, and (in their prayers) there are no words for which he (Fan Wu) must be ashamed". Zhi Dun writes 去陳信之妖誣, which as far as I can see only can be translated as "to remove the evil imprecations of Chen Xin". It follows that Zhi Dun regarded 陳信 as a proper name, and that he interpreted the *Zuozhuan* passage as "(but) his liturgist Chen Xin (speaks) shameless words to the spirits". This may be an example of Zhi Dun's "cursory way of studying the scruptures" (above, note 152)!

[197] Cf. *Lunyu* VII.34: 子曰.丘之禱久矣.

[198] Cf. *Daode jing* 39: 神得一以靈.... 王侯得一以為天下貞.

[199] 圜丘, var. 圜壇, was the round altar on which the emperor performed the sacrifice to Heaven at the time of the winter solstice, cf. *Guangya*, section 釋天.

[200] 元亭 cf. the first words of the *Yijing* (hexagram *qian*): 乾元亭利貞. *Qian*, the pure *yang* hexagram which stands for power and supreme authority is here used as a symbol for the renewed glory of the Jin dynasty.

[201] *GSZ* IX 385.1.16; trsl. A. F. Wright, *HJAS* XI (1948), p. 351.

[202] *GSZ* IX 385.2.13; the translation given here is that of A. F. Wright, p. 352.

[203] *GSZ* III 431.1.1 sqq. See also P. Demiéville, "Le Bouddhisme et la Guerre" in *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises* I (1957), pp. 347–385.

[204] Cf. *Daode jing* ch. 35: 執大象. 天下往.

[205] *Lunyu* XVII.19: 天何言哉. 四時行焉.

[206] *GSZ* IV 349.2.20 has 餞; *SSXY* has 送 "saw him off").
[207] For this pavillion ses *comm. SSXY* IIA/32a–b.
[208] *SSXY loc. cit.*: *GSZ* IV 349.2.19.
[209] *GSZ* IV 349.2.22.
[210] For the problem of the place of his death see below, note 212.
[211] *GSZ* IV 349.3.8.
[212] *SSXY* IIIA/12a = *GSZ* IV 349.3.12. Analogous words in the "Preface to a Poem written at the Grave of the Master of the Doctrine" 法師墓下詩序 by Wang Xun 王珣 (a grandson of Wang Dao, lived 350–401) who visited Zhi Dun's grave in 374 (quoted in the *comm. SSXY*, *loc. cit.*). According to the *GSZ*, there were different traditions concerning the place where Zhi Dun had died. Huijiao himself agreed with those who located his grave at the Wushan 塢山 near Yuyao 餘姚 in Kuaiji; according to others he died at Shan 剡, which is also the opinion of the "Biography of Zhi Dun" quoted in *comm. SSXY* IIIA/12a. The latter opinion is corroborated by Wang Xun's words in his preface (written only eight years after Zhi Dun's death): "I went to Mt. Shicheng in Shan; here is the grave-mound of the Master of the Doctrine . . .".
[213] *GSZ* IV 349.3.18 mentions the "Collected Works of Zhi Dun" in ten *juan*; the (*Shamen*) *Zhi Dun chi* still figures in the bibliographical sections of the *Suishu* and both *Tangshu*. *Suishu* 35.5b: "in eight *juan*", with the remark; "according to the Liang (catalogue, probably that of Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒, 523 AD) in thirteen *juan*". Both *Tangshu* bibliographies have 10 as the number of *juan*, like *GSZ* (康書籍藝文合志 p. 337). Zhi Dun's collected works no doubt contained all those treatises, poems and fragments which we now find in collections like *HMJ* and *GHMJ* or as quotations dispersed in *GSZ*, the *SSXY comm.* and other works. All existing fragments have been collected by Yan Kejun (*CCW* 157.3b–15a). Xu Gan's 徐幹 edition of the surviving fragments in his *Xushi congshu* 徐氏叢書, published in 1886 and 1888 (mentioned by A. F. Wright in *HJAS* XI, 1948, p. 326 note 16) was not accessible to me. An anonymous Ming manuscript copy of "collected works of Zhi Dun", formerly in the National Library, Beijing (Library of Congress microfilm 500/592–618) is incomplete and very inaccurate. When in the third quarter of the fifth century Lu Cheng compiled his huge collection of Buddhist Chinese literature, the *Falun* 法論, he included eighteen treatises and letters of a doctrinal nature selected from Zhi Dun's works. The titles are as follows (*CSZJJ* XII 83.1.4 sqq.):

(1) "On wandering in the Mystery (by realizing) the identity (of Emptiness) with Matter" 卽色遊玄論 (followed by a letter of Wang Qia, cf. below, p. 134, and an answer by Zhi Dun). The "Essay on Mysterious Contemplation, from Zhi Daolin's Collected Works" 文道林集妙觀章 quoted in *comm. SSXY* IB/19b seems not to have been the same work (cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 259).
(2) "A discussion of the Fetters" 辯著論.
(3) "An explanation of the Theory of Fundamental Non-being being identical with Matter" 釋卽色本無義 (followed by a letter by a certain Wang Yougong 王幼恭 and Zhi Dun's reply. I have not been able to trace Wang Yougong's identity; perhaps it is a mistake for Wang Gong 王恭, a grandson of Wang Meng, who died in 398 and who acc. to *SSXY* IIB/34b and 36a knew Zhi Dun personally).
(4) Letter to Zhi Dun by Xi (Chao) 郄與支法師書, and
(5) Letter to Xi Chao by Zhi Dun 支書與郄嘉賓.
(6) "Guide to the *Daoxing* (*jing*)" 道行指歸 with questions by "He Jing" 何敬, and answer by Zhi Dun. He Jing seems to be an error for Jinghe 敬和, *i.e.*, Wang Qia, who in his letter (cf. below, p. 134) indeed speaks about this treatise and the master's elucidations.

(7) "On the Lotus Sūtra" 法華經論 (no author's name, but probably also by Zhi Dun, cf. above, note 168).
(8) "A discussion of the Three Vehicles" 辯三乘論.
(9) "(Exhortative) Inscription to the Right of the (Teacher's) Seat" 坐右銘 cf. above, note 157; text preserved in *GSZ* IV 348.3.10 sqq.
(10) "An exhortation to study the Way" 道學誡.
(11) "Essay on (?) the Urgency of Understanding" 切悟章, written ca. 365 at the death of his friend Faqian 法虔, cf. below, p. 140.
(12) Answer by Zhi Dun to Xie Changxia 謝長遐 (identity unknown).
(13) "Preface to the Collected Discussions held by the Monks of the Prajñā Terrace (Monastery?) concerning the (monastic) Rules and Regulations" 般若臺眾僧集議節度序 (subject matter unknown; apparently some documents relating to a discussion of the *Vinaya* rules attended or presided by Zhi Dun).
(14) "Preface and commentary on the Four (stages of) Trance (as described in) the *Benqi* (*jing*)" 本起四禪序并注. Probably an explanation of the passage dealing with the four *dhyāna* stages either of the *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經 (T 184 ch. II, Kyōtō ed. XIV. 3 p. 231. AI) or of the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 (T 185 ch. I, Kyōtō ed. *ib.* p. 237. A.I), the same passage(s) which formed the source of Zhi Dun's summary description of *ānāpāna* in his description of Śākyamuni's life, cf. Appendix III p. 178 and *ib.* note 151.
(15) "Outline of and examples (drawn from) the *Benye* (*jing*)" 本業略例. Note that the title of this treatise is strikingly similar to Wang Bi's famous *Zhouyi lueli* 周易略例. The scripture in question may have been Zhi Qian's *Pusa benye jing* 菩薩本業經 (T 281), or else the somewhat later version by Nie Daozhen, *Zhu pusa qiu fo benye jing* 諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T 282).
(16) "Preface to a commentary on the *Benye jing* 本業經注序.
(17) "Eulogy on a portrait of Dharmarakṣa" 支 (*sic!*) 法護像讚. Some lines of this eulogy are quoted in *GSZ* I 326.3.21 (biogr. Dharmarakṣa).
(18) "Letter to a Korean Monk" 與高[句]驪道人書 (quoted in *GSZ* and *SSXY comm.*, cf. below, note 301).
Zhi Dun's biography in *GSZ* mentions furthermore:
(19) "On the Saint not having Discursive Knowledge" 聖不辯智論, also mentioned in T 2149 (*Da Tang NDL*) III 244.3.25 (智 here written 知);
(20) "To solve what is obscure" 釋曚論, also mentioned in T 2149 *ib.*
(21) "Commentary on the *Anban (shouyi) jing* 安般經注.
(22) Zhi Dun's memorial of 365 AD, cf. above, p. 120 sqq.
Of these works only two have been completely preserved (nr. 9 and 22); of five more some fragments are known (the two treatises mentioned *sub* 1; furthermore nrs. 7 or 8, 17 and 18). In addition, we have fragments or the complete text of the following works, not listed by Lu Cheng or in Zhi Dun's biography:
(23) Eulogy on a Portrait of Yu Falan 于法蘭 (quoted in Yu Falan's biography, *GSZ* IV 350.1.8).
(24) Inscription 銘 on a portrait of Yu Daosui 于道邃 (quoted *ib.* 350.2.22).
(25) "On the meaning of (the chapter of *Zhuangzi* entitled) *Xiaoyao* (*yu*)" 逍遙論 (quoted in *SSXY comm.* IB/19a).
(26) "Preface to a synoptic extract of the Larger and Smaller Versions (of the *Prajñāparamitā*)" 大小品對比要抄序 (preserved in *CSZJJ* VIII 55.1–56.3, cf. below, p. 124 sqq.).
(27) "Eulogy on an image of the Buddha Śākyamuni, with preface" 釋迦文佛像讚并序, *id.* on an image of Amitābha, and eulogies on Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, Vimalakīrti and other Bodhisattvas; in total thirteen poems, in *GHMJ* XV 195.3–196.2.

(28) Several groups of miscellaneous poems on the Buddha's birth-day, on fasting, on living in the mountains, on a painting of a *dhyāna*-master in trance etc., in total seventeen poems, in *GHMJ* XXX 349.2–351.2.

(29) "Inscription on the Tiantai mountain" 天台山銘, short fragment of its preface quoted in Li Shan's 李善 commentary on Sun Chuo's 孫綽 *You Tiantai Shan fu* 遊天台山賦 in *Wenxuan* XI (ed. *Wanyou wenku* p. 224).

The so-called "Letter of Zhi Daolin to Huan Xuan about the provincial registration of the clergy" in *HMJ* XII 85.3 is dated 399 AD and consequently cannot have been written by Zhi Dun, cf. above, p. 16 nr. 14, and ch. IV, note 177.

Finally we may mention the fact that in some minor Buddhist bibliographies the translation of two scriptures (阿閦佛剎諸菩薩學成品 and 方等法華經) is attributed to Zhi Daolin (Zhi Dun): T 2151 (古今譯經圖記) II 356.1.7, and all editions except the Korean one of T 2153 (大周刋定衆經目錄) II 385.3.1 and IV 392.2.14. Here Zhi Daolin 支道林 is clearly a mistake for Zhi Daogen 支道根, a further unknown monk who according to T 2149 (*Da Tang NDL*) III 244.3.13 translated these works in the period 326–343. Both scriptures had already been lost at the time of the compilation of T 2154 (*Kaiyuan SJL*, 730 AD), cf. *ib.* XIV 626.3.19 and 628.3.27.

[214] *Miaoguan zhang* 妙觀章 (cf. previous note, nr. (1) quoted in *comm. SSXY* IB/19b. For Zhi Dun's theory see in more detail Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 254–263; W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao* pp. 152–157; *Feng Youlan*/Bodde vol. II, pp. 248–252.

[215] 即色是空. 非色滅空. This is a paraphrase of a passage of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (version of Zhi Qian, T 474 ch. II p. 531.2.7) "The Bodhisattva Priyadarśana said (to Vimalakīrti, when asked to define the nature of non-duality 不二): 'The world is just (identical with) emptiness; (consciously) to make it so forms a duality. Matter is emptiness: it is not so that matter (must be) destroyed (to reach) emptiness, but the very nature of matter is emptiness. (The same may be said of the other *skandhas*; thus) knowing (識, *vijñāna*, Consciousness) is emptiness: it is not so that knowing (must) be destroyed (to reach) emptiness, but the very nature of knowing is emptiness. This realization of the (true) nature of the five dark(ening) elements (五陰, *skandha*) constitutes the way leading to (入 "entrance" = *dharmamukha*) non-duality". The words used here for "matter is emptiness . . ." etc. are 色空不色敗空. It is interesting to note that in the corresponding passage in Kumārajīva's version (T 475 II 551.1.1) this phrase runs as follows: 色即是空.非色滅空, which is practically identical with Zhi Dun's own formulation. Kumārajīva's Chinese collaborators and redactors of his translations—people who, like Sengzhao, must have been fully conversant with the writings of the Chinese Buddhist exegetes of their times—may have been responsible for this rendering.

[216] 色不自色: I follow Tang Yongtong's reading (*History*, p. 259) who adds the three characters 不自色 in accordance with the first sentence of the first fragment translated above.

[217] *Miaoguan zhang* 妙觀章 quoted in Huida's 惠達 *Zhaolun shu* 肇論疏 (second half sixth century), *Suppl. Kyōto* II.1.1 p. 53 B2.

[218] The standpoint of the adherents of this theory as formulated by Sengzhao in *Zhaolun* 肇論 (section 不眞空論), T 1858 p. 152.1; Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao*, pp. 58–59; *Jōron Kenkyū*, p. 15.

[219] *Zhuangzi comm.* VII 27a; cf. above, p. 92.

[220] *Zhaolun, loc. cit.*: 此真語 (read, with Yuankang's *comm.*, 悟) 色不自色, 未領色之非色也, and Yuankang's remarks to this passage (*Zhaolun shu* ch. I, T 1859, p. 171.3).

[221] *CSZJJ* VIII 55.1–56.3.

[222] Cf. *Daode jing* ch. I: 玄之又玄.衆妙之門.
[223] *CSZJJ* VIII 55.1.14.
[224] The text has 十住之稱興乎未足定號.般若之智生乎教迹 之名; in view of the parallelism, 定 is obviously a mistake for 之.
[225] 名生於彼, lit. "that one", "the other" as opposed to "this one" 是 or "I" 我, the subject. Cf. *Zhuangzi* ch. II (齊物論), p. 8: 非彼無我.非我無所取, and *ib*. p. 10: 是亦彼也.彼亦是也...果且有彼是乎哉.果且無彼是乎哉.彼是莫得其偶. 謂之道樞.
[226] Cf. *Zhuangzi*, *ib*. p. 10: 物固有所然.物固有所可.無物不然.無物不可.
[227] *CSZJJ* VIII 55.1.24.
[228] *Ib*. 55.1.29.
[229] *Ib*. 55.2.3.
[230] For the evolution of this term cf. P. Demiéville, "La pénétration du Bouddhisme dans la tradition philosophique chinoise", in *Cahiers d Histoire Mondiale*, vol. III, no. 1 (Neuchatel 1956), esp. p. 28 sqq.
[231] *CSZJJ* VIII 55.2.22.
[232] *Ib*. 56.1.2.
[233] *Ib*. 55.3.20.
[234] *Ib*. 55.2.9.
[235] In his 善思菩薩讚, *GHMJ* XV 197.1.29.
[236] *Yu Dao lun* 喻道論, *HMJ* III 16.2.18.
[237] Wang Bi in his commentary ad *TTC* XIV and *TTC* VI, translated above, p. 89.
[238] Biography to Zhi Dun, *GSZ* IV 348.3.22 (not mentioned elsewhere).
[239] *HMJ* XIII 89.1.21, cf. below, Appendix B p. 175).
[240] *GHMJ* XV 197.2.1 (善思菩薩讚).
[241] *Ib*. 196.2.28.
[242] Most editions have 五末, which makes no sense to me. I read, with the Palace edition, 五味 "the five tastes", to be interpreted not in the Buddhist sense (*pañcarasa*, cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 1299b), but rather as in *Daode jing* XII (五味今人口爽), standing for sensual pleasure.
[243] 阿彌陀經; probably Zhi Qian's version of the *Sukhāvativyūha*, T 362.
[244] *GHMJ* XV 196.3.9.
[245] According to the very unreliable *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記 by Wang Yan 王琰 (late fifth century), quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* (T 2122) ch. XLII, p. 616.2.15, Wei Shidu, his master Jue Gongze 闕公則 (elsewhere unknown) and his mother should all have been Amitābha devotees. The *GSZ* (I 327.3.7) does not mention this. In any case, scriptures wholly or partially devoted to the cult and the "visualization" of Amitābha and his paradise existed in China since the late second century (cf. Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū* 支那佛教史研究, *Hoku-Gi hen* 北魏篇, Tōkyō 1942, p. 619 sqq.).
[246] *GSZ* VI 358.3.21, wrongly described as taking place at Chang'an, cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 217–218.
[247] *CSZJJ* XV 109.3.16; *GSZ* VI 358.2.12.
[248] *GSZ* IV 348.2.21. The gist of Zhi Dun's exegesis of the *Xiaoyao* chapter may be found in the long quotation from his *Xiaoyao lun* preserved in the commentary of *SSXY* IB/18b–19a; this exposition of his ideas may have been one by which he won Wang Xizhi's friendship and admiration (*ib*. 20a). It is not identical with his "commentary to the *Xiaoyao* chapter", for which see next note. It was on account of Zhi Dun's mastery in explaining *Zhuangzi* that Sun Chuo in his *Daoxian lun* 道賢論 compared him with Xiang Xiu (quoted in *comm. SSXY* IB/20a and *GSZ* IV 349.3.8). For Zhi Dun's exegesis of this chapter and his relation to Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang see Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Xiaoyao you Xiang-Guo yi ji Zhi Dun yi tanyuan" 逍遙游向郭義及支遁義探源, in *Qinghua xuebao* XIII.2 (1937), and Hou Wailu and others, *op. cit*., vol. Ill, pp. 260–262.

[249] *Sibu beiyao* ed. I.2a (支遁云.謂有坳垤形也); 2b (支遁云.槍突也); 3a (支遁云.冢閒也); 3b (支遁云.一名舞英.朝生暮洛); 4b (崔.支云.成也); 5a (支云.大地四時之氣); 9b (支云.何彼怠敖). To judge from these little fragments, Zhi Dun's commentary was not only philosophical, but also philological, explaining the meaning of individual words and expressions.

[250] *SSXY* IB/22a. A tentative translation of this passage: "According to the Buddhist scriptures, Saintliness can be effected by spiritual purification. (On account of this) Jianwen said: '(Only) those who are free from (conscious) knowledge may reach the highest summits, but in (all) other cases the work of self-cultivation still cannot be regarded as devoid (of reality)'."

[251] *GHMJ* XV 195.3.11–196.2.3.

[252] First section of the *Mouzi*, *HMJ* I 1.3.2–2.1.1 (trsl. Pelliot, *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 289 sqq.); last section of Sun Chuo's *Yu Dao lun*, *HMJ* III 17.2.24–17.3.13.

[263] Huan Wen once "characterized" Śrīmitra (*SSXY* II B/5a, cf. *GSZ* I 327.3.15). According to a probably apocryphal story in *Mingxiang ji* (quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* XXXIII 545.1.22; much shorter version in his biography *JS* 98.14a), he became a devout Buddhist in the last years of his life and entertained a nun who by means of a miraculous sign warned him to abandon his plans to rebel and to usurp the throne.

[254] *SSXY* IB/22a, which adds that the copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* used by Yin Hao still existed at Liu Yiqing's time, in the first half of the fifth century. The story as told in the *comm. SSXY ib.*, quoting the *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* (for which see p. 138) is substantially the same: Yin Hao wanted to discuss the obscure passages with Zhi Dun, but he (Yin Hao) hesitated and lingered and never realized his design. "Such was the way in which he (Zhi Dun) was esteemed by (gentlemen of) fame and knowledge". But in the *Yulin* 語林 by Pei Qi 裴啓 (completed 362 AD, quoted *ib.*; for the date cf. *comm. SSXY* IIIB/22b) the story is quite different, and much less flattering for Zhi Dun. According to this version, Yin Hao had sent an invitation to Zhi Dun to come and explain the passages in question. Zhi Dun wanted to go, but was held back by Wang Xizhi who said: "Yuanyuan's (*i.e.*, Yin Hao's) ideas are profound and abundant; in this, he is not likely to be matched. Moreover, if he does not understand something, this does not necessarily mean that Your Reverence is able to explain it. Even if you could still overpower him (by your arguments), it would not add to your fame. But if you would lose your temper and come to disagree (with him), then you would lose (the fame? or the friendship?) which you have preserved for ten years. You should not go!' Master Lin (Zhi Dun) agreed, and consequently remained where he was".

[255] *SSXY* IB/26b.

[256] *SSXY* IB/16a: 理亦應阿堵上. The binome *adu* 阿堵 is a typical vernacular expression which occasionally appears in medieval literary texts. It seems to be roughly equivalent to *pi* 彼 "that one, yonder", and is often used, like *pi*, in a pejorative sense. Cf. Pei Xuehai 裴學海, *Gushu xuzi jishi* 古書虛子集釋 (Shanghai 1934), ch. IX, p. 764, who regards 阿 as a propheticum and 堵 as a variant of 者 (in the sense of 此 "this one"); Zhu Qifeng 朱起風, *Citong* 辭通 (Shanghai 1934), p. 2060.3 (who regards it as equivalent to 這個); *Cihai* p. 1416.5 where this phrase from *SSXY* is misquoted as 理應在阿堵上, which would mean exactly the opposite: "Truth must be comprised therein".

[257] *SSXY* IB/23b. For the important role played by the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in early gentry Buddhism see also Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū* ch. VI (pp. 35–42).

[258] *E.g.*, Kumārajīva himself in the early fifth century commentary to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (combined glosses of Sengzhao, Kumārajīva and Daosheng) 注維摩經 (T 1775) ch. X, section 13, p. 414.1.1: 此經略叙衆經要義明簡易了.

[259] *Comm. SSXY* IB 21a–b, quoting *Gaoyi shamen zhuan*.

[260] *SSXY* IB/19b, in a conversation between Zhi Dun and Wang Tanzhi.

[261] Cf. Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* V. 180 and 183 s.v. Gu Kaizhi, who gives also a highly improbable story about its original function (*viz.* to raise money by the admittance fees of visitors who came to see the picture), quoted from the *Jingshi siji* 京師寺記, cf. also O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting* (London 1956), vol. I, p. 28. It was a mural painting executed in a small hall north of the Waguansi.

[262] On Sun Chuo and his oeuvre see M. H. Wilhelm in *Liebenthal Festschrift*, *Sino-Indian studies* vol. V (Visvabharati, Santiniketan (1957), pp. 261–271, and A. F. Wright in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo*, Kyōto 1954, p. 428, note 6. Surviving fragments of his works collected in *CCW* 62.1a.10b. According to the *Xu Jin yangqiu* 續晉陽秋 by Tan Daoluan 檀道鸞 (mid. fifth century), quoted in *comm. SSXY* IB/34a, he and Xu Xun 許詢 were the first to introduce Buddhist themes and expressions into their poems, just as somewhat earlier Guo Pu 郭璞 had been the first to use the *xuanxue* terminology in poetry. Cf. Wang Yao 王瑤, "Xuanyan, shanhui, tianyuan – lun Dong Jin shi" 玄言.山水.田園一論東晉詩, in his *Zhonggu wenxue fengmao* 中古文學風貌 (vol. III of *Zhonggu wenxue shilun*, sixth impr., Beijing 1953), pp. 47–83.

[263] *HMJ* III 16.2–17.3; contents summarized by M. H. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–271. The present text seems to be incomplete, as it does not contain a passage quoted in *GSZ* IV 350.2.26.

[264] *HMJ* III 16.2.12. Most editions have 寰中 "within the world", or, strictly speaking, "within the imperial domain". The Korean edition reads 寞中 "in the dark", which makes better sense. I take 寰中 to be a mistake for 環中 cf. *Zhuangzi* II (齊物論) p. 10: 始得其環中以應無窮.

[265] 老子贊; quoted in *Chuxie ji* ch. 23.3b.

[266] *GHMJ* XXVIII 323.1. According to *SSXY* IIB/14b and *GSZ* V 355.1.6 he was one of the admirers of Zhu Fatai 竺法汰 (320–387), the famous preacher of northern origin who had studied with Dao'an and who shortly after 365 arrived at Jiankang. This must be a mistake. According to *JS* 65.6b (biogr. of Wang Qia) he died in 358 at the age of 35, whereas according to the *Zhongxingshu* 中興書 (a fifth century history of the Eastern Jin by Xi Shao 郄紹, quoted *comm. SSXY* IIB/14b) he was 25 years old when he died. The latter figure is less probable, in view of the many official posts he had successively filled according to his *JS* biography. Moreover, his eldest son Wang Xun 王珣 had been born in 350 AD (*JS* 65.7b), and it is improbable, though not impossible, that Wang Qia was at that time 17 years old instead of 27.

[267] No biography in *JS*; some biographical information in *Xu Jin yangqiu* quoted in *comm. SSXY* IA/40a.

[268] *SSXY* IB/33b–34a, and *comm. ib*.

[269] In *SSXY* IIIA/17b we read how he lived in a mountain cave, and there freely accepted the gifts of the regional aristocracy. Xi Chao had several "recluse-protegees": whenever he heard about someone who wanted to become a "retired gentleman", he sustained him with large sums of money and built a house for him; he did so among others for the painter-recluse Dai Kui 戴逵 (*SSXY* IIIA/17b–18a). His father Xi Yin was the patron of the Buddhist hermit-scholar Xie Fu (cf. below, p. 136). About this arcadic "recluse life", which became a fashion among the fourth century gentry, see Wang Yao, Lun xiqi yinyi zhi feng 論希企隱逸之風 in *Zhonggu wenren shenghuo* 中古文人生活 (sixth impr., Beijing 1953), pp. 77–109. Gentry-monks like Zhi Dun who were patronized in the same way by prominent members of the gentry no doubt profited by this prevailing custom. Even in the North, under the foreign rulers, this curious fashion existed. When Shi Hu (333–349) was irritated by the repeated refusal of the eccentric hermit and *Yijing* specialist Yang Ke 楊軻 to take office, the monk Daojin 道進 (one of Fotudeng's disciples) is said to have justified Yang Ke's behaviour by saying to Shi Hu: "How could you

allow the (future) Annals of the Zhao (empire) to remain without biographies of recluses?" 豈可今趙史遂無隱遁之傳, after which the Hun ruler, impressed by the argument, let Yang Ke in peace and gave him, moreover, a regular allowance to sustain himself in his hermit life (*GSZ* IX 386.1.17, trsl. A. F. Wright, *HJAS* XI, 1948, p. 360; biogr. of Yang Ke in *JS* 94.14a).

[270] *SSXY* IB/20b–21a; IB/21a–b = *GSZ* IV 348.3.25 and IB 25a–b.

[271] *JS* 67.12b.

[272] *GSZ* IV 349.1.9.

[273] *SSXY* IA/42b.

[274] *SSXY* IIIB/32b; *JS* 67.10b.

[275] *SSXY* IIIA/3b. Probably not without some hidden satisfaction, the Buddhist physician found that his patient was suffering from a terrible constipation caused by eating an enormous quantity of Daoist paper charms!

[276] *SSXY* IIIB/21b.

[277] *JS* 67.12b.

[278] *GSZ* I (biogr. of Dharmanandin) 328.3.20.

[279] Cf. the sixteen titles, mostly letters on doctrinal subjects, listed by Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 257–258. Out of these the treatise *Fengfa yao* has been preserved entirely (cf. below); the rest has been lost, with the exception of a few words from his letter to Xie Fu, quoted in Li Shan's commentary to Sun Chuo's *You Tiantai Shan fu* 遊天台山賦 in *Wenxuan* XI p. 227 (where the Wanyou wenku ed. has wrongly 郤 instead of 郗). We may furthermore mention a letter by Xi Chao to an unknown friend (about Zhi Dun, quoted in *GSZ* IV 349.1.9), and a long letter to Dao'an mentioned but not quoted in *SSXY* IIA/32b = *GSZ* V 352.3.8.

[280] Quoted in *comm.* to *SGZ*, *Wei-zhi* 28.337b, biogr. of Zhong Hui.

[281] Quoted in *comm. SSXY* IIIA1/8a. Cf. also *Fayuan zhulin* XVIII p. 418.1, quoting *Mingxiang ji*.

[282] Both Xie Fu and Dai Kui were known as famous devotees as early as the beginning of the fifth century, even at the court of the Later Qin at Chang'an, cf. the letter of Yao Xing in *GHMJ* XI 74.2.

[283] *CSZJJ* VI 43.3.25 sqq. As Xie Fu himself says in his preface, his commentary consisted of explanatory notes to the numerical categories 數 of this *dhyāna* scripture; he had included the parallel passages copied from other scriptures of this type: the "Large" (sūtra on) *ānāpāna*" 大安般(經), the *Xiuxing* (*daodi jing*) 修行(道地經) etc. (*ib.* 44.2.22). According to a note by Sengyou in *CSZJJ* VII 49.1.17, Xie Fu also wrote a commentary on Zhi Mindu's "synoptic edition" of the three versions of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*.

[284] Quoted in Li Shan's commentary to Wang Jian's 王儉 "Epitaph of Chu Yuan" 褚淵碑文 in *Wenxuan* LVIII.1266.

[285] *Hou-Han ji* 10.5a (passage quoted in Li Xian's commentary to *HHS* 72.4b).

[286] *GSZ* IV 348.3.26.

[287] Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 251–252; Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao*, pp. 157–162; Feng Yu-lan/Bodde vol. II, pp. 246–247.

[288] *GSZ* IV 348.2.5. Perhaps identical with the Zhu Faji from Taiyang 太陽 who instructed Dao'an in the *Yinchiru jing* around the middle of the fourth century, when Dao'an was living at Huoze 濩澤 (Shanxi), cf. *GSZ* V (biogr. of Dao'an) 351.3.25 and *CSZJJ* VI 45.1.8 (Dao'an's Preface to the *Yinchiru jing*). Tang Yongtong (*History*, p. 198) proposes to read Dayang 大陽 for Taiyang, Dayang (near the modern Pinglu 平陸 in southern Shanxi) being comparatively near to Huoze. It may be that Faji in the second half of the fourth century went from Shanxi to the South-East, and there composed the *Gaoyi shamen zhuan*, which was devoted to the lives of prominent monks of the "Eastern Region" (cf. next note).

[289] Also mentioned in T 2149 (*Da Tang NDL*) III 248.3.24 and *ib.* X 330.2.5. Several times

quoted in the *comm. SSXY*, always about Zhu Daoqian, Zhi Dun and Yu Fakai. The last fact mentioned in these passages is Zhi Dun's death (366 AD), wrongly localized at Luoyang (IA/38b–39a). This kind of collections of idealized biographies was popular in the fourth century; the *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* may have been patterned after such works as the *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐, the *Gaoshi zhuan* by Yu Panzuo 虞槃左, the *Zhiren Gaoshi zhuanzan* 至人高士傳讚 by Sun Chuo 孫綽, the *Yiren gaoshi zhuan* 逸人高士傳 by Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒, the *Yinyi zhuan* 隱逸傳 by Ge Hong 葛洪, the *Mingshi zhuan* 名士傳 by Yuan Hong 袁宏 etc.

290 *Comm. SSXY* IA/10b and 39a. Furthermore it says that Zhu Daoqian died at the age of 79 (Chinese counting) instead of 89, cf. above, note 69, but this may be due to a copyist's mistake.

291 *GSZ* IV 348.2.2.

292 See Zhang Yanyuan, *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄 (ed. *Congshu jicheng*) I.7b and 10a.

293 *op. cit.* 10a.

294 *GSZ* IV 348.2.5. Around the same time we find in the North, at Luoyang, another famous calligrapher-monk-physician, An Huize 安慧則, who excelled in making miniature manuscripts of sūtras which were highly valued. He managed to copy the whole text of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p'p'* on one scroll (*GSZ* X 389.2.14). He is, incidentally, the last known monk who by his religious surname (*An*) preserved the memory of the Parthian missionaries who once laid the foundations of Chinese Buddhism.

295 *Faxu yaolu* 1.10a. For a story about a copy of a sūtra written by Xie Fu, see *Fayuan zhulin* XVIII p. 418.1, quoting *Mingxiang ji*.

296 *GSZ* IV 348.1.25; here no place of origin is indicated. In view of his being a pupil of Zhu Daoqian, probably around the middle of the fourth century, he can hardly be identified with the Zhu Fayou who figures at Luoyang in an anonymous colophon dated 300 AD (*CSZJJ* VII 48.3.5, 賢劫經記).

297 *GSZ*, *ib*.

298 Only one sentence is devoted to him in *GSZ* IV 348.1.2 (法蘊). Furthermore Jizang's 吉藏 *Zhongguan lunshu* 中觀論疏 (T 1824) IIB.29.2 and Anchō's 安澄 subcommentary *Chūganzoki* 中觀疏記 (T 2225) ch. III p. 94.2 (法溫). The identity of "Fayun" and "Fawen" is certain; additional proof is provided by the table of contents in Shūshō's 宗性 *Meisōdenshō* 名僧傳抄 (Kyōto ed. II. 2.7.1) p. 2A1, where we find an "intermediate" form 竺法蘊.

299 Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 267; Liebenthal, p. 151; Feng Youlan/Bodde, vol. II, pp. 252–253.

300 *GSZ* IV 348.1.10; *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* quoted *comm. SSXY* IIIB 8a.

301 *GSZ* IV 348.1.12; *comm. SSXY* IA/10b (no source mentioned, but probably also a quotation from the *Gaoyi shamen zhuan*).

302 *SSXY* IB/18a–b.

303 Zhi Dun's words of mourning *SSXY* IIIA/11a–b and *GSZ* IV 349.3.14. Zhu Fatai at the death of his pupil Tan'er 曇二 *GSZ* V 355.1.14.

304 *CSZJJ* VII 48.3.17.

305 *ib.* 49.1.11.

306 *GSZ* IV 350.2.13. In a passage from Sun Chuo's *Yu Dao lun* (quoted *ib.* 350.2.26; not in the present text of the *Yu Dao lun* in *HMJ*), Yu Daosui and the northern monk Zhu Faxing 竺法行 at Luoyang are praised as famous masters of the present time; this was apparently written before Daosui's journey to the South.

307 Cf. the article *byō* by P. Demiéville, in *Hōbōgirin*, pp. 224–265, esp. p. 244, Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Sanguo zhi Cao Chong Hua Tuo zhuan yu Yindu gushi" 三國志曹沖華陀傳與印度故事, *Qinghua xuebao* VI. 1, and He Changqun 賀昌群, *Wei Jin qingtan sixiang chulun* 魏晉清談思想初論 (Shanghai 1947), pp. 2–4. Zhi Dun

himself seems also to have been interested in medicine. In a letter to Zhi Dun (quoted *GSZ* IV 348.2.29), Xie An praises the medicinal herbs which can be found in the mountains of Wu, and Zhi Dun himself says in a preface describing a fasting ceremony at Wu (八關齋詩序, *GHMJ* XXX 350.1.20): "At the morning of the fourth day, all worthies went away. But since I enjoyed the stillness of the solitary dwelling-place, and also because I had the intention to dig out (some) medicinal herbs, I remained there alone . . .". According to the *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* (quoted *comm. SSXY* IB/22b) there was in Zhi Dun's medicinal activities even an element of rivalry with the school of Yu Fakai: "Later, (Yu Fakai) used to wrangle with Zhi Dun, and that is why Zhi Dun when he was living at Shanxian took up the study of medicine". It may furthermore be significant that Yin Hao, one of the first serious lay students of Buddhism from the highest gentry (cf. p. 130 sqq.), was also known for his medicinal skill, although he did not practise it in the later years of his life (*SSXY* IIIA/32a).

308 *SSXY* IIIA/31b; *comm. ib.* quoting *Jinshu* (without specifying which of the several works of that title is meant); *GSZ* IV 350.1.15.

309 *GSZ* IV 350.2.9.

310 *GSZ* IX 388.1.16. The source of Jīvaka's "biography" in *GSZ* was no doubt the *Mingxiang ji*, cf. *Fayuan zhulin* XXVIII p. 491.2.

311 Quoted by Jizang, *Zhongguan lunshu* (T 1824) IIB.29; cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 263–265; Liebenthal pp. 162–165; Feng Youlan/Bodde vol. II, p. 256. The last phrase is a quotation from Dharmarakṣa's version of the *Lalitavistara*, *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (Kyōto ed. I. 8, ch. IV, section 13, p. 725A2).

312 These are the terms as listed in Mokṣala's version of the 25.000 *p'p'* (T 221, ch. I p. 1.1.17); the Chinese terms enumerated here do not correspond to the list in the first chapter of the present *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p'p'*. Their Sanskrit equivalents would be *māyā, svapna, pratisrutkā, pratibhāsa, chāyā, nirmāṇa, budbuda, pratibimba, marici*, (*u*)*dakacandra*. Other lists of *upamāna*, of varying length, include terms like *khapuṣpa* (flowers in the air), *gandharvanagara* (Gandharva-city), *ākāśa* (the void), etc.

313 *Zhuangzi* II (齊物論), p. 16. In the commentary of Xiang/Guo to this passage (I. 23b) the Saint is also called the "great awakened one" 大覺者.

314 The term *shihan* 識含 "stored impressions", which in later times was used to denote Yu Fakai's theory, seems also to be based on a passage of Zong Bing's *Mingfo lun*: *HMJ* II 10.2.11, cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 265.

315 *HMJ* II 10.3.9: 無身而有神.法身之謂也.

316 *SSXY* IB/22a–b; *GSZ* IV 350.1.22. Zhi Dun seems also to have had some contact with Yu Falan; acc. to *GSZ* IV 350.1.8 he wrote a posthumous eulogy (quoted *ib.*) on a portrait of Yu Falan which he had ordered. Zhi Dun wrote also a commemorative inscription on a portrait of Yu Daosui which had been made by Xi Chao (quoted *ib.* 350.2.21).

317 *SSXY* IB/22a–b; *GSZ* IV 360.1.25.

318 *CSZJJ* XII 83.1.10.

319 *GSZ* IV 350.2.29.

320 Biogr. in *Songshu* 93.5b; *Nanshi* 75.5b.

321 *GSZ* IV 350.3.11; not mentioned in bibliographical sources.

322 *GSZ* V 357.1.8.

323 The *GSZ* text has "a thousand images" 千像: perhaps a mistake for 十 "ten"?

324 Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 265–266; Liebenthal, pp. 165–166; Feng Youlan/Bodde vol. II, p. 257.

325 *GSZ* XIII 413.3.5.

326 *GSZ ib.* See also above, p. 56 (Cao Zhi).

327 Biogr. in *GSZ* V 356.3.7.

328 *GSZ* V 357.1.29 sqq. (in the biogr. of Zhu Daoyi).

[329] *GSZ* V 357.2.5. The last words of my translation "people from primeval times" render the Chinese 上皇民: "people of the era of the highest (first) Emperor", *i.e.*, of the times of primordial simplicity and unspoilt happiness under the mythical emperor Fu Xi (traditionally placed at the beginning of the third millennium BC).

[330] *GSZ* XI 395.3.5; also called Tanguang 曇光.

[331] *GSZ* XI 385.2.27. According to another tradition, also recorded by Huijiao, the evil star had been exorcised by Bo Sengguang and not by Zhu Tanyou. Perhaps the same person as the Zhu Daoyu or Bo Daoyou mentioned in *Fayuan zhulin* XXXIX 594.3?

[332] *GSZ* XI 396.3.10.

[333] *GSZ* V 355.2.5.

[334] *Ib*. 355.2.17.

[335] *Ib*. 355.2.21: 有形便有數. 有數則有盡. 神既無盡. 故知無形矣. This opposition of the spiritual principle *versus* the ever-changing and limited entities 數 is in keeping with *xuanxue* thought. Cf. the commentary of Han Bo 韓伯 ad *Yijing*, *Xici* I, to the text 陰陽不測之謂神 (*zhushu* ed. 7.13b), an important passage where *shen* is explained as the immaterial and everlasting principle of order and spontaneity in nature.

[336] *Ib*. 355.2.25.

[337] *GSZ* V 355.3.1. Zhu Sengfu's own treatise *Shen wuxing lun* does not occur in the list of contents of Lu Cheng's *Falun* (*CSZJJ* XII 82.3 sqq.), but it is still mentioned in T 2149 (*Da Tang NDL*, 664 AD) III 248.3.2 and X 330.1.11.

[338] Biography *GSZ* V 354.2.29; *ib*. (biogr. Dao'an) 351.3.26; in 安法師傳 quoted in *comm. SSXY* IB/24b–25a; mentioned as 楊州道人竺法汰 in the 漸備經十住胡明井書叙 (*CSZJJ* IX 62.3.9) in connection with the sending of a copy of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* from Xiangyang to Jiankang in 376 AD.

[339] *GSZ* V (biogr. Dao'an) 352.1.13; slightly different, version in *comm. SSXY* IIB/14b, quoting the *Qinshu* 秦書 by Che Pin 車頻 (a history of the "Tibetan" empire of the Former Qin, completed in 451 AD by Ju Bin and based on an unfinished history by Zhao Zheng 趙整; cf. Wu Shijian 吳士鑑, *Bu Jinshu jingji zhi* 補晉書經籍志, in *Ershiwu shi bubian*, vol. III, p. 3862c).

[340] The *GSZ* text has "the governor of Jingzhou, Huan Wen 桓溫"; as demonstrated by Tang Yongtong (*History*, p. 204), this must be a mistake for Huan Huo, who had this function in 365.

[341] *GSZ* V 354.3.13.

[342] The table of contents of Lu Cheng's *Falun* (*CSZJJ* XII 83.1.11). mentions an essay about 心無義 by Huan Xuan, together with objections by Wang Mi 王謐 (360–407) and an answer by Huan Xuan.

[343] Correspondence mentioned in *GSZ* V 355.1.15. We have only one short text which treats some aspect of Zhu Fatai's teachings: *SSXY* IB/24b–25a, where he states that the six *abhijnā* and the three *vidyā* are merely different expressions for the same thing. However, this isolated utterance does not give us a clue to his other ideas, and does not seem to have any relation with the "theory" attributed to him—the subject is purely scholastic. Zhu Fatai means to say that the six *abhijnā*, like the three *vidyā*, symbolize the acquisition of perfect knowledge in the three times (present, past, future): *divyaśrotra, divyacakṣus, ṛddhi, paracittajñāna* and *āsravakṣaya* are connected with the present and correspond to the *vidyā* of *āsravakṣaya; divyacakṣus* is also connected with the future, since it implies the power to see future events, whereas the sixth *abhijnā* and the third *vidyā, viz.* that of *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*, refer to the past. The source of Zhu Fatai's theory is unknown to me; in *Abh. Kośa* VII 108 the three *vidyā* are said to be identical with the last three *abhijnā, viz.* those of *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti, cyutyupapādajñāna* (*i.e.*, *divyacakṣus*) and *āsravakṣayajñāna*, since these make an end to erroneous thought in the past, the future and the present, respectively.

[344] *CSZJJ* XI 80.1.7 (in the anonymous 比丘尼戒本所出本末序), and *ib.* 81.2.13 (in Dharmaratna's 比丘大戒二百六十事, dated 381 AD).

[345] *GSZ* V 355.1.2.

[346] *GSZ* V 355.1.13.

[347] *GSZ* VII 366.2.24 = *CSZJJ* XV 110.3.13.

[348] *GSZ* IV 349.2.19.

[349] *GSZ* IV 347.3.28. It was probably at this time, during Zhu Daoqian's second stay at the capital, that he was reproached for his relations with the upper ten by the courtier Liu Tan 劉惔 (a son-in-law of emperor Ming), who asked him: "Why do you, a priest, frequent the (noble mansions with their) vermillion doors?", whereupon Daoqian gave the famous reply: "You yourself see their vermillion doors; to me, poor priest, they are but the grass curtains (of humble huts)" (*SSXY* IA/34b = *GSZ* IV 348.1.4). *SSXY* (*ib.*) mentions another tradition according to which Zhu Daoqian's opponent would not have been Liu Tan, but Bian Hu 卞壼, but this is impossible, as Bian Hu, a high magistrate and close collaborator of Wang Dao, had died already in 328, when the king of Kuaiji Sima Yu (in whose presence this conversation is said to have taken place) was only eight years old.

[350] *GSZ* IV 350.3.5.

[351] *GSZ* V 357.1.17.

[352] *GSZ* V 354.3.25 and XIII 410.1.18. The *GSZ* must be wrong in saying that Zhu Sengfu (cf. p. 147) lived at the Waguansi "at the end of the Western Jin", *i.e.*, ca 315 AD (*GSZ* V 355.2.16). This may be the origin of Falin's statement (cf. above, p. 104) that this monastery had already been founded by emperor Yuan.

[353] *GSZ* XIII (biography of Huishou) 410.2.11.

[354] *GSZ* V 354.3.21.

[355] *JS* 13 (*Tianwen zhi*) p. 12a.

[356] *SSXY* IA/37b, cf. *ZZTJ* 103.1217a. For the imperial request forwarded to Fakuang see *GSZ* V 356.3.29. This Qu Anyuan, prefect of Tangyi, seems to have been an expert in matters of portents and exorcism, for when—also under Jianwen—crows had come to nestle on the Taiji Hall 太極殿, he was again consulted to explain the meaning of this sign (*BQNZ* I 936.2.22).

[357] For emperor Ai's Daoist inclinations cf. *JS* 8 (Annals) 8a. Before his accession to the throne, emperor Jianwen served a famous "pure water master" 清水道士; who was called at the capital Wang Puyang 王濮陽, and lodged him in a room in his own mansion at Kuaiji (*BQNZ* I 936.2.12). He also made use of the advice of a famous Daoist master named Xu Mai 許邁 (*JS* 31.6b, biogr. of empress Li 李), who likewise had close contacts with Wang Xizhi with whom he used to collect herbs and to take drugs (*JS* 80.5b, biogr. of Wang Xizhi, and *ib.* 8a, biogr. of Xu Mai).

[358] *JS* 9 (Annals) 1a, *ZZTJ* 103.1217a, and *passim* in *SSXY*, where many *qingtan* meetings are described as taking place in his mansion at Kuaiji.

[359] *Bianzheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.19.

[360] *GHMJ* CV 202.2.13.

[361] *GSZ* XIII 409.2.17.

[362] *JS* 32.7a. According to *BQNZ* II 938.1.9, the nun Daoqiong 道瓊 was highly esteemed by "the empress during the *taiyuan* era (376–396)"; this may also refer to empress Wang.

[363] *JS* 84.3a. The practice of chanting Buddhist sūtras just before the execution is already attested in 324 AD at the execution of Zhou Song 周嵩, (*JS* 61.3b). It does not appear from the texts whether this was done as a prayer for help by repeating the Buddha's name or the *triśaraṇa* formula, or as a mental preparation for death.

[364] Text of the decree in *GSZ* IV 348.1.19.

[365] *GSZ* IV 350.3.28.

[366] *GSZ* V 355.1.9. Cf. the edict deploring Zhu Fatai's death in the "Court Diaries of the *taiyuan* era" as quoted in *comm. SSXY* 11B 14b.

[367] *GSZ* IV 350.3.26.

[368] Letter to Dao'an *GSZ* V 352.3.20, written before 379 when Xiangyang was captured and Dao'an was brought to Chang'an; letter to Lingzong in *BQNZ* I 936.3.10.

[369] *GSZ* XIII 409.2.27.

[370] *JS* 9.6b. According to *ZZTJ* 104.1233, the Second Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Wang Ya 王雅 remonstrated in vain against the establishment of the *vihāra*.

[371] *GSZ* XIII 413.3.3.

[372] *GSZ* V 357.1.5.

[373] *GHMJ* III 110.1.7 sqq.

[374] *Var.* Tanmocuo 撮 (**ts'wāt*), *Bianzheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.21.

[375] *GSZ* XIII 410.2.3 (biogr. of Huili 慧力) where it is said that the statue was placed in the Waguan monastery at Jiankang; *Liangshu* 54.11a (section of the Southern Barbarians) = *Nanshi* 78–11a; S. Lévi, "Les missions de Wang Hiuen-ts'e dans l'Inde", *J.As.* 1900, p. 316 sqq., p. 411 (where the name of the Singhalese monk is wrongly given as Danmo Yiyuan 抑遠; *yuan* here obviously belongs to the next sentence 遠獻此佛), p. 414 where the passage in *Liangshu* is wrongly referred to as "section de Ou ti") and pp. 422–423; Falin's *Bianzheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.21. The earliest (now lost) source for the story of the Singhalese mission may have been the anonymous "Account of the white jade statue presented by (the king of) Ceylon at the time of the Jin emperor Xiaowu" 晉孝武世師子國獻白玉像記, mentioned in the table of contents of Sengyou's *Fayuan zayuan yuanshi ji* 法苑雜緣原始集 in *CSZJJ* XII 92.3.2. Since this title figures in the section "Miscellaneous portraits and images", this work must have been am illustrated description or a painting with accompanying text representing the presentation of the jade statue or the statue itself.

[376] *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* (T 2085) 865.3.24; *CSZJJ* IV 21.1.14.

[377] Faxian did the journey in less than a year, of which he spent more than five months on Java. The normal duration of the journey from Java to Guangzhou in the first half of the fifth century was fifty days (T 2085 p. 866.1.29; trsl. Beal, *Records* vol. I p. LXXX; Giles p. 79).

[378] It is remarkable that the Annals of the *Jinshu* do not mention any "tribute" from the "Southern Barbarians" under the first years of the *yixi* era. However, under the year 413 we find the following entry:

"In this year Korea, Japan, as well as the South-western barbarians, Tongtou 銅頭 and Dashi 大師 all sent tribute of regional products" (*JS* 10.7b).

As far as I know, the name Dashi does not occur elsewhere, but it seems not unreasonable to suppose that it stands for Da Shi (-ziguo) = Ceylon, and that the "tribute" of 413 AD may refer to the arrival of the *śramaṇa* Tanmoyi. In that case, his departure from Ceylon must have taken place long after 400. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that in the oldest account (*GSZ* XIII) the envoy is said to have arrived *during* the *yixi* period and not, as the *Liangshu* puts it, at its beginning.

It is consequently impossible to define the Singhalese king who sent the image. S. Lévi (*op. cit.*, p. 423) takes him to be Upatissa II, but this ruler (who according to Geiger's chronology, preface trsl. *Cūlavaṃsa* p. XI, reigned 522–524) lived in any case later than the Mahānāma who is certainly to be identified with the Chali Mohenan 剎利摩訶南 ("Kṣatriya Mahānāma") who in 428 sent an envoy with a letter to emperor Wen of the Liu-Song dynasty (*Songshu* 97.4b). If we keep to Geigers chronology, which is primarily based on some scanty data from Chinese sources (Mahānāma's letter mentioned above, and the *xingzhuan* of Wang Xuance quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* XXIX), and maintain the traditional dates 362–389

for Meghavaṇṇa's reign, then any of his three successors: Jeṭṭhatissa II, Buddhadāsa and Upatissa I (who together are said to have reigned from 389 till 409) could be the king in question.

[379] *Qianmu* 姏姆, a rare binome for which the meaning "old lady" is given (*Citong*, p. 1321; *Cihai*, p. 383.2). These influential females at the court, also mentioned (in the same connection) in *JS* 27 (*Wuxing zhi* part I) p. 5b, are no doubt identical with the "wet-nurses" who, according to the memorial of Xu Yong (quoted below) "entered into cliques and parties" together with monks and nuns. The influence of wet-nurses at the imperial court is not without precedent: according to *HHS* 5.19b and 10B.1b–2a (cf. Hulsewé, *Han Law*, p. 165, nr. 9) the wet-nurse Wang Sheng 王聖 was banished in 125 AD for having taken part in the actions of rival cliques on account of which she was found guilty of "great impiety" 大不道. I have been unable to trace the name(s) of the wet-nurse(s) in question, nor have I found other accounts of their activities.

[380] *JS* 64.8a. Sima Daozi founded the Zhicheng 治城 monastery for the *dhāraṇi* specialist Zhu Sengfa 竺僧法 (*GSZ* XII 406.3.19), and the Jianjing nunnery for Miaoyin, cf. below. Already in 380 AD he had founded the Zhongsi 中寺 (*i.e.*, "Palace monastery"?) at Jiankang, cf. the memorial inscription by Wang Sengru 王僧孺 (465–522) quoted in *YWLJ* 77.4b.

[381] Cf. note 279. Here the normal word for wet-nurse, *rumu* 乳母, is used.

[382] *JS* 64.8b.

[383] *BQNZ* I 936.3.20.

[384] *Ib*. 936.3.24.

[385] *Ib*. 936.3.27. The last phrase may be a *cliché*; it is also said of the monk Huilin 慧琳, "the black-robed minister" (so called on account of his enormous influence at the court in the period 424–453, cf. *ZZTJ* 120.1418a under *yuanjia* 3 = 426 AD) in his biography in *Songshu* 97.8b. The phrase occurs already frequently as a *cliché* in the *Hanshu*, where it is always used to suggest great fame and influence.

[386] *BQNZ* I 936.3.27.

[387] *JS* 64.8b.

[388] *HMJ* VI 35.1 sqq. In view of the date, the author of the *Shibo lun* can hardly be identical with the person of this name mentioned above, p. 148. According to his biography (*GSZ* VI 364.2.23 sqq.) he lived 346–417 AD, so that he in 365 AD was nineteen years old. According to the same source, this was exactly the year in which he became a monk (after the death of his mother), probably in the North.

[389] *GSZ* VII 367.2.22.

[390] *GSZ* VII 371.2.3.

[391] *Nanshi* 1.13a.

[392] *JS* 10.10a.

[393] *Songshu* 52.8b. Cf. *Songshu* 68.5b, where Liu Yikang 劉義康, king of Pengcheng (409–451), is said to have refused to drink poison for the same reason, and with the same alternative solution.

APPENDIX CHAPTER THREE

[1] *HMJ* has 憑, which is a mistake for 馮.

[2] *Duxianghou* 都鄉候, an aristocratic title without apanage, introduced in later Han times. For such titles, which grow very numerous in the third and fourth century, cf. Maspero-Escarra, *Institutions de la Chine*, pp. 78–79 and Qin Xitian 秦錫田, *Bu Jin yixing fengjue biao* 補晉異姓封爵表 in *Ershiwu shi bubian* 二十五史補編 vol. III, pp. 3355–3372, and introd., p. 3355.

[3] No doubt referring to emperor Ming's interest in Buddhism, cf. above, p. 105.

[4] 豈于時沙門不易屈膝; or: "Is it not true that at that time the monks did abstain from (易 = neglect?) the custom of bending their knees?" Tentative translation.

[5] Reading, with most editions of the *HMJ*, 辨 in stead of 辯.

[6] For the expression *panbi* 槃辟 cf. A. Waley, *Analects*, Textual Notes XVI. 4.

[7] 正朝: the "correct" (legitimate) dynasty? The Palace edition reads 王朝 "at the court".

[8] Reading, with T 2108, 祝 in stead of 況.

[9] Reading, with T 2108, 裨 in stead of 卑 or 俾.

[10] Reading, with most editions of the *HMJ*, 俗 in stead of 實.

[11] The rare *shengting* 聖聽, which means "the emperor's hearing (power)", is probably a mistake for *shengcong* 聖聰.

[12] Reading, with T 2108, 乃 in stead of 及.

[13] Reading, with T 2108, 末聖 in stead of 來聖.

[14] Reading, with T 2108, 小 in stead of 才.

[15] Here both *HMJ* and T 2108 are corrupted.
T2108: 王教〇〇〇〇〇〇則亂.
HMJ: 王教不得不一二則亂.
The two readings must apparently be combined as follows: 王教則亂.不得不一,二之則亂.

[16] Reading, with 2108, 往往備修之 in stead of 往備其事. In the next phrase I also adopt the reading of T 2108: 修之身脩之家可矣 in stead of 脩之家可以. (var. 矣).

[17] I follow the reading 兩行 "to practise both (Confucianism and Buddhism?)" of the *HMJ*; T 2108 has 南行 "to guide one's steps"? (cf. expressions like 指南).

[18] Reading, with most editions of *HMJ*, 循 in stead of 脩.

[19] 今沙門之慎戒專專然及為其裡禮一而已矣. Tentative translation; T 2108 has 專然 in stead of 專專然.

[20] 天網恢恢. 疏而不失, cf. *TTC* 73, trsl. Duyvendak p. 151. The meaning here is that the ideal ruler can afford to be liberal and to allow his subjects to follow their own inclinations.

[21] The first section describes the formal declaration by which one becomes an *upāsaka*, according to the more complicated procedure of the Sarvāstivādins, which consisted of pronouncing the formula of the Triple Refuge (*triśaraṇa*) and accepting the Five Commandments or Prohibitive Rules (*pañcaśīla*). In this, the ceremony differed from the one attested in the Pāli canon, according to which one becomes an *upāsaka* by merely pronouncing the *triśaraṇa* formula. This became a point of controversy, discussed by the scholiasts of various sects, cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV 71–76; Lamotte, *Traité*, p. 829 note 3. The classical form of the *triśaraṇa* (-*gamana*, 三歸) is:
(1) *Buddhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (*dvipādānām agryam*) 歸命佛(兩足尊).
(2) *dharmaṃ śar.g.* (*virāgāṇām agryam*) 歸命法(離欲尊).
(3) *sanghaṃ śar.g.* (*gaṇānām agryam*) 歸命僧(衆中尊).
Xi Chao gives a Mahāyāna version of this formula, as appears from the "pluralism" of his 三世十方佛 and renders *dharma* in this formula by 十二部經, the "twelve classes of scriptures" in which the *dharma* is contained.

[22] *Guiming* 歸命 means no doubt "to surrender one's life", or "one's fate" to a higher authority. In Buddhist Chinese literature it is sometimes explained as "(to turn towards =) to comply with (歸) the orders (or authority, 命)", *sc.* of the Buddha (Fazang 法藏 *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記, T 1846, ch. I p. 246.3.27).

[23] 南無 (A.C. **nām.mi̯u*) = *namas* (with dative: "homage to…, salutation to…"), or rather *namo*…, the form used before voiced consonants, which is far more frequent. For a fancy explanation of 南無 ("in the South there is none") in a Chinese apocryphal work, see below, p. 301.

[24] Cf. Sun Chuo in his *Yu Dao lun* (above p. 133) and Yu Fakai (above, p. 142).

[25] The Five Rules together with the Triple Refuge form the religion of the layman

(*upāsaka-pañcasīla-saṃvara*). They are the following: to abstain from (1) destruction of life, *prāṇātipāta* 殺生; (2) taking what not is given, *adattādāna* 偷盜; (3) unchastity, *kāmamithyācāra* 邪婬; (4) falsehood, *mṛṣāvāda*, 妄語; (5) intoxicating liquors, *surāmaireyapramāda* 飲酒.

[26] For the thirty-six evils of drunkenness see *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (T 1509) 13.158.2, Lamotte, *Traité*, pp. 817–819, and the sources mentioned there. In China, abstinence from alcoholic drinks originated not before the early third century in Daoist circles, no doubt under Buddhist influence (cf. Fukui Kōjun, *Dōkyō no kiso-kuteki kenkyū*, p. 91 and 130).

[27] *Zhai* 齋, an ancient term denoting the ritual purification which the celebrant had to undergo before offering, and the period of self-purification during which he "prevents (contact with) nefarious things, suppresses his desires, and does not (allow) his ears to listen to music" (*Liji* XXII, chapter *Jitong* 祭統, *zhushu* ed. 49.4b; trsl. Couvreur 11.324). Hence used in Buddhist works as a translation of *uposatha* (*upavasatha*, (*u*)*poṣadha*) denoting, for the layman, the six fast-days of each month (*viz*. the 8th, the 14th, the 15th, the 23rd, the 29th and the 30th day of each month) and, in addition, the three months of fasting each year (長齋), originally the first months of the three Indian seasons, *viz*. the first, the fifth and the ninth month of the year. Cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV 65–69. On the *uposatha*-days the layman keeps eight instead of the usual five rules (八戒, *aṣṭāngaśīla*). A curious motivation why these six days of the month are chosen is given in the *Tiandi benqi jing* 天地本起經 quoted in *Da zhidu lun* (T 1509) 13.160.1 (not in one of the existing versions of this sūtra), trsl. Lamotte, *Traité* p. 835 sqq.: these are said to be the days on which the demons are particularly malicious. For the term (*u*)*poṣadha* etc. see S. Lévi, "Observations sur une langue précanonique du Bouddhisme", *J.As*. 1912.2 p. 501 sqq.

[28] 四等心 mostly called 四無量, the four *apramāṇa* (or *brahmavihāra*) "infinitudes", cf. below, note 76.

[29] Reading, with most versions, 玄想感發.

[30] The Six Remembrances or Six kinds of Mindfulness 六思念 (*anusmṛti*), which especially belong to the religion of the layman (Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 5073.3 sqq.), are (1) remembrance of the Buddha, *buddhānusmṛti*, (2) of the Doctrine, *dharmānusmṛti*, (3) of the Community, *saṅghānusmṛti*; (4) of the Rules, *sīlānusmṛti*, (5) of Charity, *tyāgānusmṛti*, (6) of the Gods, *devānusmṛti* or *devatānusmṛti*. Cf. *Mvy*. 1148–1154; for other lists of eight and ten *anusmṛti* cf. Mochizuki p. 4223.1 and 2346.2. A very detailed explanation of each term in *Da zhidu lun* ch. XXI, where the whole of section 36 is devoted to the *anusmṛti* (here a list of eight, as in the first section of the 25.000 *p*'*p*'). Xi Chao here again renders *dharma* by "scripture(s)", cf. note 21.

[31] The *devatānusmṛti* is a mental concentration on the glory of the gods, and the possibility of being reborn in their abode by observing the Rules of the religious life, cf. *Da zhidu lun, ib*. For the uninitiated Chinese reader *tian* must have been ambiguous: "gods" and "heaven" as the dwelling-place of the gods, but also Heaven as an impersonal principle, Nature.

[32] The Ten Good Works (*kuśala-karmāṇi*), negative rules prohibiting the sins of body, speech and mind, are the following (in the usual order, and with the Chinese equivalents used by Kumārajīva): To avoid the bodily acts of (1) killing living (beings), *prāṇātighāta* 殺生, (2) taking what is not given, *adattādāna* 偷盜, (3) unchastity, *kāmamithyācāra* 邪婬; the vocal acts of (4) falsehood, *mṛṣāvāda* 妄語, (5) harsh language, *pāruṣya* 惡口, (6) calumny, *paiśunya* 兩舌, (7) idle talk, *saṃbhinna-pralāpa* 綺語; the mental acts of (8) covetousness, *abhidhyā* 貪欲, (9) malice, *vyāpāda* 瞋恚, (10) false views, *mithyādṛṣti* 邪見. Of course Xi Chao did not know the Sanskrit equivalents of the terms he uses here; I have translated them in my text as they would probably have been interpreted by the

Chinese reading public of his days. Xi Chao has placed the mental acts before the vocal acts: 嫉 = 貪欲, 恚 = 瞋恚, 癡 = 邪見.

[33] The meaning of this statement is not clear. *Kāmamithyācāra* comprises all sinful actions of a sexual nature (*Abh. Kośa* IV. 146 sqq.; four kinds defined *ib.* 157).

[34] 凡在有方之境; for the expression 有方 cf. Huiyuan in *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* 沙門不敬王者論 section 2 (*HMJ* V 30.3.1): 凡在有方同稟生於大化.

[35] 三界 = *trailokya*, consisting of the Realm of Desire (*kāmadhātu* 欲界, *i.e.*, the six heavens of desire, the human world and the hells), the Realm of Visible Form (*rūpadhātu* 色界) and the Formless Realm (*ārūpyadhātu* 無色界).

[36] 餓鬼 = *preta*.

[37] For the problem of a *partial* observation of the Rules cf. Mochizuki, p. 1118.3 sqq.; Lamotte, *Traité*, p. 821; *Abh. Kośa* IV.73 sqq. (different kinds of laymen, those observing only one vow, two vows etc., rejected by Sautrāntikas, advocated by Vaibhāṣikas).

[38] Reading, with the Ming edition, 紿 instead of 殆.

[39] 三惡道, *durgati*, *viz.* animals, *preta*s and inhabitants of the hells.

[40] *Yin* 陰 is an archaic translation of *skandha*, the five elements of the pseudo-personality. It is not clear why *yin* was used to render *skandha* ("bulk, quantity, agglomeration"); in Chinese Buddhist texts it is never used in opposition to *yang*. Probably *yin* 陰 (= 蔭) "darkness, shade, the dark(ening) element" which covers man's spirit? Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 139, and the early third century commentary on the *Yinchiru jing* (T 1694) ch. I p. 9.3.8, where the term *yin*, here especially applied to *vijnāna*, is explained as "invisible".

[41] The five *skandha*s are (1) visible matter, *rūpa* 色, (2) feeling, *vedanā* 受, (3) conceptions, *saṃjnā* 想, (4) predispositions or actions of the will, *saṃskāra* (plur.) 識, (5) consciousness, *vijñāna* 行 (the English terms are of course only approximative and rather unsatisfactory translations). The Chinese equivalents are those used by Kumārajīva; those given by Xi Chao are the ones which occur already in Lokakṣema's *Daoxing jing* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'*; T 224), and which had probably been popularized in the early fourth century by this very influential scripture.

[42] It goes without saying that this splitting up of the Chinese equivalents of *vedanā* and *saṃjñā* and the interpretation of each part of these terms is a purely Chinese invention; in fancy explanations like these we have probably an echo of Zhi Dun's exegesis of the *Daoxing jing* and other scriptures.

[43] The five Hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) are (1) desire for lusts, *kāmacchanda* 貪欲, (2) malice, *vyāpāda* 瞋恚, (3) torpor and drowsiness, *styānamiddha* 惛沈睡眠, (4) the sin of frivolity, *auddhatyakaukṛtya* (*auddhatya* in this sense, not as normally in Skt. "haughtiness, disdain", cf. Edgerton, p. 161b) 掉戲, 調戲, (5) doubt, *vicikitsā* 疑; cf. *Abh. Kośa* V.98. Xi Chao has 貪婬 for *rāga*, places (5) before (4), and renders *styānamiddha* and *vicikitsā* very inadequately by 愚癡 "ignorance" and 邪見 "wrong views".

[44] I have not found the source of this quotation. According to the Buddhist doctrine of acts (*karman*), it is indeed the good, sinful or morally indifferent *intention* which is all-important. Every corporal sinful deed (*kāyakarman*) or vocal deed (*vākkarman*) as well as (according to the Sautrāntikas) the material state of sinfulness (called *avijñapti*, "non-information") are both the result of a primary mental act (*manaskarman*) which thus forms the base of all activity. Cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV.2. sqq., et Et. Lamotte, "Le Traité de l'Acte de Vasubandhu, Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa", *MCB* IV, pp. 151–288, for the opinions of different sects on the act and the process of karmic retribution; for the Sarvāstivāda doctrine on this subject esp. pp. 154–160. Already in "pre-Buddhist" times Chinese Confucian *literati* had different opinions about the important problem what should be punished: the (corporal) act or the intention. The latter standpoint—of course without the religious justification later provided by Buddhism—is clearly voiced *e.g.*, in *Yantie lun* 55 (ch. 刑德) *SBBY* ed. 10.3a; cf. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law* I p. 251 sqq.

[46] The six (or twelve) *āyatana* comprise the five sense-organs with their respective objects (the eye and visible forms, *rūpa*; the ear and sound, *śabda*; the nose and odour, *gandha*; the tongue and savour, *rasa*; the body and tangible things, *sparśa* or *sprasṭavya*), and a sixth sense-organ *manas* ("mind", here translated by 心) with the mental phenomena (*dharma*) as its object.

[46] Xi Chao is led astray by the Chinese translation: *shi* 識 "knowing" (or "remembering") as the sixth of the sense-organs stands actually for *manas*, whereas as the fifth of the *skandhas* it renders *vijñāna*.

[47] A quotation from the anonymous *Bannihuan jing* 般泥洹經, T 6 ch. I p. 181.1.26: 心作天.心作人.心作鬼神畜生地獄.皆心所為也; cf. also T 5, another version of this (?) *Mahāpārinirvāṇasūtra* ascribed to Bo Yuan (late third cent.), ch. I p. 165.3.10: 心取羅漢.心取天.心取人.心取畜生蟲蟻鳥獸.心取地獄.心取餓鬼.作形貌者.皆心所為 …

[48] Allusion to *Zhongyong* I.2: 故君子慎其獨也.

[49] Cf. *Yijing*, *Xici* I (Zhushu ed. 7.17b): 君子居其室出其善則千里之外應之.

[50] Cf. *Zhongyong* I.2: 莫見乎隱. 莫顯乎微.

[51] Dao'an mentions in his catalogue two versions of the *Shi'ermen jing*, a smaller and a larger one, both in one chapter and ascribed to An Shigao (*CSZJJ* II 5.3.26–27); he wrote commentaries on both versions, which still existed in the early sixth century (*CSZJJ* V 39.3.8). The two versions are already listed among the "lost scriptures" in the *Zhongjing mulu* of 602 AD (T 2147 V 178.1.12). Dao'an's preface to his commentary on the larger version has been preserved (*CSZJJ* VI 45.2.26 sqq., annotated Japanese translation in Ui Hakuju 宇井伯寿, *Shaku Dōan kenkyū* 釋道安研究, Tōkyō 1956, p. 94 sqq.); to judge from this preface, it was a scripture mainly devoted to *dhyāna*. Elsewhere (below? p. 170) Xi Chao quotes the "*Shi'ermen jing*", without specifying whether he means the larger or the smaller one; that he here mentions a "separate version" of this scripture proves that he knew two redactions of this text, very probably the same as those mentioned by Dao'an.

[52] Allusion to *Lunyu* IV. 10: 子曰. 子郡於天下也. 無適也.無莫也. 義之與此.

[53] The meaning of this phrase is not clear. In the foregoing lines the author has said that according to the Buddhist doctrine we must be constantly aware of the treacherous movements of our minds, and that we must try to control its dangerous activity. This would mean that the Buddhist devotee, contrary to the Confucian ideal exemplified by Confucius, indeed consciously "sets his mind for some (good) things" and "against other (evil) things". As I have interpreted the last phrase, Xi Chao then seems to conclude that the Buddhist mental discipline, as a lower preparatory stage of self-cultivation, is inferior to the mental freedom and unconscious "natural" morality of the Confucian Sage, the *junzi*.

[54] 沮觀, lit. "to stop (what is worthless) and to encourage (people of talents).

[55] 人之君子.猶天之小人. This looks like a quotation, but I have been unable to trace it.

[56] Reading, with the Korean edition, 必 instead of 安.

[57] Reading, with the Korean edition, 貌 instead of 懇.

[58] Cf. *Zhuangzi* XXIII (庚桑楚) p. 150: 為不善乎顯明之中者.人得而.誅之.為不善乎幽閒之中者.鬼得而誅之.

[59] There were various sūtras named *Zhengzhai jing*. The one quoted here may have been the one attributed to An Shigao in *Da Tang NDL* (T 2149) I 222.3.28 and later catalogues (listed as "lost" in *Kaiyuan SJL*, T 2154 I 480.3.12). On the other hand, there were two versions of a *Pusa zhai jing* or *Pusa zhaifa* (*jing)* 菩薩齋[法][經], translated by Dharmarakṣa, one of the many variant titles of which was (*Pusa*) *zhengzhai jing*. The textual history of these two works is far from clear. Sengyou (*CSZJJ* II 8.3.3 and 9.2.26) mentions both a *Pusa zhaifa* and a *Pusa zhai jing*, giving for the first one the variant titles of 菩薩正齋經 and 持齋經,

and for the second one 賢首菩薩齋經, and adding that the latter work had already been lost. But both works are mentioned without comment as to their being preserved or not in Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu*, T 2146, V 139.2.12. Both works are mentioned as "lost" in Jingtai's 靜泰 *Zhongjing mulu* of 666 AD, T 2148, V 214.3.16, occur again as extant works in *Da Tang NDL*, T 2149, II 234.1.12 and 235.2.19 and in *Gujin yijing tuji* T 2151, II 353.3.16 and 354.1.6, to be finally definitively listed as "lost" in *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, T 2153, XII 443.2.24. In the third place the catalogues from Fajing's *Zhong jing mulu*, T 2146, onward mention an apocryphal work named *Foshuo zhengzhai jing* 佛說正齋經: T2146, IV 138.3.9; T 2147, LV 174.2.15 etc.; the last catalogue in which it is mentioned is the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* of 799–800 AD, T 2157, XXVIII 1020.3.25.

[60] This looks like a quotation, but I have been unable to trace its source.

[61] Chen Ping (died 178 BC), general and counsellor of the first Han emperor, a strategist famous for his "tricks" (biography in *Shiji* 56.1a and *HS* 40.12a). Xi Chao summarizes Chen Ping's words reported in *Shiji* 56.8b.

[62] Yan Hui 顏回 (traditional dates 514–483 BC), Confucius' favourite disciple, died young (*Lunyu* VI.2, IX.20; IX.21; XI.6, 8, 9, 10; *Shiji* 67.2a). Ran Geng 冉耕, another of his disciples, died prematurely of a terrible disease (*Lunyu* VI.8; *Shiji* 67.3a). For the Confucian disapproval of the "hegemons" of Ji and Jin cf. *e.g.*, *Lunyu* XIV. 16 and *Mencius* IB.7.1.

[63] Cf. *Shujing* I.ii.12 (舞典): 殛鯀于羽山 (*Zhushu* ed. 3.14b) and *ib*. II.17: 帝曰.俞.咨禹.汝平水土.惟時懋哉…(Zhushu ed. 3.21a); *Shujing* IV.iv.3 (洪範): 鯀則殛死.禹乃嗣興 (*Zhushu* ed. 20.2b); *Shiji* 2.1 b.

[64] Most editions have 鮜, a rare variant of *xu* 鱮. The Korean ed. has 盻 instead of 鮜, which does not make sense here.

[65] *Sizui* 四罪: the four punishments inflicted by Shun upon the four great criminals, cf. *Shujing* I.ii.12.

[66] The creation of the "punishment of arresting the wife and children of the criminal" is traditionally ascribed to Shang Yang, the originator of the School of Law, when he was chief-minister in the feudal state of Qin in the middle of the fourth century BC, cf. "The Origins and Nature of Chattel Slavery in China" by E. G. Pulleyblank, in *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I (1958), pp. 185–220.

[67] Quotation from the anonymous *Bannihuan jing* 般泥洹經, T 6, ch. I p. 181.2.1.

[68] Allusion to *Shujing* I.III.5 (大禹謨): "Accordance with what is right is (followed by) good fortune, and compliance with refractoriness (is followed by) misfortune, like (body and voice are followed by) shadow and echo" 惠迪吉.從逆凶.惟影響 (*zhushu* ed. 4.3b).

[69] Allusion to *Daode jing* 73: 天網恢恢.疏而不失. The "net of Heaven", from which nothing can escape, here symbolizes the universal and ineluctable process of karmic retribution.

[70] For this (lost) scripture cf. above, note 51. The subject dealt with in this fragment is the (usually ninefold) meditation on the repulsive nature of the body, the "contemplation of the impure" (*aśubhabhāvanā*, 不淨觀).

[71] The *Chamojie jing* 差摩竭經 (T 533, ? *Kṣemaṃkāraparipṛcchā*), var. *Pusa shengdi jing* 菩薩生地經, is a short sūtra devoted to the virtue of *kṣānti*. It was translated by Zhiqian, and already mentioned as such by Dao'an (*CSZJJ* II 7.1.2). The phrases quoted here occur in T 533 814.1.17 sqq., but there the text has 忍辱為本 (instead of 大).

[72] Quotation from *Faju jing* (*Dharmapada*, *Udānavarga*) T 210, ch. II, section 36 (泥洹經), p. 573.3.8: 受辱心如地. 行忍如門閾 (var. 城). Xi Chao has *kun* 閫 instead of *yu* 閾, both words meaning "treshold". No corresponding verse in the Tibetan *Udānavarga* (verse 2 of the

section "*Nirvāṇa*", trsl. W. W. Rockhill, *Udānavarga* p. 116, deals also with Patience, but runs quite differently); the Japanese editors of T 210 refer to *Dhammapada* 95 (ed. Fausböll p. 18: *Pathavīsamo no virujjhati/indakhīlūpamo tādi subbato* . . .), where the same similes are used, but about the pious monk and not about *khanti*.

[73] The *Chengju jing* is the *Chengju guangming dingyi* (var. *sanmei*) *jing* 成具光明定意 (var. 三昧) 經, translated around the beginning of the third century by Zhi Yao 支曜 (T 630). The scripture is mentioned by Dao'an (*CSZJJ* II 6.3.1), and seems to have been very popular in the fourth century; according to Dao'an's biography (*CSZJJ* XV 108.1.8 = *GSZ* V 351.3.12) it was one of the first sūtras which Dao'an as a *śramaṇera* had to memorize. Beside this translation there seems to have been a second version, ascribed to Lokakṣema (*CSZJJ* II 6.2.15, not mentioned by Dao'an; *ib.* 15.1.8; mentioned as "lost" in T 2148 V 213.2.15). For the passage quoted by Xi Chao see T 630 453.1.12.

[74] The *Xianzhe de jing* in one *ch.* is mentioned among the translations of Zhi Qian in *CSZJJ* II 7.1.13, and in later catalogues (T 2149, *Da Tang NDL* II 228.2.7; T 2151, *Gujin yijing fuji* I 351.3.6); mentioned as "lost" in T 2154 (*Kaiyuan SJL*) II 489.1.14. The words quoted here from this sūtra are surprisingly similar to Confucius' own definition of the virtue of "consideration" or "reciprocity" 恕, attributed to him in *Lunyu* XV, 13.1: 自所不欲.勿施於人.

[75] Cf. *Lunyu* IV.15: 夫子之道.忠恕而已矣.

[76] The four "Infinitudes" (*apramāṇa* 無量心) or *brahmavihāra* are four forms of meditation (*bhāvanā*) which serve as antidotes against the evils of enmity, lack of compassion, dissatisfaction and attachment: (1) love, *maitrī* 慈, (2) compassion, *karuṇā* 悲, (3) joy, *muditā* 喜, (4) indifference, *upekṣā* 捨. I do not know the source of Xi Chao's curious description of the fourth *apramāṇa*.

[77] For this use of *shu* 數 cf. above, p. 147 and note 335.

[78] Quotation from Zhi Qian's *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經, Kyōto ed. ch. I p. 236. A.l. Cf. also *Faju jing* 法句經 T 210 ch. I p. 566.2.3: 世皆有死.三界無安.諸天雖樂.福盡亦喪 (no corresponding verse in the *Lokavagga* of the *Dhammapada*).

[79] T 630 (cf. note 73) p. 457.1.4: 夫福者有盡有苦有往來有煩勞有食飲.

[80] Paraphrase of T 6, ch. II p. 189.2.21, Mahākāsyapa's words after the Buddha's decease: 有生輙死.死則有生.五道無安.唯泥洹樂. All editions have 生有輙死; the reading in Xi Chao's quotation is obviously the correct one. The last words in the quotation (快 instead of 樂) may be explained by the fact that Xi Chao confused the passage quoted above with another phrase from the same sūtra (T 6 ch. II 187.1.22): 無生不死.死而不滅.唯泥洹快.

[81] Quotation from the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (cf. note 78), Kyōto ed. ch. I p. 236 A2.

[82] 習期諸妄心, or, with the Korean ed., 期諸忘心 "in the expectation (or: with the final aim) to forget (all conscious) thought"?

[83] Cf. what Xiang Xiu (or Guo Xiang) says, in almost identical terms, about the spontaneity of all operations in Nature without any substrate or creative power (above, p. 92). This is one of the clearest examples in early Chinese Buddhist literature of the identification of *karman* with the Chinese concept of the inexorable "course of nature".

[84] 詠歌不足.係心手舞, a paraphrase of a passage from the preface to the Odes, *zhushu* ed. I.i p. 5a.

[85] The classical formula of the first of the Four Noble Truths (*ārya-satyāni*), that of Suffering.

[86] The term *yuandui* 緣對 does, as far as I know, not belong to the normal Buddhist vocabulary as used in translated scriptures. My translation is tentative; here it seems to indicate the karmic process of cause and effect. *Yuandui* does occur in Dao'an's

preface to the *Shifa juyi* (*jing*) 十法句義經序 in *CSZJJ* X 70.1.13; there the author says that the Buddha "Adapted himself to the world, and therefore administered the medicine (of the Doctrine) in accordance with the therapy (lit. "the antidote")" 從俗故緣對而授藥, but this is obviously quite another application of the term.

[87] Allusion to the well-known metaphor in *Zhuangzi* XXIX (ch. 盜跖) p. 198: 忽然無異騏驥之馳過隙也 (said of the short duration of human life in comparison to that of Heaven and Earth).

[88] Cf. *Liezi* VII (ch. 楊朱) p. 78: 生則堯舞. 死則腐骨. 生則桀紂. 死則腐骨. 腐骨一矣. 孰知其異.

[89] Tentative translation, 該以数塗, *gai* in the sense of 備, 傳, 兼; *shutu* probably for 殊塗(途) which expression is regularly used to denote that several different ways may lead to the same goal (cf. *Yijing, Xici* II.3b: 天下同歸而殊途), the "common goal" in this case being death and decay.

[90] Probably a paraphrase of *Taizi ruiying benqi jing*, Kyōto ed. ch. I p. 236 B 1: 物生有死. 事成有敗. 安則有危. 得則有亡. 萬物紛擾. 皆當歸空.

[91] Or, perhaps: "by investigating (its nature) to find rest in it 推而安之?

[92] Quotation from Zhi Qian's version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T 474, ch. I, p. 523.1.25: 又一切法可知見者如水月形.一切諸法從意生形; cf. Kumārajīva's version T 475, ch. I, p. 541.2.26; somewhat more extensive translation (or a more "developed" text?) in Xuanzang's version, T 476. I 563.3.9.

[93] 無往不滯 is certainly a mistake ("we shall be impeded wherever we go"). The meaning must be parallel to that of the preceding 觸遇而夷, and the mistake may be caused by confusion with the foregoing 無往不夷. *Bu* 不 may be wrong for 而.

[94] 釁, lit. "causes of dissension; offense".

[95] *Viz.*, in *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, version of Zhi Qian, T 474 II 528.3.1: 譬如大丈夫畏時.非人得其便; identical in the Kumārajīva version, T 475 II 548.1.3 and the Xuanzang version, T 476 IV 573.3.8. 非人 is the standard equivalent of *kimnara*.

[96] 非常 is in early Buddhist texts sometimes interchanged with 無常 for *anitya*. The term 四非常 does not belong to the normal ancient Buddhist vocabulary; it occurs, however, in Kang Senghui's *Liudu jijing* 六度集經 (T 152). The "four aspects of what is not permanent" here enumerated are, in tact, the four aspects of the *duḥkhasatya, viz., anitya, duḥkha, śūnya* and *anātmaka*, cf. *e.g.*, *Abh. Kośa LVP* VII.31.

[97] 夕惕, cf. *Yijing*, explanation of the first hexagram (乾): 君子終日乾乾夕惕若厲.

[98] 榮觀, cf. *Daode jing* 26, where this term must probably be interpreted as "in his camp with watch-towers" (榮 = 營, cf. Gao Heng 高亨, *Laozi zhenggu* 老子正詁 (2nd ed., Shanghai 1948) pp. 62–63; Duyvendak trsl. p. 65). But, to judge from the context here, the medieval Chinese interpretation seems to have been as given in the translation. The pseudo Heshang Gong commentary paraphrases it as "palace" 宮闕; Wang Bi gives no comment.

[99] Probably *Taizi ruiying benqi jing*, Kyōto ed. ch. I p. 234 B 1: 三界皆苦何可樂者.

[100] Cf. the expression 終食之間 in *Lunyu* IV 5.3.

[101] Hypothetical translation of 出息不報. The meaning of 報 here is obscure. It may be a mistake for 保 (both Arch. **pōg* > AC **pāu*); hence "(even a single) exhalation (can)not be preserved".

[102] This passage is no doubt a quotation from, of a paraphrase of, a chapter of the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections", probably the first Buddhist scripture in Chinese (see above, p. 29). It substantially agrees with ch. 38 of the present text (trsl. Hackmann p. 234; T 784 p. 724.1), but there are considerable differences in the wording of this passage: (Xi Chao's quotation) 佛問諸弟子.何謂無常.一人曰.一日

不可保.是為無常.佛言.非佛弟子.一人曰.食頃不可保.是為無常.佛言非佛弟子. 一人曰.出息不報.便就後世.是為無常.佛言.真佛弟子
(the present version in the Korean edition): 佛問沙門.人命在幾間.對曰.數日間佛言.子未能為道.復問一沙門.人命在幾間.對曰.飯食間.佛言.子未能為道.復問一沙門.人命在幾間.對曰.呼吸間.佛言善哉. 子可謂為道者矣.

[103] 懼不在交; translation very uncertain.

[104] Allusion to *Lunyu* IX.18: 譬如平地雖覆一簣.進吾往也.

[105] Allusion to *Huainanzi* I (原道) p. 5: 聖人不貴尺之璧而重寸之陰.

[106] For the term *du* 度 as a translation of *pāramitā* see ch. II, note 140.

[107] 兼忘, allusion to *Zhuangzi* XIV (ch. 天運) p. 88: 子惡乎知惡死之非弱喪而不知歸者邪.

[108] The stereotyped number of ninety-six classes of heretical teachers, consisting of the six founders of heretical doctrines, each of them with fifteen schools of disciples.

[109] 皆樂生安; the text of the *Benqi jing* (cf. next note) has 皆樂生求安.

[110] Quotation from *Taizi ruiying benqi jing*, Kyōto ed. ch. II p. 239 B 1.

[111] Allusion to *Zhuangzi* II (齊物論) p. 16: 子惡乎知惡死之非弱喪而不知歸者邪.

[112] Mark the Chinese conclusion: the cessation of birth is a means to attain immortality!

[113] See Dharmarakṣa's version of the *Lalitavistara*, *Puyao jing* 普曜經, Kyōto ed. (IX.8) ch. IV, section 13, p. 725 A2, in a passage which is lacking in the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Lalitavistara*: 不處生死. 不住泥洹. 便不退轉菩薩決. 無所從生. 靡所不生. 於諸所生悉無所生. To the Chinese Buddhists these phrases seem to have constituted an almost proverbial description of the Bodhisattva ideal: we find it also quoted (implicitly) by Yu Fakai's *Huoshi erdi lun* 惑識二諦論 (cf. above, p. 142), and by Huiyuan in his preface to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, ("The *dhyāna*-sūtra of Dharmatrāta", 達摩多羅禪經序), *CSZJJ* IX 66.1.9.

[114] Cf. T 6 ch. I p. 181.1.21: 心識情休則不死不復生.

[115] 種十善戒善則受生之報; the second 四空 is to be deleted.

[116] 四空 or 四空定 are the last and highest four of the twelve *dhyāna*-states (十二門), corresponding to the four immaterial spheres (*ārūpyadhātu*): (1) the state of boundless space, *ākāśānantyāyatana* 空無邊處; (2) the state of boundless consciousness, *vijñānānantyāyatana* 識無邊處; (3) the state of nothingness, *ākiṃcanyāyatana* 無所有處, (4) the state of neither perception nor non-perception, *naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana* 非有想非無想處.

[117] 十八天: the eighteen heavens of form (*rūpadhātu*).

[118] 有為, a Daoist term, in Buddhist texts regularly used for *saṃskṛta*. It is not clear whether here it should be interpreted in the "Daoist" or in the "Buddhist" sense. I have chosen the first alternative, in the first place because the author of the *Fengfa yao* does not seem to have been well-versed in Buddhist technical terminology, and secondly because he probably would never have made a distinction of this kind at all, merely interpreting *youwei* as the opposite of *wuwei* 無為 = *Nirvāṇa*.

[119] Cf. Zhi Qian's version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T 474 I 522.2.12: 又賢者彼師說猗為道…邊際. 不及佛處, 為歸八難, 為在衆勞. 不得離生死之道. A slightly more extensive translation in Kumārajīva's version, T 475, I, 540.3.4, and in that of Xuanzang, T 476, I, 562.2.17.

[120] Also a quotation from Zhi Qian's version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T 474 I 520.1.14: 譬如有人欲度空中造立宮室. 終不能成. 如是童子菩薩欲度人民故願取佛國. 願取佛國者非於空也. More detailed translation in Kumārajīva's version, T 475 I 538.1.26, and in that of Xuanzang, T 476 I 559.1.23.

[121] The practice of the first four *pāramitās* is "purified" by *prajñā*, which makes one realize,

at the level of absolute truth, the utter unreality of all actions, including the practice of the religious virtues of *dāna*, *śīla* etc., thus emancipating the devotee from clinging to the merit of his actions and to the objects of his devotion.

[122] 方寸, lit. "that which is (as small as) a square inch".

[123] 開士 "The worthy who opens up (the truth)", an archaic translation of Bodhisattva.

[124] Allusion to *Lunyu* IV. 15.1: 五道一以貫之.

[125] 四色 and 無朕 are obviously stylistic variations of 四大 (*mahābhūta*, the Four Great Elements) and 無我 (*nairātmya*, the absence of a permanent ego).

[126] 本際, perhaps a variation of 實際 = *bhūtakoṭi*?

[127] 方等, *vaipulya* (sūtras), more specifically used to denote the *prajñāpāramitā* scriptures.

[128] The purport of this last sentence is not clear to me. Does the author mean to say that in the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures the "present" is said to be as illusory as the future and the past?

[129] 立人, allusion to *Lunyu* VI.28.2: 夫仁者己欲立而立人.己欲達而達人 here ingeniously applied to the ideal of Bodhisattvahood.

[130] 姬周, lit. "The Zhou of the (ruling family named) Ji". Ji being, according to tradition, the name adopted by the first ancestor of this family, the legendary "Prince Millet", Houji 后稷; cf. *Shiji* 4.1b. Zhi Dun does not specify the date, but "the end of the Zhou" no doubt refers to the end of the Western Zhou (traditional dates 1122–771 BC). For Chinese speculations about the date of the Buddha's birth cf. below, p. 271 sqq.

[131] Māyā belonged to the Śākya clan (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 118), and Gautama was the common name of this *gotra*, given to all members descended from the same supposed ancestor (cf. E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 22). Hence Zhi Dun is wrong in deriving the Buddha's name from that of his mother; moreover, the appellation Gautamī mostly refers not to Māyā, but the Buddha's aunt, Mahāprajāpatī.

[132] 丕承, cf. *Shujing* IV. 16.18 (ch. *Junshi* 君奭): 惟文王德. 丕承無疆之恤 (Couvreur p. 305: "magnopere suscipias"); *ib.* IV. 25.6 (ch. *Junya* 君牙): 丕承哉武王烈 (Couvreur p. 371: "late subsecuta sunt Ou regis opera").

[133] 吸中和之誕化; cf. *Zhongyong* I.4: 喜怒哀樂夫發謂之中.發而皆中節謂之和. As applied to India = *Madhyadeśa* (中國), cf. *Mouzi* I (HMJ I 1.3.26), trsl. Pelliot p. 291 and p. 343, note 55; see also below, p. 266. This and the next phrase form a barely recognizable description of the "four great surveys" (*catvāri mahāvilokitāni*) made by the Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven before descending into his mother's womb, as to the time (*kāla*), the continent (*dvipa*), the country (*deśa*) and the family (*kula*) to be chosen for his last birth.

[134] Reading, with most editions, 顥然. The 浩 in the Korean edition is obviously a mistake caused by the variant form 皓.

[135] 弱而能言, said about the Yellow Emperor in *Shiji* 1.2a (cf. also below, p. 270, where Zong Bing uses the same *Shiji* passage to prove that the Yellow Emperor and other culture-heroes of the dawn of history were in reality Bodhisattvas). Here this is of course an allusion to the first words of the Buddha, the "lion's roar" he uttered immediately after his birth.

[136] Cf. *Mencius* VI A. 16.1.

[137] Cf. above, note 98.

[138] 逆旅, an ancient term for a hostel or inn, cf. *Zuozhuan*, Duke Xi 2 (*zhushu* ed. 12.6b, Couvreur, vol. I, p. 235): 保於逆旅.

[139] 紆軫, cf. *Chuci, Jiuzhang* 九章, section 措誦: 心鬱結而紆軫; in Wang Yi's 王逸 commentary explained as "bent down" 屈 and "distressed" 隱.

[140] 區外, lit. "outside the district", probably a stylistic variation of the expression 方外, as in *Zhuangzi* VI, ch. 大宗師, p. 44: 彼遊方之外者也: "outside all worldly limitations", "beyond this world".

[141] 風人 usually means "poet"; I do not see what "bard" may be meant here. Does it refer to the *deva* who according to *Taizi yongying benqi jing* II (Kyōtō ed. p. 235.B2), at that time the most popular source for the Buddha's early life, came to urge Siddhārtha to leave to palace?

[142] 大猷, cf. *Shijing*, Ode 198 (II.V.4.4, 巧言): 秩秩大猷. 聖人莫之.

[143] 有道, lit. "those who possessed the Way".

[144] Allusion to the Buddha's stay with the ascetics Ārāḍa (Pāli: Āḷāra) Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra (Pāli: Uddaka Rāmaputta) before his solitary practice of austerities during six years.

[145] 明發, cf. *Shijing*, Ode 196 (II.V.2.1, 小宛): 明發不寐. 有懷二人.

[146] 無待, cf. *Zhuangzi* I (逍遙遊) p. 3: 猶有所待者也…*Qingju* 輕舉, "to rise lightly", is commonly said of Daoist immortals; for another case in which it is used in a Buddhist sense, cf. above, p. 149 (letter of Daoyi).

[147] 抗志非石, cf. *Shijing*, Ode 26 (I.III.1.3, 柏舟): 我心匪石. 不可轉也.

[148] Allusion to two *Lunyu* passages: IV. 2, 仁者安仁.知者利仁, and VI.23, 知者樂水.仁者樂山.

[149] The vow not to leave the seat before having attained Enlightenment. In the narrative we have already reached the "place of Enlightenment" (*bodhimaṇḍa*, 道場).

[150] Reading, with the Yuan and Ming editions, 併…*Yun* 運 is redundant and breaks the parallelism.

[151] This passage is obviously a description of the *ānāpānasmṛti*, but the details are far from clear. The 四籌 may refer to the four "operations" of this respiratory technique as described in Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi* (cf. P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 414; these are actually five out of a series of six operations mentioned elsewhere (*e.g.*, T 618 I 306.1.26 sqq.; *Abh. Kośa* VI 154–155), *viz*. nrs. 1, 2, 4 and a combination of 5 and 6 of the six operations (1) "counting", *gaṇanā* 數; (2) "following", *anugama* 隨; (3) "staying", *sthāna* 止; (4) "observing", *upalakṣaṇā* 觀; (5) "turning", *vivartanā* 轉; (6) "purification", *pariśuddhi* 淨). In the early and very popular Buddha-biographies, the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (Kyōto ed. ch. II, p. 231A1) and the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (Kyōto ed. ch. I, p. 237A1) we also find the series of six: 一數二隨三止四觀五還六淨. This may be the source of Zhi Dun's 二隨, 三止 etc. in the following phrases. But from the way in which these terms are used and from the fact that in this parallel style they are made to match expressions like 四籌, 五陰, 六情 and 五內, it would appear that Zhi Dun believed these to mean "the two 隨: "the three" 止, "the four 觀", as in the translation. Hence 逆送, parallel with 二隨: "speeding (the exhalation) and welcoming (the inhalation)"? "Easily tracing its circuit": tentative translation of the obscure 簡巡; the *anugama* operation consists of "following" the breath as far as possible inside and outside the body. I do not know what is meant by the 八記.

[152] 五陰. For the use of the word *yin* to render *skandha* cf. above, note 40.

[153] 還府, "sent back to the (magistrate's) office", apparently a metaphor borrowed from official life.

[154] 六情, cf. above, note 46.

[155] 五內 seems to be a variant of 五根, the five faculties (*pañcendriyāṇi*), the material bases of sensory perception: eye, ear, nose, tongue and body (as the "organ" of touch). "The five intestines", which is the common meaning of 五內, seems hardly appropriate here.

[156] 太素, cf. the cosmogony described in *Liezi* I (ch. 天瑞) p. 2: 太初者氣之始也.太始者.形之始也.太素者.質之始也.

[157] 七住, the seventh stage (*bhūmī*) of the Bodhisattva career, which according to some sources is the "critical" stage during which the Bodhisattva obtains the "equanimity towards the non-origination of *dharmas*" (無生法忍, *anutpattika-dharmakṣānti*) and is released from the material body (肉身, *māṃsakāya*), instead of which he is endowed with a "body born from the *dharmadhātu*" 法性生身, *dharmadhātujakāyā*). This is in accordance with the

doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (cf. *e.g.*, *Fangguang jing*, T 221 ch. XIV p. 27.3.9; Kumārajīva's version of the 25.000 *p'p'*, T 223 ch. VI p. 257.2.14; *Dazhidu lun*, T 1509 ch. X p. 132.1.25 = Lamotte, *Traité* p. 588; *ib.* ch. XXIX, p. 273.2.17; Sengzhao's commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, 注維摩詰經 T 1775 ch. VI p. 382.2.15). This was certainly also the opinion of Zhi Dun. According to him the actual Enlightenment took place at the seventh stage, as appears from a phrase in an eulogistic "biography" of Zhi Dun (支法師傳, probably by Xi Chao, quoted in *SSXY comm.* IB/20a); it is highly interesting to note that the author in this connection uses the term "Sudden Enlightenment": 法使研十地則知頓悟於七住.尋莊周則辯聖人之逍遙. From the parallelism it would appear as if the 十住 refers to the title of a scripture, but this is not necessary. The *Daśabhūmika* can certainly not be meant, not only because as far as we know it was not accessible to the Chinese of the time of Zhi Dun, but also because in this scripture the "critical stage" is placed in the 8th *bhūmi*, called *Acalā* 不動 = (cf. *Daśabhūmika* VIII B p. 64, trsl. Kumārajīva T 286 ch. III p. 521.2–522.1; *Bodhisattvabhūmi* p. 348.18; L. de la Vallée Poussin, "Carrière du Bodhisattva" (app. *Siddhi*), p. 736; S. Lévi, *Sūtrālaṃkāra* vol. II, p. 123, note).

[158] The 六絕 seems to refer to the six *pāramitā*.

[159] Allusion to the famous metaphor in *Zhuangzi* XXVI (ch. 外物) p. 181, often used in Chinese Buddhist literature to elucidate the expedient nature of the doctrine: 筌者所以在魚. 得魚而忘筌…言者所以在意. 得意而忘言.

[160] 齒既立: an allusion to *Lunyu* II.4.2: 三十而立; hence literally: "when in years he had arrived at the age when his mind had been 'firmly set' ", *i.e.*, at the age of thirty.

[161] 習, as a Buddhist technical term = *vāsanā*.

[162] 生知, allusion to *Lunyu* XVI.9: 生而知之者上也.

[163] 五濁, the five *kaṣāya* "sediments", impurities, always referring to the evils of a *kalpa* in its phase of decay: (short) duration of human life (*āyuḥ-kaṣāya* 命濁); (wrong) views (*dṛṣti-k.*, 見); depravities (*kleśa-k.*, 煩惱); (misery of) beings (*sattva-k.*, 衆生) (degeneration of) the eon (*kalpa-k.*, 劫); cf. *Mvy* 2335–2340.

[164] The first six of the standard list of seven Buddhas, of which Śākyamuni is the last one: Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa. The first three do not belong to the present cosmic period (*bhadrakalpa*) but lived in the preceding eon (*Vyūhakalpa*); cf. *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *Butsu*, pp. 195–196.

[165] Or, reading 徵 instead of 微, "in order to prove their tradition".

[166] 丈六: the normal height of the Buddha in his *nirmāṇakāya*.

[167] 啟度黃中; tentative translation. In view of the context we should expect something which refers to the body of the Buddha. The meaning "yellow inner (garments)", as in the *Yijing*, second hexagram, 君子黃中通理, makes no sense here, nor does the variant reading 中黃. We might suppose that 黃中 is a mistake for 黃鍾 which is said to have been the basic measure from which all other measures were derived, cf. *e.g.*, *HS* 21A.15b: "The measures of length… arose originally from the length of the *huangzhong*…; The measures of capacity… arose originally from (the contents of) the *huangzhong*…; the weights… arose originally from the weight of the *huangzhong* (trsl. H. H. Dubs, *HFHD* I pp. 276–277). If this would be true, then the phrase might be translated as "he displayed the proportions (of the *Buddhakāya* which was in accordance with) the *huangzhong*". But this is, after all, not very likely in view of the considerable difference in pronunciation of the characters 中 and 鍾 in Ancient Chinese (中 = **t̑i̯ung* versus 鍾 = **d̑'i̯wong*).

[168] The "golden colour" (*suvarṇa-varṇa*) of the Buddha is one of his 32 characteristics (*lakṣana*).

[169] *Shuhu* 儵忽, cf. *Chuci*, *Tianwen*: 儵忽焉在, explained by Wang Yi as "lightning" (actually "the fast one"?). Cf. also *Chuci*, *Jiuge* 九歌, section *Shaosiming*: 儵而來兮忽而逝.

In *Zhuangzi* VII (ch. 應帝王) p. 51, *Shu* "the fast one" and *Hu* "the quick one" figure as two imaginary rulers.

[170] 八音, the eight qualities of the Buddha's voice (beautiful, flexible, harmonious, not effeminate etc.). Various lists, cf. *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *Bonnon*, pp. 133–135, and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* p. 4204. "Being endowed with a brahma-voice" (梵音, *brahmasvaraḥ)* is, moreover, one of the thirty-two *lakṣaṇa* of the Buddha.

[171] Allusion to the Buddha's "halo of one fathom" (丈光, *vyāmaprabhā*) which always surrounds his body and which is one of the thirty-two *lakṣaṇa*, or to the dazzling light which is manifested by the Buddha at important occasions in his life (his birth, his enlightenment, the revelation of various *sūtras* etc.) and which spreads through the whole universe.

[172] 未兆, cf. *Daode jing* 20: 我獨怕兮其未兆.

[173] Cf. *Yijing*, hexagram 1: 六明終始.六位時成.

[174] 曲成, cf. *Yijing*, *Xici* I, p. 3a: 曲成萬物而不遺; *comm*. by Han Bo: 曲成者.乘變以應物.不係一方者也.

[175] 三五; abbreviation of 三皇五帝, the legendary rulers of the most distant past.

[176] 太虛, as in *Zhuangzi* XXII (ch. 知北遊) p. 143: 是以不過乎崑崙.不遊乎太虛; cf. Sun Chuo 孫綽, *You Tiantai Shan fu* 遊天台山賦 (*Wenxuan* XI.224): 太虛遼廓而無閡, comm. by Li Shan: 太虛.天也.

[177] 二儀, actually denoting *yin* and *yang*.

[178] 易簡, cf. *Yijing, Xici* I p. 1b: 乾以易知.坤以簡能.

[179] 大和, cf. *Yijing* hex. 1, *tuan*: 保合大和乃利貞.

[180] Cf. *Yijing*, hexagram 26, *tuan*: 日新其德 and *Daxue* II.1 苟日新.日日新. Here in a different application, referring to the momentariness of all existence.

[181] 美既青而青藍 "His excellence being (by itself) already like (the refined, true) blue, he (refined and) made (true) blue the (inferior nature of men which might be compared to coarse) indigo"; based on the well-known proverb 青出於藍 (而勝於藍) "blue comes from indigo (but it excels indigo)", mostly referring to a disciple who surpasses his master. Here rather "to improve one's nature by study", as in the *Xunzi* passage which is the source of the proverb, *Xunzi* I p. 1: 青取之於藍而青於藍.氷水為之而寒於水, H. H. Dubs' translation p. 31.

[182] Probably the same misunderstanding as in *Mouzi* who speaks about the "840 millions of *juan*" of the Buddhist canon 八億四千萬卷, where 億 must be interpreted as "a hundred million", cf. Pelliot, *TP* XIX (1920) p. 343 note 56. In both cases the number is based on the tradition of the 84.000 articles or sections of the doctrine (*caturaśīti-dharmaskandha-sahasrāṇi*) of the Tripiṭaka, cf. H. Kern in his translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Oxford, 1909), p. 241, note.

[183] 三無. I have been unable to find this expression in the *Daoxing* (*jing*) (T 224). I suppose that Zhi Dun alludes to the emptiness (無) of all *dharma*s in the three times (present, past, future), the basic message of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, repeated in endless variations throughout this kind of literature.

[184] 會玄. 會 being used for 增.

[185] 暘谷, cf. *Shujing, Yaodian*: 分命羲和宅嵎夷曰暘谷.

[186] The first notes of the ancient pentatonic scale of Chinese music.

[187] 希夷 is an allusion to *Daode jing* 14: 視之不見名曰夷.聽之不聞名曰希. Fu Xi is here mentioned as the reputed inventor of the eight trigrams on which the symbols of the *Yijing* are said to be based.

[188] 皇軒, *i.e*., Xuan Yuan 軒轅, the name of the Yellow Emperor.

[189] 鄒魯: Mencius and Confucius, who were born in these states.

[190] 從心, an expression meaning seventy years of age; derived from *Lunyu* II.4.6: 七十而從心欲不踰矩.

[191] 忍土, translation of *sahā-lokadhātu*, "the realm of endurance", the name of the world-system in which we live.

[192] For the transcription *weiwei* = Kapilavastu cf. below, p. 301.

[193] Probably an allusion to the last words of the Buddha in which he declared that "all conditioned things are perishable".
[194] "Six ferries": the six "fords" symbolizing the *pāramitā* in this metaphorical passage.
[195] Hīnayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, Mahāyāna.
[196] This series of metaphors about the Buddha's death seem un-Chinese in spirit and style. On the other hand they do not correspond to the stereotyped Indian images symbolizing this event: the lamp of the doctrine (*dharmapradīpa*) which has gone out, the eye of the world (*lokacak ṣus*) which has been closed, the tree of the doctrine (*dharmavṛkṣa*) which has fallen down etc.
[197] 兼忘天不易.便天下兼忘難, cf. above, note 107. This is virtually the end of Zhi Dun's sketch of the Buddha's life. In the last lines of his preface, not translated here, Zhi Dun expresses his grief at not being able to meet the Buddha, and declares to have written an eulogy on Śākyamuni in order to show his feelings of reverence. Then follows the eulogy itself, which is both uninformative and unreadable.

CHAPTER FOUR

[1] A. F. Wright, "Fo-t'u-teng, a Biography", in *HJAS* XI, 1948, pp. 321–371.
[2] *History*, pp. 187–228 and 242–251.
[3] Ui Hakuju 宇井伯寿, *Shaku Dōan kenkyū* 釋道安研究, Tōkyō 1956; a special study on several aspects of Dao'an's career by Arthur E. Link (University of Michigan) has been announced by the author (*TP* XLVI, 1958, p. 2); a critical translation of Dao'an's biography in *GSZ* V 351.3 sqq.—the main source for history of his life—has been published in *TP* XLVI, 1958, pp. 1–48. For a comparison between Dao'an's biographies in *GSZ* and *CSZJJ* see A. E. Link, "Remarks on Shih Seng-yu's *Ch'u sang-tsang chi chi* as a source for Hui-chiao's *Kao-seng chuan* as evidenced in two versions of the biography of Tao-an", *Oriens* X (1957), pp. 292–295.
[4] Cf. below, note 121.
[5] *GSZ* IX 384.2; trsl. Wright p. 346.
[6] Apart from Dao'an and Zhu Faya who have their own biographies in *CSZJJ* and *GSZ*, the following Chinese disciples are mentioned in Fotudeng's biography: Fashou 法首 (trsl. Wright p. 341: "otherwise unknown", but cf. below, p. 183), Fazuo 法佐 and 法祚 (cf. ch. II, note 272), Fachang 法常 and Senghui 僧慧 (not mentioned elsewhere). Fotiao 佛調 ("Buddhadeva") and Xuputi 須菩提 ("Subhūti") are mentioned as monks who came "from India and Sogdiana"; Zhu 竺 Fotiao has a short biography in *GSZ* IX 387.3, but there nothing is said about his alleged non-Chinese origin. Cf. below, p. 182.
[7] *GSZ* IX 384.2.25; trsl. Wright p. 346. Here and in other quotations from Fotudeng's biography I follow the excellent translation by A. F. Wright.
[8] Fotudeng's biography mentions the Guansi 官寺 ("official" or "government" temple? cf. Wright, p. 343 note 21) and the Zhongsi 中寺. After 335 Fotudeng stayed with his disciples at the Zhongsi at Ye (*HSC* IX 384.3.8; Wright p. 347 note 43), and in Dao'an's biography (*GSZ* V 351.3.15) Dao'an is also stated to have joined Fotudeng at the Zhongsi. A. E. Link, in his "Biography of Shi Dao'an", *TP* XLVI, 1958, p. 7, renders Zhongsi as "Central Temple", but it is preferable to interpret it as "The temple (or monastery) inside", *i.e.*, the Palace Monastery. We might even go farther and suppose that *guansi* 官寺, the name of one of the monasteries at Ye, is a corruption of *gongsi* 宫寺, 官 and 宫 being of course easily confused with each other. A "Palace Temple" especially sponsored by the members of the ruling Jie family is, in view of all we know about Buddhism at Xiangguo and Ye, much more probable than an "Official Temple" with its "bureaucratic" associations. It is true that the *Fayuan zhulin* (ch. XIV, T 1222 p. 388.1.14) mentions a bronze statue of the time of Shi Hu, which bore the inscription "Made

by the monks of the *guansi* Faxin and Daoxing in the sixth year *jianwu* (340 AD), the year (with the cyclical signs) *gengzi*", but the author does not appear to have seen the statue which miraculously manifested itself in 437 AD, and, in general, the reports of early Buddhist authors about inscribed statues etc. are very unreliable.

[9] See for Shi Hu's megalomaniac building projects and his display of luxury *Yezhong ji*, p. 10a; for a curious description of a Buddha statue surrounded by moving puppets representing *śramaṇas* see *ib*., p. 10a of the *Wenyingdian juzhenban congshu* edition.

[10] Biography in *GSZ* IX 387.2 and *JS* 97, translated by M. Soymié, "Biographie de Chan Tao-k'ai", in *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises*, I (1957), pp. 414–422.

[11] Cf. above, note 6.

[12] On the "dissolution of the body" of the Daoist immortal (尸解) see *e.g.*, *Baopuzi* II p. 6, and H. Maspero, "Les procèdes de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la religion daoiste ancienne", *J.As*. 1937, pp. 177–152 and 353-430, esp. p. 178 sqq., and *Le Taoïsme*, pp. 84, 85, 196, 218.

[13] *JS* 107.1b: 胡運將棄.晉當復興.宜苦役晉人以厭其氣.

[14] Cf. A. F. Wright, *op. cit*., p. 325: "…and, had he reached there at a less disturbed time, he would no doubt have become a great translator and exegete"; Arthur E. Link, *op. cit*., p. 7 note 6: "Judging from the studies pursued by the disciples of Fo-t'u-teng, it would seem that the latter's specialization lay in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* literature".

[15] *JS* 106.4 a–b.

[16] Cf. Dao'an's 比丘大戒序, *CSZJJ* XI 80.2.1, in which, when speaking about the incompleteness of the monastic rules in China in earlier times, he says: 至澄和首 (*i.e*., Fotudeng) 多所正焉.余昔在鄴少習其.

[17] Cf. the biographies of the nuns Jingjian 淨檢 and An Lingshou 安令首, *BQNZ* I 934.3–935.1; A. F. Wright, "Biography of the Nun An Lingshou", *HJAS* XV (1952) pp. 193–197.

[18] *GSZ* V 351.3.3.

[19] Colophon on the 聖法印經, *CSZJJ* VII 50.2.4 and 51.1.27. In *JS* 107.9a (biography of Ran Min 冉閔) it is told how a certain monk Farao 法饒 made a false prediction as to the issue of Ran Min's decisive battle with Yan (precisely the kind of prognostication practised before by Fotudeng) at Ye in 352 AD. This name is identical with the Chinese translation given for Furutan 弗如檀, the name of the disciple who in 282 AD brought the Sanskrit text of the 25.000 p'p' from Khotan to Luoyang (cf. ch. II, note 201), but in view of the dates it is highly improbable that the same monk is meant, although the name Farao is unusual. For the—in our view untenable—hypothesis of Maspero which identifies Fotudeng's disciple Fazuo with Bo Fazuo 帛法祚, the brother of Bo Yuan, cf. above ch. II note 272.

[20] In Fotudeng's biography, *GSZ* IX 387.1 (Wright p. 367), he is said to have come from Zhongshan 中山, the modern Ding 定 xian, Hebei.

[21] From Zhongshan; biography in *GSZ* IV 347.1, cf. also above, ch. II note 204.

[22] *GSZ* IV (biography of Zhu Faya), p. 347.1. Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 235 sqq. and Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū* 支那佛教研究 (Tōkyō 1942) p. 25 sqq.

[23] *GSZ* V (biography of Shi Sengguang 釋僧光, var. 先) 355.1.25; trsl. A. E. Link in *TP* XLVI (1958), p. 43.

[24] In his *Yuyi lun* 喻疑論, *CSZJJ* V. 41.2.12, trsl. Liebenthal p. 90. The reading 格義 occurs only in the Ming edition; the other versions have 裕義.

[25] *CSZJJ* XIV (biogr. of Kumārajīva) 101.2.15 (支竺所出多滯文格義), cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 237–238.

[26] Senglang is not said to have studied under Fotudeng in his biography in *GSZ* V 354.2 or

in that of Fotudeng, but he is stated to have been one of the latter's disciples in *Shuijing zhu*, ed. Wang Xianqian VIII.13a–b; cf. also Miyagawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志 "Shin no Taizan Jiku Sōrō no jiseki" 晋の泰山竺僧朗の事蹟, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* III, pp. 184–209; cf. also next note.

[27] The only date given in his biography is 351 AD, the year in which he settled at the Tai Shan. However, other documents pertaining to Senglang allow us approximately to define his dates. In *GHMJ* XXXV we find a series of ten complimentary letters which, judging from their contents, accompanied the presents sent to Senglang by some contemporary rulers of the various Northern and Southern states, together with Senglang's very diplomatic answers. If these letters are authentic (their remarkable uniformity in style and wordings seems somewhat suspect) they form a highly interesting example of the way in which this famous priest was courted by several rulers, all of whom apparently tried to win his favour and to employ him (a fact which is confirmed by his biography). The letters bear the names of the following monarchs: (1) Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪, since 386 king of Wei, emperor since 398, died 409 AD; (2) Sima Changming 司馬昌明, *i.e*., the Jin emperor Xiaowu, reigned 376–396 (the fact that he is referred to by his personal name may indicate that these letters were actually compiled and published in the North, where the Eastern Jin rulers were considered "illegitimate"); (3) Fu Jian 苻堅, emperor of the Former Qin, reigned 357–384; (4) Murong Chui 慕容垂, emperor of the Southern Yan, reigned 400–405; (6) Yao Xing 姚興, emperor of the later Qin, reigned 394–416. The letter of Murong De with Senglang's reply obviously constitutes a *terminus post quem* for Senglang's death which must have taken place after 400 AD, at which date he was still living at the Tai Shan, some fifty years after his first arrival there. On the other hand he is stated to have died at the age of 84, so that the dates of his life may approximately be fixed at 315–400 AD, perhaps a few years later.

[28] Biography of Shi Fahe in *GSZ* V p. 354.1; that of Zhu Sengfu *ib*. p. 355.2; Zhi Tanjiang mentioned in Dao'an's preface to the 陰持入經 (*CSZJJ* VI 45.1.8) and in Dao'an's biography in *GSZ* V 351.3 (講 here a copyists' mistake for 講講, a common type of error, not necessarily a misunderstanding on the part of Huijiao; cf. A. E. Link, *op. cit*., p. 11 note 4.)

[29] The *GSZ* places Dao'an's activities at Huoze, Feilong Shan, Heng Shan and Wuyi after the fall of Shi Hu and before Shi Zun's 石尊 request to enter the Hualinyuan 華林苑 which was enlarged by him and probably changed into a monastery. This would mean that all these peregrinations took place in less than one year (349 AD), which is obviously impossible, as has been clearly demonstrated by Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 194. Ui (*op. cit*., p. 6) proposes to place the whole Huoze period before Dao'an became Fotudeng's disciple, *i.e*., between his ordination (ca. 331 ace. to Ui) and his arrival at Ye (in or shortly after 335). The *GSZ* biography does say that Dao'an's first (unknown) master "Gave him the full ordination (*upasaṃpadā*) and allowed him to travel for study", and since the full ordination was generally obtained at the age of ca. 19 years, there may have been a period of some five years of which nothing is reported in Dao'an's biographies. However, we see no reason to fill this blank by transposing the Huoze period from ca. 349 to ca. 330: In fact, we do not know anything definite about Dao'an's youth except the usual biographical data (original surname, family, place of origin) given in the opening line of his biography; the anecdotes about his extraordinary ability in memorizing texts are, of course, of very doubtful historicity. On the other hand, it remains obscure why Shi Zun had to invite Dao'an to come to the newly constructed monastery in the Hualinyuan at Ye—this seems to imply that Dao'an was not living at Ye in 349 AD but had retired to some safer place before, unless the text merely means to say that Dao'an was invited to come over from one monastery at Yeh to the other one built or enlarged by the emperor. Nothing is further known about Shi Zun's building activities in this field; the Hualin park itself had been

the result of one of Shi Hu's enormous construction projects. It had been laid out shortly after 347, when 160.000 people were commandeered to transport the earth needed for it (*Yezhong ji* p. 5a, *JS* 107.1b). In this summary account of Dao'an's early years we follow the chronology proposed by Tang Yongtong (*History*, pp. 195 and 197–200) which is still the most satisfactory.

[30] *GSZ* V 351.3.28 (Link, *op. cit*., pp. 12–13): 於太行恆山創立寺塔.改服 ("changed their garments", *i.e*., "became monks") 從化者中分河北.

[31] *GSZ* V (biography of Zhu Fatai) 354.3.5; in Dao'an's biography in *GSZ* and in the *Qinshu* 秦書 by Che Pin 車頻 (ca. 440 AD, quoted in *SSXY comm.* IIB/14b) the number of Fatai's disciples is not indicated.

[32] According to his biography in *GSZ* V 354.1.19, he went with his disciples to Shu "during the troubles of the Shi clan", *i.e*., already in 349 AD, but cf. the biography of Dao'an, *GSZ* V p. 352.1.14 (trsl. Link p. 15).

[33] Dao'an's commentary to An Shigao's *Renbenyusheng jing* 人本欲生經 has been preserved. (T 1693, in one *juan*, preface *ib*. and in *CSZJJ* VI 4.5.1). *CSZJJ* contains furthermore the following prefaces to his early commentaries: 道地經序 (*CSZJJ* X 69.1); 陰持人經序, *ib*. VI 44.2; 安般注序, *ib*. 43.3; 了本生死經序, *ib*. 45.2; 十二門經序, *ib*. 45.2; 大十二門經序, *ib*. 46.1; 十法句義[經]序, *ib*. X 70.1. For Dao'an's literary works in general see Ui, *op. cit*., pp. 52–63 Ui does not include the 漸備經十住梵名井書序, indicated in *CSZJJ* IX 6.2.1 as "anonymous", but in view its of contents no doubt written by Dao'an during his Xiangyang period, cf. below, p. 196.

[34] *CSZJJ* X 70.1.20 sqq. On this work cf. Ui, *op. cit*., p. 102.

[35] Lit. "the throat and bosom".

[36] For a specimen of Dao'an's style see Arthur E. Link, "Shy Daw-an's Preface to the *Yogācārabhūmi-sūtra* and the Problem of Buddho-Daoist Terminology in Early Chinese Buddhism", *JAOS* 77 (1957) pp. 1–14. A good example of rhetorical juggling with the "numbers" is furnished by his preface to the *Renben yusheng jing*, *CSZJJ* VI 45.1.

[37] *History*, pp. 247–249.

[38] An example from his preface to the *Anban shouyi jing* (*CSZJJ* VI 43.3.8 sqq.): "By the different steps (= the six operations of *ānāpāna*) one 'diminishes and diminishes again until one reaches the point of non-activity' (*Daode jing* 48); by the various degrees (= the four stages of *dhyāna*) one forgets and forgets again until one reaches the point of 'having no desire' (*Daode jing* 1). Because of (this state of) 'non-activity' there will be no circumstances that do not suit (one's purpose); because of (this state of) 'having no desire' there will be no matters which do not succeed. As there are no circumstances which do not suit (one's purpose), one is able 'to open up (the understanding of) beings' (*Yijing, Xici* I, p. 26b); as there are no matters which do not succeed, one is able 'to complete the task' (of Enlightenment) (*Yijing*, *ib*). From him who has 'completed the task' the myriad (phenomena of) Being naturally become separated (自彼), and one who has 'opened up the beings' causes 'the whole world to forget himself' (*Zhuangzi*, XIV, p. 88)". See also Dao'an's *xuanxue*-like description of *nirodha-samāpatti* in his commentary on the *Renbenyusheng jing*, T 1693 p. 9.1.20.

[39] Dao'an himself says in his 合放光光讚略解序 (*CSZJJ* VII 48.1.19) that he had formerly obtained one section of Dharmarakṣa's version of the 25.000 *p'p'* when he lived "in Zhao 趙 and Wei 魏" (roughly: Shanxi and N. Henan). Huiyuan is said to have been converted to Buddhism by listening to Dao'an's explanation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* at Mt. Heng in 354 AD (*GSZ* VI, biography of Huiyuan p. 358.1.2).

[40] See *e.g*., his 大十二門經序, *CSZJJ* VI 46.2.8.

[41] See his prefaces to the 人本欲生經 (*CSZJJ* VI 45.1) and to the 十二門經 (*ib*. 45.2).

[42] See the [戒因緣經]鼻奈耶序 by Dao'an (T 1464, preface, p. 815.1.9): 經流秦土有自來矣. 隨天竺沙門所持來之經. 遇而便出. 於十二部 (the "twelve classes" of Buddhist scriptures) 毘曰羅 (*vaipulya*, c.q. the *Prajñāpāramitā*) 部最多.以期邦人莊老教行.與方等 (*vaipulya*) 經兼忘相似.故因風易行也.

[43] Cf. Tang Yongtong's emendation of the passage from the *Meisōdenshō* which states that Dao'an founded the Tanqisi at the age of 52 (Chinese counting, *i.e.*, in 364 AD); Tang reads "fifty-three" (*i.e.*, in 365 AD), the very year of Dao'an's arrival at Xiangyang (*History*, p. 196).

[44] Cf. *MSCC* 5.5a. For *tan* 檀 = "rosewood" cf. A. E. Link, *TP* XLVI (1958) p. 19 note 4. However, Mr. E. H. Schafer, quoted in this note, is wrong in supposing that the name *zhantan* 栴檀 only appears in literature with the meaning "sandalwood" in 454 AD: it occurs in this sense already in *SSXY* IB/18b in a *bon mot* pronounced by Zhi Dun to Zhu Daoqian at Jiankang, during the latter's stay at the capital, *i.e.*, shortly after 362 AD (cf. above, p. 149). In translated scriptures the term occurs much earlier, *e.g.*, already in the late second century *Banzhou sanmei jing*, T 417 p. 900.1.19 = T 418 p. 907.1.19.

[45] *GSZ* V 352.2.8; Link, *op. cit.*, p. 20. "Sixteen feet" 丈六, cf. above, ch. III, note 166 of the Appendix.

[46] *GHMJ* XV 198.2. For this miraculous statue cf. also *GHMJ* XV 202.2.27 and *Fayuan zhulin*, T 2122, XIII 384.2. According to the latter (much legendarized) account, the image represented Amitābha.

[47] As Mr. Link remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 21, note 4), this 金箔倚像 very probably refers to what is commonly called 臥佛, *i.e.*, a representation of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. As far as I know this is the second mention of such a statue in Chinese literature, the earliest one being found in *SSXY* IA/32b reporting the words spoken by Yu Liang 庾亮 (died 340 AD) when he saw a "reclining Buddha" 臥佛 in a temple: "This man is exhausted by being a ford and a bridge (for mankind)" 此子疲於律梁. For another mid. 4th century representation of the *parinirvāṇa* (a mural painting?) cf. *SSXY* IA/35b.

[48] Cf. the letter of Xi Zuochi, quoted below:' "Teachers and pupils number several hundred…", and Dao'an's 漸備經十住梵名并書叙, *CSZJJ* IX 62.3.8: 襄陽時齊僧有三百人.

[49] *GSZ* V 352.3.22, Link *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[50] For a discussion of the contents of these rules see Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 213–217 and Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–27.

[51] Shi Fayu 釋法遇, who in 379 settled at Jiangling and who because of his negligence in maintaining the monastic discipline among his pupils received from Dao'an—then living at Chang'an—a tube filled with a branch of torns as a token that he deserved punishment, which Fayu is said respectfully to have undergone. See his biography in *GSZ* V 356.1, translated by A. E. Link, *op. cit.*, (Appendix B), pp. 45–47.

[52] 陰陽 "(the arts of) *yin* and *yang*" comprise several branches of pseudo-science; the translation "soothsaying" (Link, *op. cit.*, p. 26) is too specific.

[53] Most editions have 法簡. If the reading 法蘭 of the Korean edition (corroborated by *CSZJJ* XV 108.2) is correct, this Falan no doubt refers to Yu Falan (above, p. 140), not to the probably legendary Zhu 竺 Falan of the first century AD (cf. A. E. Link, *op. cit.*, p. 26 note 2).

[54] Not known from other sources. *CSZJJ*, *loc. cit.*, gives Fazu 法祖, which probably refers to Bo Yuan 帛遠 (*zi* Fazu), for whom see above, p. 76.

[55] *GSZ* V 352.3.10 sqq.; *CSZJJ* XV 108.2.12; trsl. Link, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26.

[56] *GSZ* V 352.1.14: 彼多君子.好尚風流; variant reading in Che Pin's 車頻 *Qinshu* 秦書 quoted in *SSXY comm.* IIB/14b: 彼多君子.上勝可投.

[57] Quoted in Dao'an's biography, *GSZ* V 352.2–3 (trsl. Link pp. 22–24); complete text reproduced in *HMJ* XII 76.3.

[58] *GSZ* V 352.3.5; *CSZJJ* XV 108.2.8: "As soon as they were seated, (Xi) said: 'Xi Zuochi of (the whole realm) within the Four Seas!' 四海習鑿齒, to which Dao'an replied 'Shi Dao'an who fills Heaven!' 彌天釋道安". Tang Yongtong regards this story as apocryphal (*History*, p. 206), but his argument (*viz*., that the term "filling Heaven" 彌天 occurs in the letter of Xi Zuochi, cf. previous note, and therefore the whole anecdote would be an elaboration of this theme) is not convincing. In the first place Dao'an had just received Xi Zuochi's letter, and his repartee may have been intended as an allusion to this letter. In the second place, the curious way of introducing oneself by an exchange of *bons mots* was practised in *qingtan* circles as early as the end of the third century. We read *e.g*., in *Shishuo xinyu* III B/4b how the famous *qingtan* adept Lu Yun 陸雲 (*zi* Shilong 士龍, "scholar-dragon", 262–303 AD) met the young Xun Yin 荀隱 (*zi* Minghao 鳴鶴, "singing crane") at the home of Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300 AD). "Lu raised his hand and said: 'Lu Shilong from among the clouds!' 雲間陸士龍. Xun retorted: 'Xun Minghao from under the sun!' 日下荀鳴鶴", after which the two debaters go on exchanging puns on each other's names. The same story occurs also in Lu Yun's biography in *JS* 54.9a in identical words.

[59] Cf. *GSZ* VI, biography of Huiyuan, p. 358.1.17: 道安為失序所拘.不能得去.

[60] *GSZ* V 352.2.4 (trsl. Link pp. 18–19). In *GSZ* Huan Huo is mentioned as General Chastiser of the West 征西將軍, a title which he obtained in 373 AD (*JS* 9.4a); he died in 377 (*JS* 9.5b).

[61] *GSZ* V, biography of Shi Tanyi 釋曇翼, p. 355.3.8; cf. also below, p. 199. For the different ways in which the name of the prefect is written in various sources and editions see Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 203. We give the form Deng Han, which is that occurring in *JS* 57.2b, in the Korean edition of the *GSZ* and in *Fayuan zhulin* XIII 385.1.15. In the latter work the event is dated "second year *yonghe*" 永和 (346 AD), but this is no doubt a mistake for "second year *taihe* 太和 (367 AD).

[62] *CSZJJ* V 40.1 among the works of Dao'an: 答沙 (*sic*!) 太難二卷.答竺法將難一卷, where 沙 is obviously a mistake for 法. In the table of contents of Lu Cheng's *Falun* (*CSZJJ* XII 83.2. and 84.3) we find furthermore the titles of three letters written to Dao'an by Zhu Fatai (inquiring after the meaning of the Three Vehicles 三乘, the six *abhijñā* 六通, and "the spirit" 神, respectively). The same source mentions a letter to Dao'an by Fu Xuandu 伏玄度, *i.e*., Fu Tao 伏滔, a well-known magistrate and historian, who in the *taiyuan* era (376–396) was active in various functions at the court at Jiankang. But his contact with Dao'an dates probably from the period 373–377 AD, when he was in the personal service of Huan Huo at Jiangling (cf. note 60), see his biography in *JS* 92.18b.

[63] See his 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序 (written at Chang'an in 382 AD, *CSZJJ* VIII 52.2.10): 昔在漢陰 (here referring to Xiangyang) 十有五載,講放光經.雖常兩遍.及至京師 (Chang'an) 漸四歲矣.亦恆歲二.未敢墮息; paraphrased in *GSZ* V 352.3.18 (Link p. 26): 安在樊沔十五載.每歲常再講放光般若.未嘗闕廢.

[64] The earliest list is the one drawn up by Dao'an himself, and reproduced in *CSZJJ* V 39.2 sqq.; it contains the titles of nine commentaries and exegetical treatises and of five other works on different subjects: a list of *devas* (三界諸天錄), his famous catalogue of translated scriptures (總理衆經目錄), some letters (cf. above, note 63) and a geographical work on the Western Region (西域志). The list mentions no less than six commentaries on the various versions of the *p'p'*: two on Dharmarakṣa's *Guangzan jing*, three on Mokṣala's *Fangguang jing*, and one on Lokakṣema's *Daoxing jing*. It is interesting to note that Dao'an places these commentaries on *Prajñāpāramitā* texts at the beginning of the list, before his much earlier commentaries on *dhyāna* texts like the 十二門經 etc.; since the works are obviously arranged according to their relative doctrinary importance in Dao'an's

view, this proves the reorientation of his interest from *dhyāna* to *prajñāpāramitā* during his Xiangyang period when this list was compiled. Later lists comprise more works than enumerated here; cf. Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–63, and Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 242–243.

[65] See Dao'an's 合放光光讚略解序 (*CSZJJ* VII 48.1 sqq.; written in or shortly after 376 AD) and his 漸備經十住梵名并書敘 (*CSZJJ* IX 62.1 sqq.; written around the same time, cf. below, p. 196 sqq.)

[66] On Dao'an's "theory" or "school" of 本無, see Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 242–251; W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Zhao*, pp. 157–161; Feng Youlan/Bodde, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. II, pp. 244–246.

[67] It forms the title of the 14th section (品, *parivarta*) of Lokakṣema's *Daoxing jing* (T 224) and of the 11th section of Mokṣala's *Fangguang jing* (T 221) as a translation of *tathatā*; with the same meaning it occurs *e.g.*, in the early third century 中本起經, T 196 I 155.2.14: 今已入本無. 無憂無喜想.

[68] About the origin and the early use of the term *benwu* see Tang Yongtong, 中國佛教史零篇 ("Notes on the History of Chinese Buddhism"), *YJXB*, 1937, p. 8 sqq., 魏晉玄學流別略論 (in his 魏晉玄學論稿), pp. 50–52, and his *History*, pp. 240–241.

[69] *E.g.*, *Daode jing* 25 (有物混成. 先天地生 etc.); *ib.* 42 (道生一, 一生二, 二生三, 三生萬物 etc.); *Liezi* I (ch. 天瑞), p. 2 (有太陽. 有太初. 有太始 etc.), and esp. *Zhuangzi* XII (ch. 天地) p. 73 (秦初有無. 無有無名. 一之所起. 有一而未形, etc.).

[70] In a passage from some treatise by Huiyuan (probably his 法性論 mentioned in his biography, cf. below p. 249), quoted by Huida 惠達 (second half sixth century) in his *Zhaolun shu* 肇論疏, *Suppl. Kyōto* II B/23.4.

[71] *CSZJJ* VII 48.1 sqq.

[72] 有為 as a Buddhist "technical" term = *saṃskṛta*, but here rather in its original Chinese sense of "activity", the counterpart of 無為 in the previous sentence.

[73] *GSZ* V 353.1 (trsl. Link p. 35). Piṇḍola was regarded as one of the Arhats who had voluntarily remained in the world to protect the Doctrine until the coming of Maitreya. On this belief which seems to foreshadow the development of the Bodhisattva doctrine, and of which this is one of the earliest traces in Chinese Buddhist literature, cf. Sylvain Lévi and Ed. Chavannes, "Les Seize Arhat protecteurs de la Loi", *J.As.*, 1916, II, pp. 205–275, and P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 373 sqq.

[74] For this belief, which very probably developed at Kashmir in Hīnayānist circles, see P. Demiéville, "La *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṅgharakṣa", in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, pp. 339–436, esp. p. 376 sqq.

[75] Cf. the titles given by Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 218. However, Itō Giken 伊藤義賢 in his *Shina bukkyō seishi* 支那佛教正史 (Tōkyō 1923), pp. 192–193, comes to the conclusion that the base of Dao'an's belief in Maitreya must not be sought in these scriptures but rather in oral traditions current at this time in China. For a survey of literature on Maitreya in general cf. Et. Lamotte, *Traité*, p. 4 note 3.

[76] *GSZ* V (biogr. of Dao'an), p. 353.1.27 (trsl. Link, p. 36); cf. *Meisōdenshō* p. 5a; *GSZ* V (biogr. of Tanjie 曇戒), p. 356.3.3; Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 217–219; P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 377.

[77] *GSZ* V 353.2 (trsl. Link, pp. 36–37); P. Demiéville (*op. cit.*, pp. 379–380) gives several examples which show that *samādhi* was considered the means to come into contact with the Tuṣita heaven.

[78] Biography of Tanjie 曇戒, cf. note 76.

[79] *HS* 30, based on the "Seven Summaries" 七略, a classified catalogue of the books in the imperial library, compiled by the archivist Liu Xiang 劉向 (died 8 BC) and after his death completed by his son Liu Xin 劉歆 (died 23 AD). The idea of compiling a bibliography of scriptures was certainly of Chinese and not of Indian or Central Asian origin—it is one of the by-products of the penetration of Buddhism in a bureaucratic country. In secular bibliography

we cannot find any motivation of an ideological nature. It was a purely practical attempt to assemble, arrange and classify books and documents of lasting value, of all types, all times and all schools of thought. The practical nature of Chinese bibliography at its very beginning is also demonstrated by the fact that one of the first known catalogues before Liu Xiang was one devoted to works on military strategy; cf. Yao Mingda 姚名達, *Zhongguo muluxue shi* 中國目錄學史 (中國文化史叢書, second series, Shanghai 1938), p. 23 sqq.

[80] Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 208–210.

[81] *CSZJJ* IX 62.1 sqq. Indications that it was Dao'an who wrote this letter are the following: the author says to have formerly been at Ye (昔鄴中亦與周族…); the great emphasis on bibliographical and historical details concerning the translation of certain scriptures; the author has also lived in the North (吾往在河北唯見一卷…) and is now obviously living at Xiangyang; his insistence on the importance of the monastic rules, especially the phrase 此乃最急, cf. Dao'an's words in his preface to the 增一阿含經 (*CSZJJ* IX.2.25) about the Vinaya: 此乃此邦之急者也; the author's relation with Shi Huichang 釋慧常 at Liangzhou, corroborated by Dao'an's 合放光光讚略解序, *CSZJJ* VII 48.1.21 sqq.

[82] Huichang 慧常, Jinxing 進行 and Huibian 慧辯 were three monks, probably disciples of Dao'an (Huichang bears here the religious surname Shi 釋 which, although not quite unknown before, was made popular by Dao'an at Xiangyang only a few years before), who according to Dao'an's 合放光光讚略解序 (*CSZJJ* VII 48.1.21) had departed for India and who in 373 AD copied for him the *Guangzan jing* at Liangzhou, a place they had to pass on their way to Central Asia. It seems that Huichang never went to India, as he is mentioned as a member of the translation team which in 379 AD at Chang'an made a Chinese version of the *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* (*CSZJJ* XI 81.2.24). Huichang and Daojin figure also in a colophon on the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* translated by the Kuchean Bo Yan 帛延 in 373 AD at Liangzhou (*CSZJJ* VII 49.2.27), which text they sent to Dao'an at Xiangyang, as is shown by this letter, immediately after its completion.

[83] *GSZ* VI (biography of Huiyuan) 358.1.17, cf. below, p. 241.

[84] Biography in *GSZ* V 355.3.2; cf. also below, p. 240.

[85] Biography in *GSZ* V 355.2.5 sqq.

[86] A letter to Huiyuan extolling the virtues of Dao'an is quoted at the end of his biography in *GSZ*.

[87] Biography in *GSZ* V 356.2.3 sqq.

[88] Cf. above, Ch. I note 32.

[89] [寶]印手[菩薩], *Ratnamudrāhasta*, the name of a Bodhisattva who is mentioned *e.g.*, at the beginning of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (version of Kumārajīva, T 475 ch. I p. 537.2.5, version of Zhi Qian, T 474 ch. 1 p. 519.2.8). Dao'an is said to have had a loose piece of skin attached to his left forearm which could be moved up and down, and on account of this characteristic (not a "malformity", but one of those bodily peculiarities which Chinese historians often ascribe to exceptional people, cf. Fotudeng, above p. 182!) he was called "The Bodhisattva with the Sealed Hand" 印手菩薩. *Mudrā* here naturally does not mean (impression of) a seal"; the name must probably be interpreted as "The Bodhisattva with the hands making the gesture of (producing) jewels", the first of the two explanations given by Kumārajīva in his gloss to this passage of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in T 1775, 注維摩經, ch. I p. 330.3.5, where 印 is explained by 相 *lakṣaṇa*: 印者相也. 手有出寶之相. 亦曰. 手中有寶印也. Kumārajīva himself is reported to have called Dao'an "the Saint of the East" (*GSZ* V 354.1.2), cf. also Tsukamoto Zenryū in his note to *Shi Lao zhi*, trsl. L. Hurvitz, in *Yün-kang* vol. XVI, suppl. p. 50 (§ 36).

[90] *GSZ* V 356.2.15: 立本論九篇.六識旨歸十三首. These treatises are not mentioned

by Lu Cheng, nor by any bibliographical work except *Da Tang NDL* (T 2149) II 248.3.26 and X 330.2.8.

[91] Biography in *GSZ* VI 362.1.11.

[92] Biography in *GSZ* V 356.2.17.

[93] Cf. *JS* 64.7b.

[94] Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 346.

[95] *GSZ* V 352.3.26 (trsl. Link pp. 27–28).

[96] *JS* 114.3b.

[97] The more extensive version of this story may have figured in some early separate biography of Dao'an, such as the 安和尚傳 or the 安法師傳 quoted in the *SSXY comm.* IB/24b and IIA/32b, the *GSZ* account being an abridgement of this, and the full text being reproduced in the *JS*. We may as well suppose that it occurred as such in the annals of the Former Qin which furnished the materials for this part of the *Jinshu*.

[98] *GSZ* V 353.1 (trsl. Link p. 32 sqq.); *JS* 114.3b.

[99] *JS* 114.5a.

[100] *JS* 114.4a; *GSZ* V 253.1. (trsl. Link p. 34). The *JS* version reads: 可暫幸洛陽.明授勝略.馳紙檄于丹陽.開其改迷之路.如其不庭.伐之可也

[101] *JS* 113.9b. The prohibition of the *tuchan* was no doubt inspired by political motives, as this kind of apocryphal texts was often consulted and even produced by seditious elements.

[102] *GSZ* V 353.1.5 (trsl. Link p. 29).

[103] *GSZ* V 353.1.14 (trsl. Link p. 31).

[104] *GSZ* V 353.1.6 (trsl. Link p. 30).

[105] For the restitution of 僧伽跋澄 to Saṅghabhadra see P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 364, note 8.

[106] Biography in *CSZJJ* XIII 99.2 and *GSZ* I 329.1.

[107] Cf. below, p. 296.

[108] See Dao'an's 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序, *CSZJJ* VIII 52.2.23 sqq.; the anonymous colophon on the *Yogācārabhūmi, ib.* X 71.3.2; Zhao Zheng's words reported in Dao'an's 鞞婆沙序, *ib.* X 73.3.15; those of Huichang reported in Dao'an's 比丘大戒序, *ib.* XI 80.2.10 sqq.; Zhu Fonian's words in his 王子法益壞目因録經序, *ib* VII 51.3.12.

[109] See the first documents mentioned in note 108.

[110] *CSZJJ* X 71.3.2: (Dao'an) 許其五失胡本.出此以外.毫不可差. Cf. Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日, "Shaku Dōan no hanron" 釋道安の翻論, in *Indogaku-Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* V. 2 (March 1957), pp. 120–130.

[111] Cf. Huirui in his 大品經序, *CSZJJ* VIII 53.1.29. For the problem of the name of the author cf. A. F. Wright, "Seng-jui alias Hui-jui: a biographical bisection in the Kao-seng chuan", *Sino-Indian Studies*, *Liebenthal Festschrift* pp. 272–294, and Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日, "Sōei to E'ei wa dōnin nari" 僧叡と慧叡は同人なり, *Tōhōgakuhō* XIII (1942) pp. 203–231.

[112] *GSZ* V 352.3.26 (trsl. Link p. 28).

[113] T 1547, an abridgement of the *Mahāvibhāṣa*, attributed to a still unidentified *ābhidharmika* called in Chinese Shituopanni 尸陀槃尼.

[114] T 1550, an extract from the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins attributed to (?)Dharmottara or (?)Dharmaśrī 法勝.

[115] T 1543, in 30 *juan*, also recited by Saṅghadeva; attributed to the patriarch Kātyāyana or Kātyāyanīputra.

[116] T 26, in 60 *juan*; T 125, in 51 *juan*.

[117] *CSZJJ* IX 64.3.17: 但恨八九之年始遇此經; cf. *ib.* X 73.3.25: 恨八九之年方闚其牖耳.

[118] Cf. *Lunyu* XIX 23.3: 夫子之牆數仞.不得其門而入.不見宗廟之美.百官之富.

[119] Probably = T 226.

[120] According to Dao'an's biography in *GSZ*, he died on a date corresponding with March 5, 385 AD, but this is almost certainly a mistake. Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 196–197.

[121] Earliest biographical sources: the early fifth century 遠法師銘 by Zhang Ye 張野 (one of Huiyuan's lay followers, cf. p. 219), quoted in *SSXY comm.* IB. 27a–b, and Huiyuan's biography in *CSZJJ* XV 109.2 sqq. and *GSZ* VI 357.3 (translated in the Appendix to this chapter). Surviving fragments of his works collected by Yan Kejun 嚴可均 in *CCW* 161–162 (not containing Huiyuan's correspondence with Kumārajīva, T 1856); on his life and teachings see Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 341–373; Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, *Shina ni okeru bukkyō to jukyō dōkyō* 支那に於ける佛教と儒教道教 (Tōkyō 1937), pp. 56–57; Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū*, p. 613 sqq. (about the earliest development of Amidism), and esp. p. 630 sqq. (about Huiyuan and *buddhānusmṛti*); Inoue Ichii 井上以智為, "Rozan-bunka to Eon" 廬山文化と慧遠, in *Shien* 史淵 IX, 1934, pp. 1–34; J. Ščuckij, "Ein Dauist im chinesischen Buddhismus" (trsl. from the Russian by W. A. Unkrig), *Sinica* XV, 1940, pp. 114–129; W. Liebenthal, "Shih Hui-yüan's Buddhism as set forth in his writings", *JAOS* LXX, 1950, pp. 243–259, and for Huiyuan's theory of the "immortality of the Soul" the sources mentioned above, ch. I note 40; for a translation of his treatise 沙門不敬王者論 see Leon Hurvitz, "'Render unto Caesar' in Early Chinese Buddhism", in the Liebenthal Festschrift, *Sino-Indian studies* V (Santiniketan, 1957), pp. 80–114.

[122] Cf. Zhang Ye's "Inscription" (*SSXY comm.* IB.27a): 世為冠族; for his "poverty" cf. the episode about the candles which he could not buy, in his biography (trsl. below, App. p. 240). The Jia from Yanmen were not one of the great clans; the prominent gentry family of Jia came from Pingyuan 平原 (Shandong), cf. Wang Yitong, *op. cit.*, vol. II, table 30.

[123] *GHMJ* XXVII, 304.1.25 sqq.; partly translated below, p. 311.

[124] *JS* 8.3b.

[125] *JS* 8.4a, cf. also above, p. 111.

[126] *JS* 8.4b.

[127] See below, App. note 6.

[128] Lived 337–412; biography in *GSZ* VI 361.2.

[129] Already in 357, when Huiyuan was 23 years old, Dao'an allowed him to explain the Buddhist scriptures with the help of secular literature (cf. above, p. 12); cf. also Dao'an's words about Huiyuan reported in the latter's biography (*CSZJJ* XV 109.2.23 = *GSZ* VI 358.2.9): 使道流東國其在遠乎.

[130] *JS* 15 (地理志) 4a.

[131] *GSZ* VI (biography of Huiyong), 362.1.13.

[132] *Baopuzi* IV (ch. 進舟), pp. 20–21; trsl. by Eugene Feifel in *Mon. Ser.* IX (1944) pp. 30–31.

[133] It is interesting to note that Ge Hong here emphasizes the importance of Kuaiji (one of the strongholds of gentry Buddhism since the early fourth century) as a region of mountains suited to these practices, especially "since the famous mountains of the Central Region 中國 (occupied by barbarians) cannot be reached nowadays".

[134] *GSZ* VI (biography of Huichi) 361.3.6 sqq.

[135] Xie Lingyun in his 廬山慧遠法師誄, *GHMJ* XXIII 267.1.17.

[136] See *e.g.*, the *Zhongguo gujin diming da cidian* p. 1400.2–3, where no less than six mountains of this name are mentioned.

[137] The one North of Qujiang 曲江 in Guangdong, originally named Hushi Shan 虎市山; when the monk Shi Senglü 釋僧律 was living there during the *yixi* era (405–418 AD), the name was changed into Lingjiu Shan. Cf. *Shuijing zhu*, éd. Wang Xianqian, 38.21a.

[138] Quoted in *SSXY* II B.44b (here called 遊廬山記), *TPYL* 41.3b and 41.6a, *Shuijing zhu*, ed. Wang Xianqian, 39.19a; Chen Shunyu's 陳舜俞 *Lu Shan ji* (T 2095) I 1027.3 and 1031.6; *CCW* 162.6b; *YWLJ* 7.20b; *Wenxuan* comm. 12.256; 22.480; 26.583.

[139] *GSZ* I 323.2.26 sqq.

[140] *GSZ* (*loc. cit.*) has 邦亭湖廟 which seems to be the correct reading, cf. the fragment of the *Lu Shan fu* 盧山賦 by Zhi Tandi 支曇諦 (died 411 AD, quoted in *Yiwen leizhu* 7.22a): 世高重化於共阝亭.

[141] A certain Jie Zhi 解直, the husband of Huiyuan's paternal aunt who later became the nun Daoyi 道儀, cf. *BQNZ* I 937.1.9 and below, p. 210.

[142] *JS* 81 (biogr. of Huan Yi) 6b.

[143] *Viz.*, T 2095 (*Lu Shan ji*, 11th cent.), I 1027.3.19.

[144] Cf. Liu Yimin's 劉遺民 (*i.e.*, Liu Chengzhi's 劉程之) letter to Sengzhao 僧肇 and the latter's answer to Liu Yimin, both written in 409 AD (*Zhaolun* part IV, *Jōron kenkyū*, p. 36 sqq., trsl. Liebenthal, p. 87 sqq.), and the letter of Lei Cizong 雷次宗 for which see below, p. 218.

[145] Cf. *GSZ* VI (biogr. of Daozu 道祖), 363.1.26: 又有法幽. 道恆. 道授等百有餘人...; *ib.* (biogr. of Huiyong 慧永): 從者百餘...The 123 persons who took part in the "vow" in 402 AD (cf. p. 219) probably constituted the whole number of Huiyuan's clerical and lay followers then present at Mt. Lu; according to the anonymous colophon on the ?*Abhidharmahṛdaya* 阿毘曇心 (*CSZJJ* X 72.2.23) only eighty monks were gathered when Saṅghadeva translated this scripture in 391 AD.

[146] Cf. *GSZ* VI (biogr. of Huichi) 361.2.21.

[147] Biography in *GSZ* VII 370.1.19.

[148] Biogr. in *GSZ* VI 361.2.14 and *Meisōdenshō* p. 11b.

[149] *GSZ* VI (biography of Fa'an) p. 362.2.

[150] *BQNZ* I 937.1.10 and *GSZ* VI (biography of Huichi) 361.2.21.

[151] Wang Xun (350–401 AD, biogr. in *JS* 65.7a), one of the grandsons of Wang Dao, belonged to the *intimi* of Huan Wen and of emperor Xiaowu. According to *JS* 65.8b (biography of Wang Min 王珉), his "junior style" 小字 was the Buddhist name 法護 ("Dharmarakṣa"). Among the monks sponsored by him we find Daoyi 道壹 (cf. *GSZ* V 357.1.10; also mentioned in Wang Xun's 遊嚴陵瀨詩序 quoted in *SSXY comm.* IA/46a), Zhu Fatai 竺法汰 (cf. *GSZ* V 355.1.6), Saṅghadeva and Saṅgharakṣa (*CSZJJ* IX 64.1.7, *GSZ* I 329.1.15 and VI 361.2.24) and Huichi (*GSZ* VI 361.2.24). Together with his brother Wang Min 王珉 he attended Saṅghadeva's exposition of Abhidharma (*SSXY* IB/28a, *GSZ* I 329.1.19, *JS* 65. 7b–8a); two letters written by him to Fan Ning 范寧 (337–401) about he qualities of Huiyuan and Huichi are quoted in *GSZ* VI 361.2.28; see furthermore his "Preface to poems written at the grave of Master Lin (*i.e.*, Zhi Dun)" quoted in *SSXY comm.* IIIA/12a (he visited Zhi Dun's grave in 374 AD), and the Buddhist terminology in his 孝武帝哀策文 of 397 AD, quoted in *YWLJ* 13.20b.

[152] *GSZ* VI 361.2.25 and Daoci's 道慈 "Preface to the *Madhyamāgama*", *CSZJJ* IX 64.1.9.

[153] Two letters from Wang Xun to Fan Ning and one reply by Fan Ning, see above note 151; a letter from Wang Gong 王恭 (?–398 AD) to the monk Sengjian 僧檢 quoted *GSZ* VI 361.3.2.

[154] Before 399 Dao'an's associate Fahe 法和 had propagated Buddhism in Shu 蜀 (present-day Sichuan) during the years 365–379 AD (*GSZ* V 354.1.20), but little is known about his activities there. Huichi's biography shows that ca. 400 Buddhism was already flourishing in this outlying territory, and this appears still more clearly from the biography of Daowang 道汪 disciple of Huiyuan who around the same time settled at Chengdu and there entertained close relations with the highest magistracy (*GSZ* VII 371.3).

[155] Cf. Huiyuan's biography, trsl. below p. 249 and p. 252.
[156] 方外之賓, cf. 沙門不敬王者論 section II, *HMJ* V 30.2.6.
[157] *GSZ* VII 370.3.3.
[158] *GSZ* VII 372.2.28.
[159] Cf. Huiyuan's biography, trsl. below p. 246.
[160] Cf. below, App. p. 249. A nephew of Yao Xing became a monk after the downfall of the Later Qin, cf. *CSZJJ* IX 68.2.1 (無量義經序).
[161] Wang Xun 王詢 (350–401, cf. note 151) and his younger brother Wang Min 珉 (351–398, biogr. *JS* 65.7b; "junior style" 僧彌, wrote an essay about Śrīmitra, *GSZ* I 328.1.15; admirer of Daoyi 道壹, *GSZ* V 357.1.10; had great knowledge of the Abhidharma and follows Saṅghadeva's explications, *SSXY* IB/28a–b, *GSZ* I 329.1.19; *JS* 65.7b–8a); Wang Mi 王謐 (360–407; cf. below, p. 213); Wang Mo 王默 (biogr. *JS* 65.8b; for his contact with Huiyuan cf. *GSZ* VI 359.2.1 = *CSZJJ* XV 110.1.9); Wang Mu 王穆 (biographical note *JS* 65.8b; according to *Fozu tongji* XXVI (T 2035) 261.2.26, he visited Huiyuan on Mt. Lu ca. 402, where he wrote poems on *buddhānusmṛti* 念佛三昧).
[162] Beside Huichi who visited the capital in 397/398 AD, the *GSZ* mentions Huiyuan's disciple Daozu 道祖 who at the beginning of the fifth century went to live at the famous Waguan 瓦官 monastery at Jiankang (*GSZ* VI 363.1), and Daowang 道汪, who had lived at the capital and who from there went to the Lu Shan to become Huiyuan's pupil, probably around the same time (*GSZ* VII 371.3).
[163] *GSZ* VI 361.3.11 sqq.
[164] Cf. note 161 above.
[165] Cf. Huiyuan's biography trsl. below, p. 246.
[166] *SSXY* IB/27b–28a.
[167] *SSXY* IB/27a.
[168] Cf. *GHMJ* XVI 211.1.22 (南齊僕射王奐枳園寺刹下石記 by Shen Yue 沈約, dated 488 AD). According to this source, the monastery was founded by Wang Shao and enlarged in 488 by Wang Shao's great-grandson Wang Huan 奐. However, both *GSZ* III 339.2.22 and *CSZJJ* XV 112.3.17 (cf. *Kaiyuan SJL* V, T 2154, p. 525. 2.2) state that it was built shortly after 420 by Wang Shao's youngest son (and Wang Mi's younger brother) Wang Hui 王恢 in the eastern outskirts of the capital for the *dhyāna*-master Zhiyan 知嚴. Biography of Wang Hui (military career) in *JS* 65.8b.
[169] Cf. notes 151 and 161 above.
[170] *CSZJJ* XII 83.1–84.3.
[171] The following titles are found in the table of contents of the *Falun*:
(1) "On the true Nature (of all *dharmas*) 問實相; (2) "Does the Spirit exist in *Nirvāṇa*? 問涅槃有神不 (3) "Does the *Nirvāṇa* belong to expediency (權, *upāya*) or to Truth?" 問滅度權實 (4) "On the Pure Realm (of the Buddha)" 問清淨國; (5) "By means of what does the Buddha realize the Way?" 問佛成道時何用; (6) "About the method (or: 'doctrine') of *Prajñā*" 問般若法; (7) "About the appellation '*Prajñā*" 問般若稱; (8) "About the knowing of *Prajñā*" 問般若知; (9) "Is *Prajñā* the wisdom (which realizes) the true nature (of *dharmas*)?" 問般若是實相智非; (10) "What is the difference between *prajñā* and *sarvajñtā* (omniscience)?" 問般若薩婆若同異 (11) "What is the difference between equanimity towards the non-origination of *dharmas* (*anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*) and *Prajñā*?" 問無生法忍般若同異; (12) "About matters of Ritual and *Prajñā*(?)" 問禮事般若; (13) "About the Buddha-wisdom" 問佛慧; (14) "What is the difference between Expedience and Wisdom?" 問權智同異; (15) "About the decision of the Bodhisattva to realize Buddhahood" 問菩薩發意成佛; (16) "About the *Dharmakāya*" 問法身; (17) "What fetters are broken at the moment of the realization of Buddhahood? 問成佛時斷何累; (18) "About grasping (?) the Three Vehicles" 問得三乘; (19) "About the *triśaraṇa*" 問三歸; (20) "About the *Pratyekabuddha*" 問辟支佛; (21) "About the Bodhisattva being born in the five spheres of existence (道 = *gati*)"

問菩薩生五道中; (22) "About the seven Buddhas" 問七佛; (23) "About not perceiving Maitreya and not perceiving a thousand Buddhas (in *buddhānusmṛti-samādhi*?)" 問不見彌勒不見千佛 (24) "About the *Buddha-dharma*(*s*) not being subjected to old age(?)" 問佛法不老; (25) "About the mind, thought and cognition of the Spirit" 問精 (*var.* 釋) 神心意識; (26) "About the ten numerical *dharmas* (?)" 問十數法; (27) "About the (faculty of) cognition (or consciousness) of the Spirit" 問神識.

[172] In two, *var.* three *juan*; cf. Wen Tingshi 文廷式, *Bu Jinshu yiwen zhi* 補晉書藝文志, in *Ershiwu shi bubian*, vol. III, p. 3705.1, and the works of the same title by Qin Rongguang 秦榮光 (*ib.*, p. 3802.1), by Wu Shijian 吳士鑑 (*ib.*, 3852.1) and by Huang Fengyuan 黃逢元 (*ib.* 3897.3).

[173] Cf. above, p. 148.

[174] *SSXY* IIIB/15b.

[175] Huichi: *GSZ* VI, 361.3.14; Daozu: *ib.*, 363.1.13.

[176] He tried to persuade Huiyuan to give up the religious life, cf. Huiyuan's biography, *GSZ* VI 360.2.16 (trsl. below, p. 250; Huan's letter and Huiyuan's answer reproduced in *HMJ* XI 75.1.6); he did the same with Daozu in 404 AD (*GSZ* VI 363.1.16).

[177] In *HMJ* XII 85.3.6 we find a document professing to be a letter by Zhi Daolin (Zhi Dun) to Huan Xuan in which he protests against the proposed registration of the clergy: 支道林法師與桓玄州符 (for 府?) 求沙門名籍書, dated the fifth day of the fourth month of *longan* 3, *i.e.* May 25, 399 AD. As we have said before (cf. above, p. 17), the title cannot be correct (Zhi Dun died in 366!), but this is not a reason to reject the whole letter as a forgery; in fact, the writers refer in the opening lines to themselves as "We, monks of the capital…". It is, however, difficult to say what could have been Huan Xuan's role in this registration. In May 399 AD he resided at Jiangling as the leader of the military junta against Sima Daozi, and, although he was at that time already the most powerful man in the central provinces, he cannot have exercised any influence on the policy of the *metropolitan* authorities towards the clergy. Or do these monks only protest against measures taken against their brothers in the central provinces? The contents of the letter are too vague to affirm or to deny this. In any case, if the letter is authentic and if such a registration was indeed planned or carried out in 399 AD, it is fairly certain that it emanated from Huan Xuan.

[178] Cf. Huiyuan's statement in the colophon on his 沙門不敬王者論 (*HMJ* V 32.2.9), *viz.* that he and his associates on Mt. Lu had been deeply distressed at the humiliation of emperor An, and that he had composed the treatise for this reason (*i.e.* as a protest against Huan Xuan).

[179] Cf. below, App. note 125.

[180] Lived 392–473, one of the most prominent members of the imperial family of the (Liu)-Song dynasty; biography in *Songshu* 51.11b. He entertained relations with Huiyuan's disciple Tanshun 曇順 for whom he built a monastery at Jiangling, cf. *GSZ* VI 363.1.23.

[181] Biography of Lu Xun in *JS* 100.15b sqq.; biography of Lu Chen *ib.* 44.6a.

[182] Mentioned in *JS* 100.16b at the end of Lu Xun's biography.

[183] Quoted in *YWLJ* 87.20b and *TPYL* 972.7b.

[184] For the Han code see *HHS* 60.7a (cf. *HS* 72.25a), and the cases concerning "hiding fugitives from justice" (*i.e. HS* 60.3b; A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law* I p. 261 nr. 9 and note 20, and p. 266).

[185] In 410/411 AD, when Huiyuan wrote a letter to Yao Xing in order to clarify the case of the expulsion of Buddhabhadra (cf. below, p. 223), *CSZJJ* XIV (biography of Buddhabhadra) 104.1.1 = *GSZ* II 335.2.15.

[186] The biographies of Huiyuan in *CSZJJ* XV and *GSZ* VI, the poems by Wang Qizhi

王齊之 in *GHMJ* XXX 351.3.8 sqq.; the biographies of some of Huiyuan's lay followers in *Songshu* 93.

[187] T 2095. For these later traditions see Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 366–371.

[188] *GHMJ* XXVII 304.1: 與隱士劉遺民等書.

[189] In the *Shiba xian zhuan*, T 2095 (*Lu Shan ji* III), p. 1039.3.18, and in the still later (13th cent.) *Fozu tongji* XXVI (T 2035) 268.1, which, however, say that he stayed on the mountain for twelve years; hence according to these sources he arrived in 399 AD.

[190] Cf. above, note 144.

[191] Biogr. in *Songshu* 93.3b, *Nanshi* 75.7a; cf. *Lu Shan ji* III, 1039.3; collected fragments of his literary works in *CSW* 29.9a sqq.

[192] *Songshu, loc. cit.*

[193] His answer on questions concerning mourning garments posed by Yuan You 袁悠 (*Tongdian* 92.501.1) and his exposition of the mourning rites in reply to questions posed by Cai Kuo 蔡廓 (*Tongdian* 103.546.3).

[194] 悱發, allusion to *Lunyu* VII.8: 不悱不發 "I do not open up (the mind) of anyone who is not desirous to explain himself".

[195] *Songshu* 93.3b.

[196] Biography in *Songshu* 93.3b, *Nanshi* 75.6a; *Lu Shan ji* III 1039.3; fragments of his works in *CCW* 142.7a.

[197] Various fragments quoted in Tongdian 97, cf. *CCW* 142.7a–b, and (*Yuhan shanfang ji yishu* 玉函山房輯佚書 vol. 79.

[198] When at Huiyuan's request he wrote a refutation of Dai Kui's 戴逵 *Shiyi lun* 釋疑論 (*GHMJ* XVII 222.2 sqq.), he was obviously already living at the Lu Shan, and this correspondence must have taken place before 396 AD, the year in which Dai Kui died.

[199] Biography in *Songshu* 93.2b, *Nanshi* 75.3b; *Lu Shan ji* III 1040. 1; fragments of his work in *CSW* 20.21.

[200] For the *Ming fo lun* (*HMJ* II 9.2–16.1) see above, p. 15.

[201] *Shiba xian zhuan*, in *Lu Shan ji* III, T 2095 p. 1040.1.

[202] 遠法師銘, quoted in *SSXY comm.* IB/27 a–b.

[203] *Shiba xian zhuan*, in *Lu Shan ji* III, T 2095 p. 1042.2.

[204] Biography of Bi Zhuo in *JS* 49.2b.

[205] *GHMJ* XXX 351.3.8 sqq: 念佛三昧詩四首 and four more eulogies on the Bodhisattvas Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata and on the Buddhas, by "Wang Qizhi 齊之 from Langye"; paraphrase in English of the four first poems by W. Liebenthal in *The Book of Chao*, pp. 193–195. In *Lu Shan ji* IV 1042.3.9 and *Fozu tongji* XXVI (T 2035), 261.3.17 he figures as "Wang Qiaozhi 喬之 prefect of Linhe 臨賀. Judging from the form of his personal name, this person must belong to the third generation descendants of Wang Zheng 正 who, unlike the members of the other branches of this clan, have almost without exception two-syllable personal names ending in 之. Wang Qizhi must have died before 417 AD, since the monk Daoheng 道恆, who died in that year, is reported to have written a "lament" at the occasion of his death (*GSZ* VI 365.1.7).

[206] *CSZJJ* XII 84.2.5.

[207] T 417/418, cf. above, p. 35; P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV (1954), p. 355 sqq., esp. p. 357, note 8.

[208] T 418, ch. I, section 2 (行品), p. 905.1.6 sqq. = T 417 p. 899.1.11.

[209] *ib.*, section 3 (四事品). p. 906.1.17 sqq. = T 417. p. 899.3.12.

[210] *ib.*, section 2 (行品), p. 905.1.23 sqq., cf. T 417 p. 899.2.18.

[211] *GHMJ* XXX, 351.2.21.

[212] According to a late tradition this was the *Lotus sūtra* (cf. P. Demiéville, *loc. cit.*); probably rather the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, cf. the account of Sengji's death translated below.

213 *GHMJ* XVXII 304.2.8 sqq.

214 T 362, 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經 (var. 大阿彌陀經) in two *juan*.

215 T 362 II 310.1.3 sqq.; *Sukhāvatīvyūha* 27–28, trsl. F. Max Müller in *Buddhist Mahāyāna texts* (*SBE*, vol. XLIX, Oxford, 1894), part II, pp. 45–46.

216 Or, acc. to the Korean edition, "establish your mind in . . ." (建心 instead of 運心).

217 Lit. "the four great elements" (四大, *mahābhūta*), here denoting the material body? Perhaps rather a mistake for 四支 (支, as often, for 肢): "the four members *i.e.*, the body. We could think of a more philosophical interpretation: "By examination (he realized) that the four elements (being illusory) are in no way subject to disease and suffering", but cf. the account of the death of Liu Chengzhi (trsl. above who also took leave of the monks without showing any signs of disease.

218 *GSZ* VI 362.2.17 sqq.

219 Reading, with most editions, 歛 in stead of 斂.

220 *GSZ* VI, 362.2.5 sqq.

221 From Huiyuan's 廬山出修行方便禪經統序 (preface to the *dhyāna*-"sūtra" of Buddhasena), *CSZJJ* IX, 65.2.28.

222 Huiyuan's 念佛三昧詩集序, *GHMJ* XXX, 351.2.11.

223 See *e.g*., Kang Senghui's preface to the 安般守意經 (mid. third cent.) in *CSZJJ* VI, 43.1.6 sqq., and Xie Fu's 謝敷 preface to the same scripture, *ib*., 43.3.26 sqq. (for Xie Fu cf. above, p. 136).

224 Huiyuan's 念佛三昧詩集序, *GHMJ* XXX, 351.2.16.

225 念佛三昧詩集序, cf. his 不以生累其神, section 3, *HMJ* V, 30.3.14.

226 Preface to the *Dhyana*-"sūtra", *CSZJJ* IX, 65.3.18.

227 T 618, 沙門不敬王者論 (*Yogācārabhūmi*) in two *juan* and 17 sections. For the Mahāyānist passage about *buddhānusmṛti* near the end of the work cf. P. Demiéville, *op. cit*., p. 363.

228 The story of Sadāprarudita's quest for Wisdom and his conversation with the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata is found in the last chapters of both the smaller and the larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. In spite of its narrative and even lively style which curiously contrasts with the unbearable monotony of all other sections, it appears to have been part of the 8.000 and 25.000 *p*'*p*' since very early times, since it already figures in the first Chinese versions of these scriptures (sections 28–29 of Lokakṣema's 道行經, T 224; sections 88–89 of Mokṣala's 放光經, T 221; sections 27–28 of Kumārajīva's 小品般若波羅蜜經, T 227; sections 88–89 of his 摩訶般羅波羅蜜經, T 223; Sanskrit text *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* 30–31, trsl. E. Conze, p. 327 sqq.). The Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita 薩陀波崙 is urged by voices from the air to devote himself exclusively to the realization of the *prajñāpāramitā* and to go to the East to do so. By listening to their sermon he is so overjoyed that he forgets to ask where he has to go, and when the voices have disappeared, he is overwhelmed by sadness and regret. For seven days and nights he concentrates his whole mind on the problem how and where to obtain the *prajñāpāramitā*. After seven days, the Buddha manifests himself before his eyes, complete with all characteristics of the Buddha-body, and, praising him for his zeal, he tells him to join the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata 曇無竭 at the city of Gandhavatī, who will instruct him. Sadāprarudita then masters a great number of *samādhi* by which he is able to perceive innumerable Buddhas who encourage him and tell him to go to Dharmodgata, but whenever he emerges out of his trance he is distressed at the fact that these Buddhas have disappeared. He therefore constantly ponders on the problem where these apparitions came from and to what place they have gone, and this is the first question which he poses to Dharmodgata who then explains to him the absolute nature of the transcendent Buddha-body which is the *dharmakāya* 法身. The relation between this story and the visualization of the Buddha by *buddhānusmṛti* is obvious; in fact, Dharmodgata's problem (*viz*.,

the actual nature and origin of such apparitions) was the one which Huiyuan himself in one of his letters submitted to Kumārajīva (cf. below, p. 228 nr. 11)! For the eulogies on the image of Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata cf. above, note 205.

[229] For the "shadow of the Buddha" at Nagarahāra see J. Przyluski, "Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūla-Sarvāstivādin et les textes apparentés", *J.As*, 1914, pp. 565–568; Et. Lamotte, *Traité*, pp. 551–553 and the sources mentioned there; for the "shadow" on Mt. Lu cf. the article of Inouye Ichii mentioned in note 121, and Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 346–347. The main source for the episode is Huiyuan's "Inscription on the shadow of the Buddha" 佛影銘 (with preface and colophon) in *GHMJ* XV 197.3–198.4; a somewhat deviating version of the five hymns of which this "inscription" consist is found in Huiyuan's biography in *GSZ* (trsl. below, App. p. 242, according to the *GHMJ* text). Furthermore there is the "inscription" by Xie Lingyun (cf. below, note 237). In all editions except the Korean one, the title of Huiyuan's inscription is given as 萬佛影銘. This 萬 is no doubt a case of dittography: the foregoing text, an eulogy on Candraprabha by Zhi Dun, ends with the words 淩風振奇芳, and this 芳, repeated by careless copying, has become distorted into 万 (= 萬) and joined to the title of the next piece.

[230] Mentioned among Dao'an's works in *CSZJJ* V, 40.1.6 and 8.

[231] *GHMJ* XV, 198.1.10 sqq. The identity of the *Vinaya*-master is not known; it cannot have been Faxian, who only returned in 413 and who is not known to have visited Mt. Lu.

[232] Cf. the sixth line of Huiyuan's fourth hymn: "its movement faintly (appears on) the light (plain) silk" 運微輕素 (*qingsu* no doubt refers to the painting material, as it matches the "point of the (painter's) brush 毫端 in the previous line).

[233] *Lidai sanbao ji* VII, T 2034, p. 71.1.10.

[234] T 643, ch. VII p. 680.3 sqq.; partly translated by J. Przyluski, cf. note 229 above.

[235] *Ib.*, p. 681.3.3.

[236] According to *CSZJJ* XIV, 103.2.28, Buddhabhadra came from "Northern India" (no place of birth specified); *GSZ* II, 334.2–3 mentions two traditions: at the beginning of his biography (p. 334.2.27) he is said to have been born at Kapilavastu as a member of the Śākya family which professed to descend from king Amṛtodana, an uncle of the Buddha. This sounds like hagiography, an attempt to enhance Buddhabhadra's holiness by stressing his personal relation with the founder of the religion. According to the second tradition, also reported in *GSZ* (p. 334.3.17), he came from Nagarahāra 那呵利城, from a noble family which had been Buddhist since generations.

[237] *GHMJ* XV, 199.2–3, composed after the return of Faxian who is mentioned in the preface. Another treatise about the "shadow of the Buddha", by Yan Yannian 顏延年 (early fifth century) is mentioned by Lu Cheng (*CSZJJ* XII 83.3.3).

[238] T 1856, in 3 *juan*. Huiyuan's letters to Kumārajīva are mentioned separately in different sections of the table of contents of Lu Cheng's *Falun* (*CSZJJ* XII 83.1.1 sqq.), which shows that ca. 465, when the *Falun* was compiled, these had not yet been collected so as to form a single work. A collection of these letters appears for the first time in the *Zhongjing mulu* of 594 AD (T 2146 VI 147.1.26: 答問論二卷.羅什答.慧遠問).

[239] These few words of course do not pretend to be an adequate account of Kumārajīva's life, the basic source for which is his biography in *GSZ* II 330.1–331.1 (translated by J. Nobel in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1937). The best recent discussion of his life and activities is found in *Jōron kenkyū*, pp. 130–146, by Tsukamoto Zenryū, who convincingly demonstrates that the dates of Kumārajīva's life must be 350–409 AD; see also Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 278–340, and Sakaino Kōyō 境野黃洋, *Shina bukkyō seishi* 支那佛教精史 (Tōkyō 1935), pp. 341–417.

[240] The first letters are reproduced in Huiyuan's biography in *GSZ*, trsl. below, p. 246 sqq. These have not been included in T 1856, nor are they mentioned in the *Falun mulu*, probably because they were not considered important from a doctrinal point of view.

[241] The *Falun mulu* mentions one letter entitled "About the Spirit" 問論神 (*CSZJJ* XII 84.3.27, no answer of Kumārajīva listed) which does not figure in T 1856. On the other hand, T 1856 contains one letter (nr. 6, entitled 次問受決法 "more questions about the *vyākaraṇa*") which is not mentioned by Lu Cheng. The letter nr. 17 in T 1856 is clearly a later redaction in which the contents of more than one letter have been combined; in fact, Lu Cheng mentions two documents devoted to the same subject: 問遍學 and 重問遍學 (p. 84.2.24). Lu Cheng's entry 問法身非色 (p. 83.2.29) certainly refers to nr. 9 of T 1856 (問造色法).

[242] An annotated Japanese translation of the *Dasheng da yizhang* has been prepared by a joint study group under the direction of Tsukamoto Zenryū at the Institute of Humanistic studies (Jimbunkagaku-kenkyūjo) of Kyōto University, and it is to be hoped that this counterpart of the invaluable *Jōron kenkyū* will be published before long (cf. *Jōron kenkyū*, Introduction, p. 2).

[243] The buddhology of the *Da zhidu lun* recognizes only 化身 (*nirmāṇakāya*) and 法身, the latter referring to the Buddha's "Dharma-body" (*dharmakāya*), as well as to his glorified body perceived by the Bodhisattvas (elsewhere denoted as *saṃbhogakāya*, "body of enjoyment")—a fact which still increases the confusion of Huiyuan's ideas on this subject.

[244] Huiyuan's interest in these speculations must very probably be connected with his ideas about the nature of images visualized in *samādhi* (cf. nr. 11).

[245] It is interesting to note that Huiyuan in this letter uses the Mādhyamika type of syllogism to prove his argument.

[246] See below, App. note 132 nrs. 6–9.

[247] Cf. *SHHY* IIB/44b–45a.

[248] Founded, according to *CSZJJ* X 72.2.26 (阿毘曇心序, anon., 391 AD), by Wang Ningzhi 王凝之 (?–399), the second son of Wang Xizhi, like his father a famous calligrapher and a follower of Daoism (五斗米道); *JS* 80.6a.

[249] *HMJ* V 34.2–3. For the term 三報 cf. below, App. note 47.

[250] Fan Tai 范泰 (355–427 AD) in his 與生觀二法師書, *HMJ* XII 78.2.18, cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 355.

[251] Lu Deming 陸德明 (Lu Yuanlang 元朗, 550–626) in his *Maoshi yinyi* 毛詩音義 (in the *zhushu* ed. of the Odes, ch. IA p. 3a): 又案周續之與雷次宗同受慧遠法師詩義, cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 360. For a collection of fragments of Zhou Xuzhi's glosses on the Odes, see *Yuhan shanfang ji yishu* vol. 16.

[252] 魏世錄, 吳世錄, 晉世雜錄 and 河西錄. For the date cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XXII (1923), p. 102; biography of Daoliu and Daozu in *GSZ* VI, 363.1.

[253] (a) Letter of Huan Xuan to the Eight Ministers, *HMJ* XII 80.2 = T2108, *Ji shamen buying baisu dengshi*, ch. I, 444.3; (b) Reply of the Eight Ministers, *HMJ* XII 80.2 = T 2108 p. 445.1; (**c–k**) Correspondence between Wang Mi and Huan Xuan (nine letters), *HMJ* XII, 80.3–83.2 = T 2108, pp. 445.1–447.3; (**l–n**) Huan Xuan's letter to Huiyuan, answer by Huiyuan and rejoinder by Huan, *HMJ* XII, 83.2–84.1 = T 2108, pp. 447.3–448.3; (**o**) Edict issued by Huan Xuan granting the clergy the privilege "not to pay homage to the ruler", *HMJ* XII 84.2; (**p–v**) remonstrances against this edict and answers by Huan Xuan, (seven documents), *HMJ* XII, 84.2–95.1.

[254] In these letters Huan Xuan is called 太尉, which title he bore from May, 402 till February, 403 (*JS* 10.3b). On the other hand it is said in the last memorial of the courtiers (document **v**) that the writer on account of his work far from the capital had not been aware that a discussion had already been held "the spring of the previous (year)" 去春; since this document

is dated the 12th month of the year 403/404, this must refer to the spring of 402/403, hence probably May 402.

[255] *HMJ* XII, 80.2.14 = T 2108, I, p. 444.3.19.

[256] Cf. *Daode jing* 25: 道大.天大.地大.王亦大.域中有四大而王居其一焉.

[257] *HMJ* XII, 80.2.28 = T 2108, I, p. 445.1.3.

[258] Magistrate and partisan of Huan Xuan; biography *JS* 74.9a; acc. to *JS* 10.3b he had obtained the functions and titles given here (商書令, 史部尚書 and 領軍將軍) in April/May 402 AD.

[259] Not mentioned elsewhere. Perhaps Kong Anguo 孔安國 (died 408, short biography in *JS* 78.2b), one of Sima Daozi's partisans?

[260] Mentioned in passing as 侍中, 尚書 and 吳國內史 in the biography of his son Zhang Yu 張裕 in *Songshu* 53.1a.

[261] Not mentioned elsewhere; of course not the same person as the Shi Daobao mentioned above, p. 97.

[262] *HMJ* XII 80.3.19; T 2108 I 445.1.25.

[263] 率土, allusion to *Shijing*, Ode 209 (III.vi.1, Ode 北山): 率土之濱. 莫非王臣, cf. also below, p. 256.

[264] Which would mean around the beginning of our era. Does Wang Mi here refer to the tradition of the Yuezhi envoy of 2 BC (cf. above p. 24)?

[265] *HMJ* XII 81.1.16 = T 2108 I 445.2.18.

[266] *HMJ* XII 81.2.22 = T 2108 I 445.3.21.

[267] *Lunyu* VIII.9: 民可使由之.不可使知之.

[268] *HMJ* XII 82.1.25 = T 2108 I 446.2.17.

[269] *HMJ* XII 82.3.1 = T 2108 I 446.3.21.

[270] *HMJ* XII 83.2.1 = T 2108 I 447.2.20.

[271] Cf. *Lunyu* II.3: 道之以政.齊之以刑.則民免而無恥 etc.

[272] *HMJ* XII 81.1.25 = T 2108 I 445.2.26.

[273] *HMJ* XII 81.3.12 = T 2108 I 446.1.8.

[274] *HMJ* XII 82.2.9 = T 2108 I 446.2.29.

[275] *HMJ* XII 82.3.13 = T 2108 I 447.1.3.

[276] *HMJ* XII 81.2.4 = T 2108 I 445.3.5.

[277] *HMJ* XII 82.1.1 = T 2108 I 446.1.26.

[278] *HMJ* XII 81.2.10 = T 2108 I 445.3.11.

[279] *HMJ* XII 82.1.10 = T 2108 I 446.2.1.

[280] *HMJ* XII 81.2.14 = T 2108 I 445.3.14.

[281] *HMJ* XII 82.1.18 = T 2108 I 446.2.10.

[282] *HMJ* XII 82.2.24 = T 2108 I 446.3.15.

[283] *HMJ* XII 83.1.2 = T 2108 I 447.1.21.

[284] *HMJ* XII 83.3.2 = T 2108 I 447.3.19; shorter and somewhat different version in Huiyuan's biography in *GSZ*, trsl. below p. 250.

[285] *HMJ* XII 83.3.10 = T 2108 I 447.3.28.

[286] *CSZJJ* XV 110.2.26.

[287] The first memorial of the courtiers, submitted immediately after Huan's edict, bears the curious date 太享二年十二月三日. This *nianhao* is not mentioned in any other historical source; *JS* 10.3b merely states that in the second year *yuanxing* 元興, 11th month *gengchen* (December 21, 403 AD), emperor An handed over the seal of state to Wang Mi, who brought it to Huan Xuan, and that Huan on the fourth of the 12th month of that year (January 2, 404) ascended the throne and assumed *yongshi* 永始 as his *nianhao*. Could *taiheng* be a *nianhao* privately assumed by Huan Xuan during his dictatorship? In any case the date of the first memorial (十二月三日) must correspond to January 1, 404 AD, *i.e.*, one day before his actual enthronement, and yet it contains the ceremonial terms commonly used when addressing the emperor. The last memorial is dated 始元元年十二月二十四日; again the same problem! But

here 始元 may be a mistake for 元始 or 永始; in any case this date must correspond to January 22, 404 AD, twenty days after Huan's usurpation.

[288] *HMJ* XII 84.2.25.

[289] *HMJ* XII 84.3.1–85.11.

[290] Biography in *JS* 99.12a.

[291] See above, note 121.

[292] "Inscription" of Zhang Ye (*SSXY comm.* IB/27a): "at the age of eighty-three", no date given; "Eulogy" by Xie Lingyun (*GHMJ* XXIII 267.1.20): 417 AD, at the age of 84; *CSZJJ* XV 110.3.3: "at the end of the *yixi* era" (-419) at the age of 83; *GSZ* VI, 361.2.1: 416 AD, at the age of 83.

[293] Cf. the account of his death in late Amidist sources like T 2070, 往往西方淨土瑞應傳 p. 104.1.16; T 2071, 淨土往生傳 p. 110.2.8 sqq., T 2072 往生集 I p. 127.2.6 sqq. etc.

APPENDIX CHAPTER FOUR

[1] N.W. of the modern Dai 代 Xian in Northern Shanxi.

[2] In 346 AD. The "inscription" of Zhang Ye 張野 (quoted in *SSXY comm.* I B/27 a–b, cf. above, note 121) dates this event when Huiyuan was twelve (eleven, according to our way of counting) years old, in 345 AD.

[3] 許昌, the modern Xuchang Xian in central Henan.

[4] In 354 AD, when he was twenty years old according to our way of counting.

[5] The region South of the lower Yangzi.

[6] *I.e.*, Fan Xuan 范宣, *zi* 宣子, a retired scholar, famous for his knowledge of the Rites. According to his biography (*JS* 91.8b–9a) he was an orthodox Confucianist, opposed to the study of *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* and to the anti-ritualistic tendencies prevalent among the gentry in his time. It is remarkable that Huiyuan, the *xuanxue* specialist, wanted to join this moralistic scholiast at the poor little farm at Yuzhang 豫章 (the modern Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi) where he spent most of his life studying and working in the fields. He was much admired and materially supported by several members of the highest gentry; later, after 376 AD, he and the famous Fan Ning 范寧 (another conservative Confucianist, since that year prefect of Yuzhang) did much to revive Confucian classical studies in the Jiangxi region. Fan Xuan died at the age of fifty-three; since his son Fan Ji 輯 (biographical note *JS ib.*) had already filled several important posts before the *yixi* era, (405–418), Fan Xuan must have died before the end of the fourth century. When Huiyuan wanted to join him ca. 354 AD he must consequently have been a young man of Huiyuan's age. Huiyuan's wish to join him is already recorded in the "Inscription" of Zhang Ye, *SSXY comm.* IB/27a.

[7] 共契; *CSZJJ* XV 109.2.15 has 共契嘉遁; the last two characters figure in *GSZ* only in the Korean edition. 嘉遁 is a variant form of 嘉遯 "(to practice) noble retirement", cf. *Yijing*, hex. 33, comment on the fifth unbroken line: 嘉遯, 貞吉. 以正志也.

[8] *CSZJJ* XV 109.2.15 has…"it happened that 'the King's road' was blocked" 值王路屯阻. For the expression 王路 (here denoting "government" or "the condition of the empire" in general), cf. *Shujing* IV.4 (ch. 洪範): 無有作惡. 遵王之路 (trsl. Karlgren p. 32: "Have no aversions and follow the King's road"). The *GSZ* here wrongly refers to the "troubles of the Shi clan" following the death of Shi Hu as the reason why Huiyuan could not go to the South. These troubles had actually only lasted till 352, after which conditions in the North had been stabilized again. Around 354 AD the region of Xuchang and Luoyang had become the scene of other wars, cf. above, p. 206. The "inscription" of Zhang Ye (*SSXY comm.* IB/27a) merely says "the roads were blocked and impassable" 道阻不通.

[9] An anachronism: Dao'an only assumed the religious surname *Shi* when he was living at Xiangyang, *i.e.*, after 365 AD. Cf. above, p. 189.

[10] This happened in 354 AD, according to *GSZ* VI (biography of Huiyuan's brother Huichi 慧持) 362.2.16. For a discussion of the date, cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 344. It seems that Huiyuan after having given up his plan to cross the Yangzi had returned to the North, perhaps to his native Yanmen, and that he met Dao'an in Western Hebei on his way home. *CSZJJ* says 於關左遇見道安 without specifying the place.

[11] For the term 像法 = *pratirūpaka-dharma* cf. E. Chavannes and S. Lévi in *J.As.* 1916, p. 194, and P. Pelliot in *TP* XXV pp. 92–94 and XXVI pp. 51–52. Actually the "counterfeit Doctrine" means the second stage in the gradual deterioration of the religion, intermediate between the thousand years of "correct" Doctrine and the last phase of "final" Doctrine, at the end of which the *dharma* has practically disappeared from the world. Here it hardly means anything more than "Buddhism" in general.

[12] This saying attributed by Huijiao to Huiyuan does not figure in *CSZJJ* or in Zhang Ye's inscription: the expression 九流 goes back to the description of the different "schools of philosophy" in the bibliographical chapter of the *Hanshu* (*HS* 30).

[13] *I.e.*, he accepted the tonsure.

[14] 委命; *CSZJJ* has here 委質 "entrusted himself as a hostage (to the *triratna*)".

[15] The text has 貧旅 "poor travellers", which I take to be a mistake for 貧族 "poor family".

[16] For this disciple see above, p. 199.

[17] 實相, *bhūtalakṣaṇa*(?), *satyalakṣaṇa*(?), thus rendered by Et. Lamotte (*Traité, passim*), but I have been unable to find proofs of this restitution; it occurs frequently in Kumārajīva's terminology for *dharmatā* or *dharmadhātu* (besides 法性), especially in the combination 諸法實相. Cf. the remarks by Shirado Waka 白土わか in *Indogaku-Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* IV.2 (March 1956) pp. 466–467.

[18] This would imply that other disciples were not allowed to do so—perhaps an indication of Dao'an's aversion of *geyi* (cf. above, p. 184)?

[19] For these disciples see above, p. 199. This episode occurs already in Zhang Ye's "Inscription" (*SSXY comm.* IB/27a).

[20] Cf. *GSZ* V (biography of Dao'an) 352.3.18: 安在樊沔十五載…, and trsl. Link, p. 26, note 4.

[21] A mistake; Fu Pi laid siege to Xiangyang in 378 and took the city in 379, cf. above, p. 198. *CSZJJ* has 晉太元之初…

[22] T 598, Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Sāgaranāgarājaparipṛcchā* (trsl. 285 AD, cf. *CSZJJ* II 7.2.24). Apart from the important role played by *nāga*s ("dragons" 龍) in this sūtra, it does not contain any element especially devoted to exorcism or rain-making. For another early case of the *Hailong wang jing* being recited in order to make rain, see *Fayuan zhulin* LXIII 764.2, quoting *Mingxiang ji*. According to *Fayuan zhulin* (*ib.*, 764.3), the two miracles performed by Huiyuan also occurred in this collection of pious tales, the account of which no doubt was copied by Huijiao.

[23] Biography in *GSZ* VI 362.1.11, cf. above, p. 199. The Xilinsi where he lived had been founded for him in 367 by Tao Fan 陶範, cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 346. Tao Fan was one of the many sons of Tao Kan (cf. below, note 41); his name occurs in the latter's biography (*JS* 66.6b), but nothing is said about his life.

[24] Huan Yi, who as a general played an important role in the battle on the Feishui, became governor of Jiangzhou (residing at Xunyang) in 384, and held this post till his death ca. 392; cf. his biography in *JS* 81.5b–7a. As Tang Yongtong remarks (*History*, p. 346), the late tradition according to which the Donglin monastery was founded in 386 AD may consequently be correct.

[25] 香爐峯: the northern summit of the Lu Shan, the top of which is constantly wrapped in a

haze, cf. the fragment of Huiyuan's *Lu Shan ji* 廬山記 quoted in Li Shan's 李善 commentary on *Wenxuan* 12.256: 香爐山孤峯獨秀.氣籠其上.則氤氳若香煙.

[26] Reading 經道去 in st. of 經 (var. 住) 道取, cf. the sub-title of Huiyuan's 佛影銘, *GHMJ* XV 197.3.9: 度流沙從經道去此一萬八十五十理…On the "shadow of the Buddha" cf. above, ch. IV note 229.

[27] On this icon and its function cf. above, p. 224. The following hymns occur in a slightly different version in *GHMJ* XV 197.3 sqq. In the translation we have in general followed this version, which is probably directly based upon the text of these hymns as the compiler of *GHMJ* found them in Huiyuan's collected works. Needless to say that the translation of several passages from this difficult and hyper-rhetorical text must remain hypothetical. In spite of its obscurity and extreme artificiality, the Hymns on the Shadow of the Buddha are very interesting as specimens of early Buddhist "metaphysical poetry".

[28] 大象, cf. *Daode jing* 35: 執大象. 天下往, and *ib*. 41: 大象無形. 道隱無名.

[29] Reading, with most editions, 愈 in stead of 逾.

[30] Reading, with most editions of *GHMJ*, 兩冥. The Korean edition of *GHMJ* and most editions of *GSZ* have 迹絕而冥 "its traces disappear, and it is darkened"; the Korean edition of *GSZ* has 杳莫 in stead of 而冥.

[31] Reading, with *GSZ* and the Korean edition of *GHMJ*, 淡虛; the 談虛 in the other editions of *GHMJ* is obviously a copyist's mistake.

[32] Reading, with *GSZ* 沖姿 in stead of 中姿.

[33] 白毫, *ūrṇā*(*keśa*), one of the thirty-two *lakṣana*, the white curl of hair between the Buddha's eyebrows, represented as emitting a ray of light, either permanently or at special occasions; cf. *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *byakugō*.

[34] Reading, with *GSZ*, 靖 in stead of 靜.

[35] Reading, with *GHMJ*, 震 in stead of 開.

[36] Reading, with *GHMJ*, 伊 in stead of 聖.

[37] Cf. *Daode jing* 14: 聽之不聞名曰希, and *ib*. 41: 大音希聲.

[38] Reading, with *GHMJ* and the Korean edition of *GSZ*, 以 instead of 似.

[39] In *GHMJ* the four-syllable pattern, maintained throughout the whole text of the hymns, is here broken, the last four lines of IV consisting of six and five syllables. In the *GSZ* these lines have been made to accord with the stylistic form of the rest of the poem by eliminating two or one syllable from each line—an attempt at regularization which proves that we here have to do with a secondary and less reliable version.

GHMJ:	清氣迴於軒宇	*GSZ*:	清氣迴軒
	昏明交而未曙		昏交未曙
	髣髴鏡神儀		髣髴神容
	依俙若真遇		依俙欽遇

[40] 飲和至柔, cf. *Daode jing* 78: 天下莫柔弱於水.

[41] This episode—of doubtful historicity—takes us back at least sixty years before Huiyuan came to Mt. Lu. Tao Kan (259–334), a famous general and magistrate of the late Western and early Eastern Jin, had become military governor of Guangzhou in 315 AD (cf. his biography in *JS* 66.4a sqq., esp. p. 6b, and '*b*. 6.5a). The sources do not mention any other contacts between him and the Buddhist clergy, but one of his sons appears to have sponsored Huiyong 慧永 at Xunyang (cf. above, note 23). The story of the statue occurs in a more detailed and more legendarized version in *Fayuan zhulin* (XIII 386.3) where it is defined as an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī; no source is indicated. See also Daoxuan's less miraculous account in *GHMJ* XV 203.1.22 sqq., and below, p. 279.

[42] For the "relics of Aśoka" in medieval China cf. below, p. 277.

[43] Popular sayings and ditties have often been taken as omens—after the event. For a collection of such songs see Du Wenlan 杜文瀾, *Gu yaoyan* 古謠諺 (1861, reedited Beijing 1958).

[44] For these persons cf. above, p. 217 sqq.

[45] 無量壽 is actually a translation of Amitāyus "Infinite Life"—a name which probably more appealed to the interest of the Chinese than 無量光 (Amitābha, "Infinite Light"), the other name by which this Buddha is commonly known, and which stresses the immeasurable light radiating from him rather than his longevity and that of the inhabitants of his paradise. The name Amitāyus occasionally occurs in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (ch. 31, trsl. F. Max Müller p. 47), but there much more emphasis is laid upon Amitābha as the lord of all-pervading light; cf. the long enumeration of his different names, all containing an element which means "light" (Amitābha, Amitaprabha, Amitaprabhāsa, Asamāptaprabha etc.) in *Sukhāvatīvyūha* 12 (trsl. F. Max Müller pp. 29–30).

[46] The zodiacal sign 攝提 indicates a year with the cyclical appellation *yin* 寅, corresponding in this period with the years 390, 402 and 414 AD. The year 402 AD must be meant here (cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 342).

[47] 三報: the three types of karmic retribution, *viz*., "immediate retribution" 現報 (*dṛṣṭadharmavedanīya-karman*, "acts to be felt in the present life"), "retribution (after one) birth "生報 (*upapadya-vedanīya-karman*) and "retribution in a (still) later (life)" 後報 (*aparaparyāyavedanīya-karman*), cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV. 115 and V.216. Huiyuan was much interested in the scholastic speculations about the process of retribution; his source was very probably the ?*Abhidharmahṛdaya*, a Sarvāstivādin compendium translated at his request by Saṅghadeva during the latter's stay at the Lu Shan in 391/392 AD (T 1550, in 4 ch.), and revised by Huiyuan himself. A short treatise by Huiyuan, devoted to this subject, has been preserved: "On the Three Kinds of Retribution" 三報論 (*HMJ* V 34.2, cf. above, p. 16 *sub* 10).

[48] Cf. Huiyuan's own words in the fourth section of his *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* (*HMJ* V 31.1.4, trsl. Hurvitz p. 25): 夫幽曠邈. 神道精微, 可以理尋 .難以事詰.

[49] 必感之有物, tentative translation.

[50] 叩篇: lit. "investigating the sections (of the sūtras)"?

[51] Probably an allusion to the practice of "visualization" of Amitābha who as a result of mental concentration upon the Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti*) appears to the devotee either during this concentration or in his sleep.

[52] 子來, cf. *Shijing*, ode 242 (*Daya* I.8,1, 靈臺): 經始勿亟. 庶民子來.

[53] 影侔神造; tentative translation. For 雲圖 I read, with *CSZJJ* XV 109.3.25, 靈圖. It cannot be an allusion to the "Shadow of the Buddha" (cf. above) which was only made ca. nine years after this event.

[54] Reading, with most ed. of *CSZJJ* XV 110.1.2, 靈嶠 in stead of 雲嶠 "clouded mountain-peaks".

[55] 彙征, allusion to *Yijing*, hexagram 11 (泰), on the first unbroken line: 拔茅茹以其彙征吉 "the grass is plucked out together with its kind. The attack will bring fortune". Wang Bi's interpretation: the roots of the grass are interwoven and connected with each other, so that one blade, if extracted, will draw the other with it—in the same way the superior man after having risen to a high position will not forget his old comrades who have lagged behind.

[56] Reading, with *CSZJJ* XV 110.1.4, 然後 in stead of 然復.

[57] 瓊柯: the magic tree of jade on the summit of Mt. Kunlun, the fruits of which are jewels containing the elixir of immortality; it measures three hundred fathoms in circumference and is a hundred thousand feet tall, cf. *Chuci*, *Lisao*, *SBCK* ed. I 31b and 44a. This ancient Chinese belief closely resembles the traditional Buddhist representation of the miraculous trees in Sukhāvatī, elaborated at great length in *Sukhāvativyūha* XVI (trsl. F. Max Müller, p. 33 sqq.): there are trees made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, red pearls, diamonds and various combinations of these, etc. For this resemblance between Sukhāvatī and the Daoist fairyland (also traditionally located in the far West) cf. also H. Maspero, *Les religions chinoises*, p. 72.

Tang Yongtong (*History*, p. 368) regards the passage about the blessed seated on lotus flowers as a mere rhetorical ornament, but he also points out that the later tradition about the alleged foundation of the "Lotus Society" 蓮社 may have been inspired by the same idea.

[58] 三塗: the three *durgati, viz*. rebirth as inhabitants of Hell, *preta*s or animals.

[59] The origin of the *ruyi* sceptre, a familiar symbol of the Buddhist doctrine, is rather prosaic: it was an instrument used to scratch itching spots on the back which could not be reached by the hands (hence the name: "according to one's wishes"!). The instrument is first attested in secular sources: according to *SSXY* IIB/5b a metal *ruyi* was used by Wang Dun 王敦 (266–324), and *JS* 33.12a speaks of one handled by Shi Chong 石崇 (249–300). In an earlier but rather unreliable source, the *Shiyi ji* 拾遺記 (in its present form a compilation of fragments of the original late fourth century work by Wang Jia 王嘉), we read about *ruyi* made of precious materials in the possession of Sun Quan 孫權 (181–252 AD) and Sun He 孫和 (224–252), cf. *Shiyi shi*, *Han Wei congshu* ed. 8.3b and 6b. In all these cases the *ruyi* is not used as a scratcher but as a "play-thing" used to point to persons at a meeting, to beat time when singing, to tap on or to strike against various objects etc., more or less in the same way as the "fly-whisk" was used in *qingtan* (cf. above, p. 95). Like the fly-whisk, the Chinese *ruyi* may have been taken over by cultured priests in the fourth century AD. On the other hand, a kind of back-scratcher seems to have been one of the objects which regularly figured in the inventory of the Buddhist priests: in Zhu Fonian's late fourth cent. translation of the ?*Dharmaguptakavinaya* 四分律 (T 1428) the *ruyi* is mentioned in a list of such objects (T 1428 XIX p. 694.1.6), and in the early eleventh century *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 (T 2127, by Daocheng 道誠, 1019 AD) the Sanskrit name for such an instrument is given as 阿那律 *anuruddha*, "soothed", "pacified", cf. *anurodha* "obliging", "fulfilling one's wishes" (the meaning "scratcher" does not occur in the dictionaries), which is the real meaning of *ruyi* (T 2127 II p. 279.2.28). It is not clear how and why this humble instrument could become the most venerable attribute of the Buddhist priest, unless we assume that the *ruyi* 如意 came in some way to be associated with the *ruyi bao* 如意寶, the "wish-fulfilling gem" (*cintāmaṇi*) which plays such an important role in Indian Buddhist and non-Buddhist mythology.

[60] Not mentioned elsewhere.

[61] Not mentioned elsewhere.

[62] Yin Zhongkan became governor of Jingzhou in November 398 (cf. above, p. 113).

[63] 移景 (= 影, cf. the expression 移晷), implying that a rather long time had elapsed since they began to converse.

[64] Cf. *SSXY* IB/27a–b, and above, p. 213.

[65] Lived 360–407. For Wang Mi and his role as "defender of the faith" cf. above, p. 213 and 232 sqq.

[66] Not mentioned elsewhere.

[67] 耳順, allusion to *Lunyu* II.4.5: 六十而耳順. Since Wang Mi had been born in 360 AD, this letter must have been written in 399 AD, shortly before Huan Xuan's rise to power.

[68] *I.e*. Xunyang. Lu Xun launched his great offensive against Jiangzhou and the capital in 409/410 AD, cf. above, p. 157.

[69] 音問, mostly used for "correspondence". All editions except the Korean one have 音介, where 介 is obviously a mistake for the cursive form of 問.

[70] This seems to be the name of a village; I have been unable to localize it.

[71] *CSZJJ* XV 110.1.16 mentions only Fajing, about whom nothing further is known. Faling went to Khotan where he assembled a great number of texts; among these was a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* in 36.000 *ślokas*, which was later (in 418–420 AD) translated by Buddhabhadra at the southern capital (*CSZJJ* IX 6.1.1, 華嚴經記, and *GSZ* II, biogr.

of Buddhabhadra, p. 335.3.3 sqq.). From Central Asia he returned to Chang'an ca. 408 AD, probably together with Kumārajīva's old teacher Buddhayaśas, cf. Sakaino Kōyō 境野黃洋, *Shina bukkyō seishi* 支那佛教精史 (Tōkyō 1935), pp. 537–540; Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 306, *Jōron kenkyū* p. 43; W. Liebenthal, *the Book of Zhao*, p. 98, notes 382 and 383.

[72] About Dharmanandin's faulty translation of this work nothing is known from other sources. In its present form the ?*Abhidharmahṛdaya* is an incomplete compendium of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma attributed to (?)Dharmottara or (?) Dharmaśri 法勝. Saṅghadeva first made a complete translation of this work at Luoyang ca. 384 AD (cf. *CSZJJ* II 10.3.10); this, in sixteen (var. thirteen) *juan*, has been lost since Tang times. As stated here, he made a second translation of the *Abitanxin* at Huiyuan's request during his stay at Mt. Lu in 391/392 AD, but this was actually an extract of the original text, and this version, in three *juan*, is no doubt the one preserved in the canon (T 1550).

[73] 三法度論, another Sarvāstivādin compendium attributed to Vasubhadra 山賢 and Saṅghasena 僧伽先, in three (*var.* two) *juan*; T 1506.

[74] *CSZJJ* X contains two prefaces to Saṅghadeva's (abridged) version of the *Abhidharmahṛdaya* made in 391/392 AD: one anonymous (p. 62.2.16 sqq.) and one by Huiyuan (p. 62.3.1 sqq.), and Huiyuan's preface to the *Sanfa dulun* (*ib.* p. 63.1.1 sqq.).

[75] 姚嵩, a younger brother of Yao Xing and an ardent Buddhist who actively took part in the translation activities at Chang'an. His titles were Regional Inspector for the Metropolitan Area 司隸校尉, General of the Left 左將軍 and Marquis of Ancheng 安城侯, cf. *CSZJJ* VIII 57.3.12 (Sengrui's 法華經後序, 406 AD); in *CSZJJ* XI 77.3.2 (Sengzhao's 百論序, 404 AD) he is only called 司隸校尉安城, so that his letter to Huiyuan probably was written after 404, when he had obtained the title of "General of the Left" mentioned by Huiyuan. A correspondence on doctrinal subjects between him and Yao Xing has been preserved in *GHMJ* XVIII 228.1–230.1.

[76] 承否通之會, tentative translation. The 否 used here instead of the common 不 probably alludes to the 12th hexagram of the *Yijing*, named *fou* 否, which is held to symbolize the unhappy state in which "Heaven and Earth have no contact with each other, and the beings do not communicate", cf. *Tuanzhuan* XII, trsl. Legge p. 224.

[77] 懷寶來遊至上; translation uncertain. I have taken Huaibao to be a proper name; it could also mean "You (Kumārajīva) have come to stay here, carrying the jewel (of the doctrine) in your bosom", but I do not see how this could be connected with either the preceding or the following sentence.

[78] 三方同遇. I do not know what "Three Regions" are meant here.

[79] 教合之道 is so obscure that I cannot offer even a hypothetical translation.

[80] 八正之路, a variation of 八正道, the "Eightfold Noble Path" (*āryāṣṭāṅgamārga*) of Buddhism.

[81] 滿願 renders Pūrṇa, here probably the disciple Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra who frequently figures as one of the interlocutors in the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

[82] 天漉之器 seems to refer to the filtering-bag (commonly called 漉水袋), used by Buddhist monks to strain off living creatures from the water they want to use. The 天, which makes no sense here, is probably an error for 水.

[83] 和南 = *vandanam* ("obeisance", "worship"), a formula of salutation, also commonly used by Chinese monks in their correspondence.

[84] I do not know to what scripture Kumārajīva refers or what Bodhisattva he has in mind; throughout the canon we find a great many Bodhisattvas, Gods, Yakṣas etc. considered as "protectors" of the Doctrine in general or of a particular scripture. Or does Kumārajīva mean to say that Huiyuan answers to the description of that Bodhisattva himself? In that case we may associate these words with the curious passage in Huiyuan's biography (below, p. 248)

which already occurs in Zhang Ye's "Inscription", and which states that the monks in foreign countries (*c.q.* Central Asia) used to pay homage to the Master of Mt. Lu at all religious ceremonies. When Kumārajīva wrote this letter (probably ca. 405 AD), Huiyuan had already become famous as the defender of the Church against Huan Xuan's anti-clerical policy, so that the name "Bodhisattva who Protects the Doctrine" could rightly be applied to him. For the use of the term "Bodhisattva" denoting Buddhist masters cf. above, p. 32; applied to Dao'an cf. above, p. 199.

85 因譯傳意.豈其能盡; an important remark, which shows that Kumārajīva, in spite of what is commonly told about him, was still having considerable difficulties with the Chinese language, and that he probably still made use of interpreters in his correspondence with Chinese like Huiyuan and Wang Mi.

86 No doubt a *kuṇdi* (or *kuṇḍikā*), the type of Indian water-vessel commonly known in the West under the name of "sprinkler bottle": a vessel with a full body and two openings: one lateral orifice on the shoulder used for filling the *kuṇḍi* with water, and one narrow and slightly curved spout on the neck of the bottle, from which the water is drunk, or rather sprinkled into the mouth. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* p. 265 sqq., s.v. *Byō*[2] (瓶), and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Francis Stewart Kershaw, "A Chinese Buddhist water vessel and its Indian prototype", *Artibus Asiae* 1928/29, pp. 122–141. In the latter article the authors state that the *kuṇḍi*, which in India is attested from Maurya or pre-Maurya times onward, does not appear in the archeology and art of the Far East before the eighth century. However, the present text clearly demonstrates that vessels of this type, imported from Central Asia or Northern India by foreign monks, circulated in China at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century.

87 An interesting fact which is not mentioned in Kumārajīva's biographies or in any other source.

88 For Tanyong cf. above, p. 210. Huiyuan's letter to Dharmaruci has been preserved in the latter's biography, *GSZ* II 333.2.1 sqq. and in *CSZJJ* III 20.2.5 sqq. (in Sengyou's account 記錄 of the translation of this work).

89 Cf. *CSZJJ loc. cit.*; *GSZ* II (biogr. of (?) Puṇyatara 弗若多羅) 333.1.14 sqq.; *ib.* (biogr. of Dharmaruci), 333.2.14 sqq.; *ib.* (biogr. of Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉) 333.2.26 sqq. The first part of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* (T 1435, 61 *ch.*) had been recited by Puṇyatara, Kumārajīva translating the text into Chinese; the work of translation had begun on December 3, 404 AD. When two-thirds of the text had been translated, Puṇyatara died, and since Kumārajīva apparently could not "produce" (*i.e.*, recite from memory) the remaining chapters, the work was interrupted. In the autumn of 405 Dharmaruci arrived at Chang'an and, after having received Huiyuan's letter, resumed the recital of the text, Kumārajīva again acting as translator. Still only fifty-eight out of the sixty-one *juan* were rendered, and Kumārajīva died before the text had been duly revised. Finally Vimalākṣa, another Vinaya-master from Kashmir who had arrived at Chang'an in 406, added the three remaining chapters shortly after Kumārajīva's death. *Tantae molis*…

90 This episode occurs already in Zhang Ye's "Inscription", *SSXY* IB/27a.

91 An allusion to the tenet of the eternity of the "Buddha-nature" immanent in all individuals, as expounded in the (Mahāyana) *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*?

92 If this "sūtra" alluded to by Kumārajīva is indeed the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (which is very probable, in view of the purport of Huiyuan's words), then this passage can hardly be historical, for there is indeed every reason to assume that Kumārajīva was not acquainted with the contents of this "revolutionary" sūtra at all.

93 For Huiyuan's contacts with Yao Xing cf. above, p. 212.

94 For Yao Song cf. above, note 75. Cf. the presents sent by Fu Jian to Dao'an, some 40 years earlier, above, p. 188. The *CSZJJ* XV 110.2.4 defines Yao Xing's presents as

龜茲國細鏤雜變石像, "delicately carved stone images of various scenes (from sūtras), from Kuchā".

[95] ?*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, the gigantic commentary on the 25.000 *p'p'*, attributed (certainly without reason) to Nāgārjuna, and translated by Kumārajīva; the Chinese version (in 100 *ch.*) was completed on February 1, 406 AD (cf. the preface by Sengrui in *CSZJJ* X 74.3 and the anonymous colophon on the *Da zhidu lun, ib.* 75.2). The work has been preserved (T 1509); about one-fourth (ch. I–XVIII) has been translated and copiously annotated by Et. Lamotte: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, Louvain, 1944–1949. The Indian original—if it ever existed!—has been lost so completely that even the title cannot be restored with certainty; it is nowhere mentioned or quoted in Indian Buddhist literature, nor has it ever been translated into Tibetan, in spite of its immense importance as a veritable mine of information on Mahāyāna Buddhism. It was, moreover, never translated into Chinese for a second time, so that Kumārajīva's translation is the only existing version of this work. The author was no doubt a Sarvāstivādin, well-versed in the Abhidharma of this school which flourished in North-Western India, who had been converted to the Mādhyamika doctrine of which this treatise forms the most comprehensive exposition. Kumārajīva, who was such a convert himself, probably became acquainted with it at Kuchā or at one of the other Serindian centres where he had been living. The somewhat puzzling facts mentioned above could, indeed, be explained by a possible Central Asian origin of the *Da zhidu lun*. For the nature of the work and the circumstances of its translation cf. P. Demiéville in his detailed review of the second volume of the *Traité*, in *J.As.*, 1950, pp. 375–395. The problem of the authorship of the *Da zhidu lun* has recently been discussed in some detail by Hikata Ryusho in the introduction to his edition of the *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-paripṛcchā* (Fukuoka, 1958, p. LII sqq.); the author makes an attempt to separate the later accretions (by Kumārajīva and others) from an ancient nucleus which in his view must indeed be attributed to Nāgārjuna.

[96] Paraphrase of *Zhuangzi* XVIII (至樂) p. 111: 褚小者不可以懷大.綆短者不可以汲深. *CSZJJ* has 渚 in stead of 褚.

[97] Huiyuan's preface to the *Da zhidu lun*, composed at Yao Xing's request, has not been preserved; it is not listed among Huiyuan's works in the table of contents of Lu Cheng's *Falun* (*CSZJJ* XII 83.1 sqq.), but it is mentioned in *Da Tang NDL* III, T 2149 p. 248.1.23. His preface to the extract of the *Da zhidu lun* is found in *CSZJJ* X 75.2 (大智論抄序). This extract in 20 *juan*, also known as *Boruo jingwen lun ji* 般若經問論集, *Dazhi lun yaolue* 大智論要略 and *Shilun yaochao* 釋論要抄, is mentioned in *CSZJJ* II 13.3.12 and V 38.1.18, and in most later catalogues: Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu* (504 AD), T 2146, VI 145.1.1; *Da Tang NDL* (664 AD), T 2149, III 248.1.15 and X 330.1.25; *Kaiyuan SJL* (730 AD) T 2154, IV 515.3.9; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (800 AD), T 2157, VI 812.3.1. After the last mentioned date Huiyuan's extract is not mentioned any more in bibliographical sources.

[98] 立身行道: a quotation from the first chapter of the *Xiaojing* (*zhushu* ed. 1.3a; trsl. Legge p. 466), where the highest perfection of filial piety is defined as "to establish oneself (in life) and to tread the Way (*i.e.*, to live according to right principles), and to exalt one's name for later generations, in order thereby to render illustrious one's father and mother" 立身行道.揚名於後世.以顯父母.孝之終也. On the Buddhist view, repeatedly brought forward in apologetical literature, that the monastic life is actually the highest fulfilment of filial piety, see below, p. 283.

[99] Huan Xuan's letter in which he tries to persuade Huiyuan to give up the religious life has been preserved, together with Huiyuan's answer: *HMJ* XI 75.1–6 sqq.

[100] An allusion to the proverb "Cinnabar may be ground but it cannot be deprived of its redness; stone may be broken but it cannot be deprived of its hardness", 冉可磨而不可奪其赤.石可破而不可奪堅. It first occurs in *Lüshi chunqiu* XII.4 p. 119 (trsl. Wilhelm p. 149).

[101] The full text of Huan Xuan's letter to the Ministers is reproduced in *HMJ* XII 85.1.12 sqq. For Huan Xuan's favourable words about the community at Lu Shan, cf. the analogous measure of Fu Jian (337–384 AD) exempting the monastery of Zhu Senglang 竺僧朗 at the Tai Shan from state control, *GSZ* V 354.2.14.

[102] *GSZ* has here 淪湑將及; Huiyuan's letter as reproduced in *HMJ* XII 85.2.2. reads 混然淪湑. In both texts 淪湑 is a mistake for 淪胥 "to be lost together", cf. *Shijing*, Ode 194 (II.iv.10.1, 雨無正): 若此無罪. 淪胥以舖.

[103] Allusion to *Shijing*, Ode 35 (I.iii.10.3, 谷風): 涇以渭濁.

[104] The full text of Huiyuan's letter is reproduced in *HMJ* XII 85.1.29 sqq. For the regulations proposed by Huiyuan cf. below, p. 260.

[105] From April/May 402 till January 2, 404; cf. above, p. 155.

[106] 八座: since Later Han times a general designation of the 六曹 six ministers together with the *Shangshu ling* 尚書令 and the *puye* 僕射.

[107] Reading, with the Korean edition of *GSZ* and *HMJ* XII 83.3.5, 此便當行之事.

[108] The text of Huiyuan's letter as quoted here considerably deviates from the one reproduced in *HMJ* XII 83.3.10 sqq. Cf. above, p. 237.

[109] 遨流, one of the stereotyped expressions denoting the "retired life".

[110] On January 2, 404 AD. Cf. above, p. 156.

[111] Huan Xuan's order was of course an imperial edict 詔, since he had already ascended the throne. In *GSZ* this document is called a "letter" 書, probably on account of the "illegal" character of Huan's rule, but in *HMJ* XII 84.2.25 it is indeed entitled 桓楚 (Huan's abortive Chu dynasty) 許道人不致禮詔.

[112] For considerably different version of Huan's edict see *HMJ* XII, *loc. cit.*

[113] *GSZ* has 故興其敬 which makes no sense. I follow the *HMJ* text which reads 故寧與其敬耳. My translation remains tentative: 與 in the sense of 許: "to grant", "to let them have…"?

[114] 謙光, allusion to *Yijing*, hexagram 15 (謙): 謙尊而光.

[115] 禮敬為本 (trsl. Hurvitz p. 20 mistranslated as "Propriety and reverence have their foundation herein"), allusion to the opening words of the *Liji* (*Quli*, I 1): 曲禮曰.毋不敬.

[116] Reading, in accordance with the Yuan and Ming editions and the version of *HMJ*, 夫然故…in stead of 大德故…

[117] The text of the *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* in *HMJ* V 30.2.15 reads 廣開 "widely to open…".

[118] 在宥; for this expression cf. *Zhuangzi* XI (ch. 在宥) p. 62: 聞在宥天下.不聞治天下也 etc. *Lit*. "to let the people dwell (in freedom) and to be lenient towards (them)".

[119] 不兼應者.物不能兼受也; it is not clear what Huijiao means by this gloss. Does it refer to Buddhism and Confucianism?

[120] 識神馳騖.隨行東西. These words do not occur in the text of the fifth section of Huiyuan's treatise as reproduced in *HMJ* V 31.2.10 sqq.

[121] In March–April 404 AD, cf. below, note 123.

[122] He Wuji was one of Liu Yu's partisans; he played an important role in the latter's offensive against Huan Xuan in 404 AD, after which he obtained the title 輔國將軍 mentioned here. He died in the war against Lu Xun in 410 AD, cf. his biography in *JS* 85.6a sqq. He does not appear to have been a Buddhist; *HMJ* V 32.3 contains a letter with objections 難 raised by him against Huiyuan's treatise on the *kāṣāya* worn by the monks, 沙門袒服論.

[123] 陽月 normally denotes the tenth month of the lunar calendar, but this does not correspond with the date on which emperor An passed Xunyang, *i.e.*, between March 22, 405 when he left Jiangling and April 29 when he reached Jiankang (cf. *JS* 10.5a), *i.e.*, in spring. 陽月 stands no doubt for 春月, the character 春 being taboo since 371 AD, as it occurred in the personal name of empress Zheng 鄭, the principal consort of emperor Jianwen. For the same reason the title of various

historical works composed between that date and the end of the Jin dynasty contain the expression 陽秋 in stead of 春秋, such as Sun Sheng's 孫盛 *Jin yangqiu* 晉陽秋, Xi Zuochi's 習鑿齒 *Han-Jin yangqiu* 漢晉陽秋 and Tan Daoluan's 檀道鸞 *Xu Jin yangqiu* 續晉陽秋.

[124] On March 22, 405 AD, cf. previous note.

[125] Xie Lingyun (385–433 AD, biogr. in *Songshu* 67.1a) was one of the most famous poets and calligraphers of his time. His career began under Liu Yu; after having filled various high posts in the first years of the Song dynasty, he was suspected of plotting rebellion and executed in 433. Xie Lingyun was a devout and learned Buddhist who actively took part in the ideological controversies which in the early fifth century rose in Buddhist circles, notably about the problem of "Sudden Enlightenment"; he was also active in the field of translation (*c.q.* the revision of translated scriptures) and exegesis. Although all this actually belongs to a phase of Chinese Buddhism which falls outside the scope of this study, we may give the reader an impression of the intensity of his Buddhist interests by listing the following data:

(1) Xie Lingyun had contacts with several Buddhist masters. Contact with Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 appears from his exposition of the latter's doctrine of "Sudden Enlightenment" 頓悟 in his *Bianzong lun* 辨宗論, *GHMJ* XVIII 224.3.25 sqq.
(2) *Ib.* various letters on the same subject to and from other monks.
(3) He wrote eulogies on Huiyuan and on Tanlong 曇隆, text in *GHMJ* XXIII 226.2.3 sqq.
(4) and a "hymn on Amitāyus" 無量壽佛頌, quoted in *YWLI* 76.11a;
(5) his "eulogy on a picture of the *Jetavana* made by Fan Tai (范泰)", 和范光錄祇洹像贊 and his "Eulogy on the ten similes of the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*"; 維摩經十譬贊 in *GHMJ* XV 200.1.12 sqq.;
(6) his "inscription (dealing with) the shadow of the Buddha" 佛影銘 in *GHMJ* XV 199.2.6.
(7) Together with the monks Huiyan 慧嚴 and Huiguan 慧觀 he revised Dharmakṣema's version of the (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in 36 ch., known as the Southern Recension (= T 375).
(8) He wrote a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā* 金剛般若經注, quoted in Li Shan's commentary on Wang Jin's 王巾 "Inscription on the *Dhūta*-monastery" 頭陁寺碑文, *Wenxuan* LIX p. 271.
(9) Together with the monk Huirui, 慧叡 he composed a glossary of Sanskrit terms (in Chinese transcription, but arranged according to the "fourteen (vowel-) sounds of the Sanskrit alphabet) 十四音訓序, cf. *GSZ* VII 367.2.14; Tang Yongtong, *History* vol. II p. 339; Richard Mather, "The Landscape Buddhism of the Fifth-Century Poet Xie Lingyun", *Journal of Asian Studies* XVIII.1 (November 1958) pp. 67–79, esp. p. 72; A. F. Wright in *Sino-Indian Studies* V (1957) p. 279; P. Demiéville in *TP* XLV (1957) p. 243.

[126] *I.e.*, the *Sangfu daji* 喪服大記, a chapter of the *Liji* (ch. 45 of the *zhushu* ed.).

[127] On secular studies on Mt. Lu cf. above, p. 230.

[128] Zhang Ye states in his "Inscription" that Huiyuan had not left the mountain since his sixtieth year, *i.e.*, during the last twenty-three years of his life.

[129] According to Xie Lingyun's "Eulogy" (廬山慧遠法師誄, *GHMJ* XXIII 267.1.20), Huiyuan died at the age of 84 on the sixth day of the eighth month of *yixi* 13, *i.e.*, September 2, 417 AD. On the other hand, Zhang Ye says in his "Inscription" that he was 83 when he died.

[130] Not mentioned elsewhere. Huiyuan's grave is described in *Lu Shan ji* ch. I, T 2095 p. 29.1.25 sqq.

[131] Xie Lingyun's epitaph, with an introduction by Zhang Ye, is mentioned in Chen Shunyu's 陳舜俞 *Lu Shan ji* 廬山記, ch. V (T 2095, p. 1048.2.9).

[132] Apart from Huiyuan's letters to Kumārajīva, which have been separately transmitted

in the collection *Dasheng da yizhang* 大乘大義章 (cf. above, p. 226), the table of contents of Lu Cheng's *Falun* (*CSZJJ* XII 83.1 sqq.) mentions twenty-one treatises and letters, nine of which have been preserved (marked below with an asterisk): (1) 法性論, in two sections; (2) Answer by Huiyuan to a letter entitled 論真人至極, the author of which is not mentioned; (3) 沙法蓮華經序; (4) 無三乘統略; (5) *三法度經序; (6) 法社節度序; (7) 外寺僧節度序; (8) 節度序; (9) 比丘尼節度序; (10) *"Correspondence with Huan Xuan, three letters" (no doubt those pertaining to the question of the Rites); (11) *Reply to Huan Xuan's letter about the selection of the clergy; (12) *The treatise: 沙門不敬王者論, in five sections; (13) *The treatise on the monk's garment, 沙門袒服論; (14) * 禪經序; (15) 釋神足; (16) *阿毘曇心序; (17) *釋三報論; (18) *明報應論; (19) 辯心意識; (20) 釋神名; (21) 驗寄名. Huiyuan's biography mentions furthermore his extract of the *Da zhidu lun* (cf. above, note 97) and contains quotations from his first two letters to Kumārajīva (above, pp. 246–248), and the full text of his hymns on the Shadow of the Buddha (cf. above, pp. 242–243 and note 27); in *HMJ* XI 75.1 we find furthermore his answer to Huan Xuan's request to give up the religious life, 答桓玄勸罷道書; in *GHMJ* XV 198.2 his eulogy on a Buddha image at Xiangyang; *ib.* XVIII 222.2 his answer to a letter from Dai Kui 戴逵; *ib.* XXVII 304.1 his letter to Liu Yimin and other lay devotees; *ib.* XXX 351.2 his preface to a collection of poems on *Buddhānusmṛti-samādhi* 念佛三昧詩序; parts of his *Lu Shan ji* are quoted in *SSXY comm.* II B/44b, *Wenxuan comm.* 12.256, 22.480, 26.583, *YWLJ* 7.20b, *Shuijing zhu* 39.19a, T 2095 I 1027.3 and 1031.6, and *TPYL* 41.3b and 41.6a, and a fragment of his letter to the rebel Lu Xun is reproduced in *YWLJ* 87.20b and *TPYL* 972.7b.

CHAPTER FIVE

[1] *Digha* 11.36 pp. 60–61, Dialogues I p. 77, *Zhang ahan* (T 1) XVII (27) 109.1.24.

[2] Each and every school of classical and post-classical Chinese philosophy is primarily concerned with the same fundamental problem: how must the world be governed? Each answer to this question represents what has strikingly been called by M. Granet "une certaine recette d'action civilisatrice" (*La pensée chinoise*, p. 17).

[3] Cf. H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 2nd ed., p. 163. Ancestor worship was the private duty of each individual family and could only be practised by the direct descendants of the deceased. In Confucianism the originally religious function of the ruler has to some extent been secularized, the *pontifex maximus* (who was the emperor himself) being at the same time the highest dignitary in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the empire.

[4] These elements may certainly be regarded as resulting from Buddhist influence or from conscious imitation of Buddhist institutions, cf. Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, *Dōkyō no kisokuteki-kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究 (Tōkyō 1952) p. 112 sqq.

[5] Cf. H. Maspero, *Le Taoisme* p. 44 and 152 sqq.; Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–92.

[6] On the other hand, some attempts were made to prove the "Buddhist origin" of Zhang Daoling's doctrine, cf. below, pp. 319–320.

[7] Falin 法林, *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (written in 626 AD) III (T 2110) 502.3.9 and *Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方志 II, T 2088, 973.3. The provenance of these numbers is unknown. Falin's work, a polemic treatise, is rather unreliable; in the previous chapters we have had opportunity to demonstrate some glaring errors which it contains. Moreover, the fact that *nuns* are mentioned must arouse our suspicion: Jingjian 淨檢, who according to *BQNZ* I (T 2063 p. 934.3.2) was the first Chinese nun, was ordained some years after 313, *i.e.*, in one of the very last years of the period to which Falin's figures refer.

[8] *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (ca. 547), introduction, p. 1a

and ch. 4.3b. The number 42 is confirmed by Wei Shou's *Shi Lao zhi*, *Weishu* 114.3a, trsl. Ware p. 123, trsl. Hurvitz p. 47.

[9] *Bianzheng lun* III (T 2110) 503.2.1. Cf. J. Gernet, *Aspects économiques* p. 3.

[10] The title of a treatise by Huiyuan, cf. above, p. 15 nr 6.

[11] 出家則是方外之賓; Huiyuan, *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* 沙門不經王者論, section II, *HMJ* V 30.2.6.

[12] *Ib*. 30.2.11 sqq.

[13] 溥天之下.莫非王土.率土之濱.莫非王臣; *Shijing*, ode 209 (*Xiaoya* VI. 1, *Beishan*), Legge p. 360.

[14] See above, p. 106 sqq. and p. 231 sqq. The controversy about the Rites was essentially a southern phenomenon. In the North, the dignitaries of the state-sponsored church saw no objection in submitting to temporal powers and occasionally even encouraged the monks to "pay homage to the Ruler". Most characteristic are the words attributed to Faguo 法果 (died 420 AD), house-chaplain of emperor Taizu of the Tuoba Wei: " 'Taizu is intelligent and loves the Way. As he is the Tathāgata of the present time, the *śramaṇas* should pay him all homage'. Hence he always did obeisance (to the emperor), saying to others: 'The one who is able to expand the Way (*i.e.*, to make the religion prosper) is the lord of men. I am not bowing before the emperor, I am just paying homage to the Buddha'!" (*Shi Lao zhi, Weishu* 114.3b; trsl. Ware p. 128; trsl. Hurvitz p. 53).

[15] *HMJ* XII 84.3.3 = T 2108 II 451.2.21.

[16] *HMJ* XII 84.3.14 = T 2108 II 451.3.1.

[17] Cf. *Daode jing* ch. 25: "The Way is great, Heaven is great, Earth is great and the King is great. There are in the world four great ones and the King is one thereof. The King patterns himself on Earth, the Earth patterns itself on Heaven, Heaven patterns itself on the Way, and the Way patterns itself on the Natural" (trsl. Duyvendak, p. 65).

[18] 王制: the title of the third book of the *Liji*.

[19] Cf. *Daode jing* ch. 13: "The reason why I suffer great disasters, is that I have a body. As soon as I have no body, what disaster can I suffer?" (trsl. Duyvendak p. 43).

[20] *Shengsheng* 生生, a term which here denotes the cosmic process of *karman* and rebirth, just as it in the *Yijing* (*Xici*, VII.13b, Legge p. 356) is used for the universal process of "change": 生生之謂易.

[21] *I.e.*, to enable others to be reborn as gods or human beings and to avoid rebirth in a lower *gati*.

[22] *HMJ* XI 83.3.19 = T 2108 (*Chi shamen ... teng shi*) II 448.1.8.

[23] *HMJ* V 32.1.25 = T 2108 II 451.1.26.

[24] *HMJ* V 32.2.6 = T 2108 II 451.2.8.

[25] In the preceding phrases in this letter Huiyuan has exemplified this principle by referring to *Lunyu* III.17, where Zigong is rebuked by Confucius because he wished to do away with the offering of a sheep, the only vestige which had remained of the ancient ceremony of "announcing the first day of the month" (*gaoshuo* 告朔).

[26] *HMJ* XII 84.1.23.

[27] (1) Under Shi Hu (reigned 335–349, *GSZ* IX 385.2.28; the order to investigate the *saṅgha* was issued shortly before Wang Du's memorial, *i.e.*, probably in 335, cf. below, note 74); (2) under Fu Jian (reigned 357–385), *GSZ* V 354.2.14; (3) under Huan Xuan, shortly before 402, cf. above p. 214 and 250; (4) under emperor Xiaowu of the Liu-Song dynasty in or shortly after 435 (*Songshu* 97.6a); (5) a local selection, privately undertaken by Du Ba 杜霸, prefect of Fuliu 扶柳 (Zhejiang), at some date in the first half of the fourth century (*BQNZ* I 935.1.29).

[28] *GSZ* IX 385.3.2.

[29] *GSZ* IX 385.2.29.

[30] *HMJ* XII 85.1.17; answer by Huiyuan *ib*. 85.1.29.

[31] *HMJ* XII 85.1.14.

[32] The conception of "hidden saintliness" is traditional in Chinese thought; the Mahāyānist doctrine of the "expediency" (*upāya, fangbian* 方便) of the Saint may also have provided a justification for this attitude. "Ce que traduit l'attitude générale des moines chinois à l'égard des règles de la discipline, c'est cette idée: on ne sait jamais ou la sainteté peut se cacher. Ce peut-être sous les formes les plus profanes et les plus contraires à la décence religieuse" (Gernet, *Aspects économiques du Bouddhisme*, p. 241).

[33] 役門, lit. "from families liable to statute labour" (and hence from the lower classes, because the higher and more prosperous strata of society could obtain exemption).

[34] *HMJ* XII 85.2.1.

[35] *HMJ* XII 85.3.14.

[36] *GHMJ* XXIV 272.2.8. cf. *Songshu* 97.6a. Note the severity of the punishment: disobedience to an imperial decree constituted—at least in Han times—a crime of the category *bujing* 不敬 ("*nefas*") warranting capital punishment (cf. Hulsewé, *Han Law*, pp. 187–189.

[37] *HMJ* XI 69.1.13, *Songshu* 97.5b. For the scarcity of bronze and the prohibition to use it for casting images ca. 420 AD, cf. *GSZ* XIII 410.3.23 and 411.1.4 sqq.

[38] Gernet, *op. cit.*, p. 227 and pp. 13–24.

[39] *Mouzi* section XVI, *HMJ* I 4.1.15, trsl. Pelliot p. 306. *Wuwei* 無為, is in Buddhist treatises regularly used for *Nirvāṇa*; for the Chinese readers the term remained no doubt associated with the idea of quietism, and in view of the context where *wuwei* is opposed to the blameworthy "activities" of monks I have preferred to give a literal translation.

[40] *Jinshu* 64.8b.

[41] 或機巧異端以濟生業: it is not clear what exactly is meant. The term *yiduan*, normally denoting "heterodox principles" (*Lunyu* II.16) also occurs as an equivalent of 小道 "inferior ways or occupations" (He Yan 何晏 *ad Lunyu* XIX.4, *zhushu* ed. XIX.2a), in which meaning it probably is used here.

[42] In his introduction (*HMJ* VI 35.1.7), Daoheng says that during the *yixi* era (405–418) two gentlemen named Yuan 袁 and He 何 had written a polemic essay about the five greatest evils of their time, which they had called the "Five subversive (elements)", *wuheng* 五衡, in imitation of Han Feizi's well-known treatise "the Five Vermin", *wudu* 五蠹. Daoheng, seeing that the Buddhist clergy figured among these, feared lest "the minds of his contemporaries, blinded and dazzled, would forever be lost in heretical errors", and therefore composed his *Shibo lun* to prove the fallacy of these reasonings. The identity of Yuan and He is unknown. He is identified by Tang Yongtong (*History*, p. 350) with the general He Wuji 何無忌 (?–410), who shortly before his death engaged in a polemic correspondence with Huiyuan about the offensive character of the monk's dress (see above, p. 16 no. 8). On the other hand one may think of He Chengtian 何承天 (370–447) who during the *yixi* era was an erudite (*boshi*) at the imperial academy (*Songshu* 64.7a) and consequently in a position at the capital in which he could very well have published a moralistic treatise as described by Daoheng. He was a fervent anti-Buddhist, cf. *HMJ* III 18.1.19 sqq. and *GHMJ* XVIII 224.1.22.

[43] *HMJ* VI 35.2.6.

[44] *Mouzi*, section XVI, *HMJ* I 4.1.24, trsl. Pelliot p. 306.

[45] *Ib*. 4.1.22.

[46] *HMJ* XII 84.1.14.

[47] *Zhengwu lun* 正誣論 (cf. above, p. 15 nr. 2), *HMJ* II 8.2.22. The expressions in the last lines refer to well-known Daoist dietetic and respiratory practices such as "abstinence from cereals" 避穀, the accumulation of the "breath of life" 生氣, "circulation of the breath" 行氣 etc., the cultivation of which was believed to result in immortality in an ethereal and indestructible body. Cf. H. Maspero, "Les procédés

de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la religion taoïste ancienne", *J.As*. CCXXIX, 1937, pp. 177–252 and 353–430; id. *Le Taoïsme*, p. 98 sqq.

[48] *Digha* II 40 p. 62; *Dialogues* I p. 78; *Zhang ahan* T 1 XVII (27) p. 109.2.7 (much shorter version).

[49] *Milindapañha* trsl. Rhys Davids p. 49, trsl. Finot p. 67; Chinese versions: T 1670 A I 597.1.4; T 1670 B I 707.1.24; trsl. P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XXIV, 1924, pp. 94–95.

[50] *Lunyu* XI.11 (Legge p. 104): 不知生.焉知死.

[51] 迷而知反去道不遠. These words look like a quotation; I have been unable to trace them to their source. Close parallels of the saying occur *e.g.* in *Sanguo zhi, Weizhi* 6.26b (biography of Yuan Shu: 若迷而知反…) and *Nanshi* 61.2b (biogr. of Chen Bozhi: 迷途知反…).

[52] *HMJ* XI 75.1.13.

[53] *Baihei lun* 白黑論 (cf. above, p. 15 no 5), *Songshu* 97.7b, trsl. Liebenthal p. 370.

[54] *HMJ* XII 80.1.1. (= T 2108 I 444.2.3.).

[55] Buddha, pratyekabuddha, bodhisattva and śrāvaka.

[56] *Liu Qin* 六親: father and mother, elder and younger brothers (and sisters), wife and childern (gloss by Ying Shao 應劭 quoted by Yan Shigu 顏師古 *ad Hanshu* 48.6b). There are, however, several other lists of "six relatives", cf. *Cihai* p. 158.3 s.v. *liu Qin*.

[57] *HMJ* V. 30.1.11 and 30.2.15, trsl. Hurvitz p. 19 and 22. The last words, *zaiyou* 在宥, are the title of the eleventh chapter of *Zhuangzi*, explained by Guo Xiang as "If (the ruler) is lenient and leaves (the people) to themselves, then they will (automatically) be orderly"; cf. also Wang Xianqian 王先謙 in *Zhuangzi jijie* III p. 62 for two other interpretations: (1) 在 = *cha* 察 "to investigate", (2) 在 = *cun* 存 "to hold, to preserve".

[58] *HMJ* II 16.1.6. For the last sentence cf. *Lunyu* II.3.

[59] *Ba nan* 八難 *aṣṭāv akṣaṇāḥ*, the eight kinds of inopportune birth, *i.e*., birth in situations in which one cannot meet a Buddha or is unable by one's mental qualities to recognize and accept the doctrine. Standard list *Mvy* 2299–2308.

[60] *HMJ* VI 36.2.10.

[61] The "abolition of punishments" 刑錯[而不用] is one of the results of ideal government. The expression is a cliché, cf. Dubs and collaborators, *History*, vol. II, p. 36, n. 5.1.

[62] *HMJ* XI 69.3.9, partly reproduced in *GHMJ* I 100.1.17 and *GSZ* VII 367.3.23. He Shangzhi was a fervent Buddhist, see the preface to the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 (*śrīmālā* [*devīsiṃhanāda*]-*sūtra*) by Faci 法慈, dated 436, in *CSZJJ* IX 67.2.16 sqq.

[63] *Lunyu* III.5 (Legge p. 20): 夷狄之有君不如諸夏之亡也. Legge follows Zhu Xi and translates "The rude tribes of the East and North have their princes, and are not like the states of our great land which are without them". He Yan (*zhushu* ed. 3.4a) takes 不如 in its normal sense: "The rude tribes with their rulers are still inferior to China with its anarchy".

[64] *Mencius* IIIA/IV.12, Legge p. 129.

[65] 弱冠, lit. "a youth (at the age of) being capped". The expression which denotes a young man about twenty years old, is derived from *Liji* Ia (*Quli*) 7 (27) (*zhushu* ed. 1.12a; Legge p. 65; Couvreur p. 8): 人生十年曰幼.學.二十曰弱.冠

[66] *Mouzi*, section XIV, *HMJ* I 3.3.10; trsl. Pelliot *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 303.

[67] On this expression see Pelliot's remark in *TP* 19 (1920) p. 350, note 90.

[68] *Mouzi* section VII, *HMJ* I 2.2.26, trsl. Pelliot p. 295.

[69] *Liji* III (*Wangzhi*) 3.14, *zhushu* ed. XII.26b; trsl. Couvreur p. 295: 中國戎夷五方之民皆有性也.不可推移.

[70] 性習之教, an allusion to Confucius' famous remark (*Lunyu* XVII.2): "By nature, men are almost alike—it is by practice that they become widely (different) from each other" 性相近.習相遠也. According to He Chengtian, the author of this passage, Confucius did not

mean to say that *all* people, including the barbarians, originally are similar in nature; this holds only good for the Chinese, for it was the superiority of the Chinese national character which enabled him to expound such a broad-minded and humanitarian doctrine. It goes without saying that He Chengtian is violating the spirit of Confucianism. No doubt the barbarians are despicable, rude, violent and not to be imitated, but "when a superior man dwells among them, what rudeness would there be?" (*Lunyu* IX, 13.2). Once drawn within the sphere of Chinese civilisation they become acceptable in spite of their foreign origin.

71 He Chengtian in his answer to Zong Bing (cf. above, p. 15 no. 5), *HMJ* III 19.3.27. The theory of the fundamental difference between the Chinese and other people, but free from any nationalistic bias, was used by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433) to defend Daozheng's doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment (*dunwu* 頓悟) as being more suited to the Chinese temper and inborn abilities, *GHMJ* XVIII 224.3.25.

72 *Liuyi* 六夷, lit. "the Six (kinds of) Eastern Barbarians". The oldest sources mention the "Four Yi" (*Mencius* IA 7.16, here 四, as often, "at the four sides, all around") and the "Nine Yi" (*Lunyu* IX.13, *Erya* IX, *zhushu* ed. VII.8b). Here *Yi* is no doubt used for "barbarian" in general.

73 *HMJ* XII 81.1.25.

74 *GSZ* IX 385.3.4 = *Jinshu* 95.12b. For a discussion of the date of this memorial (based on *ZZTJ* 95 p. 1122b) see H. Maspero, "Communautés et moines Bouddhistes chinois aux II[e] et III[e] siècles", *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 223 note 1.

75 *HMJ* III 21.3.5.

76 *Mouzi*, section XIV, *HMJ* I 3.3.19; trsl. Pelliot p. 304. For You Yu (who actually betrayed his country to Qin) cf. *Han Feizi* III.49 and *Shiji* 5.12a sqq. (Chavannes, *Mém. Hist*. II, pp. 39–43).

77 Jin Midi was the son of the Hun chieftain of the Xiuchu 休屠; he became a court official and was greatly favoured by emperor Wu. In 88 BC he saved the emperor's life by striking down the courtier Ma Heluo 馬何羅 (whose surname was posthumously changed into Mang 莽) when the latter was about to enter the emperor's bedroom with a dagger. Jin Midi was ennobled as a marquis in 87 BC and died shortly afterwards. See his biography in *Hanshu* 68.20b sqq.

78 Daoxuan 道宣 in his *Liedai wangchen zhihuo jie* 列代汪臣滯惑解 (664 AD), *GHMJ* VI 127.1.3.

79 Huiyuan in his *Shamen tanfu lun* (cf. above, p. 16 no. 8), *HMJ* V 32.2.19.

80 A translation which already figures in the "*Sūtra in forty-two chapters*", T 784, p. 723.3.26.

81 *Mouzi*, section 1, *HMJ* I 1.3.25; trsl. Pelliot p. 291.

82 *Mouzi*, section XIV, *HMJ* I 3.3.21; trsl. Pelliot p. 304.

83 Daoxuan, *op. cit*., p. 126.3.18.

84 Wang Mi in his answer to Huan Xuan, *HMJ* XII 81.3.15.

85 蓋內外名之耳: read…之名? The "inner teaching" 內教 is Buddhism; 外 refers to all secular doctrines.

86 Sun Chuo 孫綽, *Yu Dao lun* 喻道論 (cf. above, p. 133), *HMJ* III 17.1.7.

87 "Opponent" in Huiyuan's *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* (cf. above, p. 238) section IV, *HMJ* V 31.1.2 (= T 2108.II 350.1.3), trsl. Hurvitz p. 25.

88 As *e.g*. the "opponents" in *Mouzi* and *Shibo lun*, cf. above, p. 262.

89 *Mouzi* section IV, *HMJ* I 2.1.20, trsl. Pelliot p. 293.

90 *Ib*. section VIII, *HMJ* I 2.3.9, trsl. Pelliot p. 296.

91 Zong Bing, *Mingfo lun* (cf. above, p. 15 no. 3), *HMJ* II 9.2.6.

92 *Mouzi* section V, HMJ I 2.2.3, trsl. Pelliot p. 293 (where Pelliot mistranslates the opponent's last words 儀以為煩而不要矣 as "J'en éprouve de la répugnance et je n'en veux pas". The use of *yao* as "to want" is modern; the phrase must be interpreted as "I regard this as cumbersome and not (expressing) the essential").

[93] *Baihei lun*, *Songshu* 97.7b, trsl. Liebenthal p. 369.

[94] "Opponent" in Huiyuan's *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* section IV, *HMJ* V 30.3.27 (= T 2108 II 449.3.29), trsl. Hurvitz p. 25.

[95] *Baihei lun* (cf. above, p. 15 no. 5), *Songshu* 97.7b; allusion to *Zhuangzi* XVII p. 100.

[96] Zong Bing, *Mingfo lun* (cf. above, p. 15 no 3), *HMJ* II 9.2.13; trsl. Liebenthal p. 379; cf. *Zhuangzi* XXI (ch. 田子方) p. 129.

[97] 是身也, here obviously not "the body" (cf. Liebenthal trsl. p. 380).

[98] Chixian 赤縣 = *Chixian shenzhou* 赤縣神州, the name of the "Middle Country" according to the division of the world by Zou Yan 騶衍 (fourth cent. BC), sometimes used as a name for China. Cf. *Shiji* 74.2a.

[99] *Ba ji* 八極, the eight mountains with the eight gates of the winds at the extreme confines of the world according to *Huainanzi* IV p. 58.

[100] These numbers are enigmatic. I think that Liebenthal is right in supposing (*op. cit*., p. 380 note 190) that Zong Bing misunderstood the term *sanqian daqian shijie* 三千大千世界 = *trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātuḥ*, usually errended by the horrible expression (invented by Abel Rémusat) "trichiliomegachiliocosmos". Zong Bing seems to have interpreted this term as 3 × 1000 worlds, and to have multiplied this number by four, *i.e*., one group of 3.000 worlds in each of the four directions. Indian Buddhist cosmology is less modest in its assumptions. One thousand worlds, each consisting of four continents, one moon, one sun and several heavens and hells, constitute a "little chiliocosmos", *sāhasraś cūdiko lokadhātuḥ*. One thousand universes of this kind form one "dichiliocosmos", *dvisāhasro madhyamo lokadhātuḥ*, and one thousand universes of this type form one trichiliomegachiliocosmos, which consequently contains 1.000.000.000 worlds. Cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV p. 170. However, it must be noted that the expression "three thousand suns and" moons and thirteen (*sic*!) thousand worlds" 三千日月萬三千天地 occurs already in the late Han *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經 (Kyōto ed. XIV, 3 p. 226.A.1).

[101] Allusion to the Buddhist expression *Heng(he)sha shijie* 恆[河]沙世界 = *Gaṅgānadīvalukopamā lokadhātavaḥ* "worlds as numerous as the sands of the Ganges". I take *yue* 閱 in the sense of *shu* 數 "to count", being parallel with *ji* "to record" in the next phrase. Liebenthal's translation (p. 381) is certainly wrong: the sentence consists of two independent phrases in parataxis, the first one referring to the immense number of worlds in this "metagalactic system", the second one referring to the equally tremendous number of cosmic periods that have elapsed. Liebenthal rightly remarks that this sentence (actually only the last phrase) seems to allude to the beginning of the *Pūrvayoga-parivarta* (ch. VII) of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.

[102] Xuanyuan 軒轅 was according to *Shiji* 1.2a the personal name of the Yellow Emperor.

[103] The expressions which here and in the following phrases characterize the various classics are taken from *Liji* XXIII.1 (*Lijie*), Couvreur, vol. II, p. 353.

[104] *Zhenguan* 貞觀, an enigmatic expression occurring in the *Yijing*, *Xici* II, *zhushu* ed. VIII.3a, Legge p. 380: 天地之道貞觀者也.日月之道貞明者也.天下之動貞夫一者也. Legge translates, very freely: "By the same rule, heaven and earth, in their course, continually give forth (their lessons); the sun and moon continually emit their light; all the movements under the sky are constantly subject to this one and the same rule". A tentative more literal translation would be "The (natural) way of Heaven and Earth consists of making firm-and-correct their (view:) appearance (?); the way of sun and moon consists of making firm-and-correct their brightness; (all) movements in the world (become) firm-and-correct by unity (or 'unification')". This is far from clear. The main difficulty is that the exact meaning of *zhen*(*g*) 貞, here translated as "firm-and-correct" (*i.e*., *zhenzheng* 貞正, the standard paraphrase given in all Chinese commentaries) and as "true" in the text on p. 269,

is not known. It occurs in the *tuanci* on the first hexagram among other ancient divinatory technical terms, none of which is clear. At the present state of our knowledge of the *Yijing* (a subject which so far has meticulously been avoided by practically all serious scholars) it seems premature to offer a less vague translation than I have given in the text.

[105] An allusion to the story in *Zhuangzi* XXV p. 170 about two microscopic kingdoms, each one situated on one horn of a snail, which are engaged in an endless war with each other—an interesting parody on the Warring States.

[106] In all ed. this passage runs as follows 蓋於蠻觸之域應求治之麄感且. 寧乏於一生之內耳, which is incomprehensible. Liebenthal translates (p. 381): . . . "but that it is insufficient to solve the problems of one life", leaving 寧 and 耳 out. It makes no sense to take *ning* either as an interrogative particle or as a particle denoting preference ("rather . . . than"). I have interpreted it as a full word with its usual meaning of "to pacify, to tranquilize". If this is correct, *fa* 乏 must be a mistake for *zhi* 之 "them", *i.e*., the warlike Liliputians or "the people" in general. *Qie* 且 = *gu qie* 姑且, "for the time being, provisionally".

[107] Zong Bing, *Mingfo lun*, *HMJ* II 9.2.29 sqq. For the last words cf. *Zhuangzi* II (齊物論) p. 13.

[108] 生而神靈弱而能言, *Shiji* I.7a (*Mém. Hist*. I p. 26); said of the Yellow Emperor (trad. 2697–2597 BC).

[109] 自言其名, *Shiji* I.7b (*Mém. Hist*. I p. 40); said of *Digu* 帝嚳 (trad. 2435–2365 BC).

[110] 懿淵疏通, cf. *Shiji* I.7a (*Mém. Hist*. I p. 37): 靜 (*sic*) 渊以有謀.疏通而知事; said of Zhuanxu 顓頊 (trad. 2513–2435 BC).

[111] 居軒轅之丘, cf. *Shiji* I.6a (*Mém. Hist*. I p. 34). The "hill of Xianyuan" is traditionally located North-West of Xinzheng Xian 新鄭縣 in Henan; cf. *Mém. Hist*. I p. 26, note 2.

[112] 崆峒 cf. *Shiji* I.4a (*Mém. Hist*. I p. 30). Fan (var. Huan) and Tai, cf. *Shiji* I.4a (*Mém. Hist*. I p. 29): 登丸 (var. Ji 几 and Fan 凡) 山及岱宗. Kongtong Shan is traditionally identified with the mountain of the same name near Linru Xian 臨汝縣 in Henan; Huan Shan is located in Langye 瑯琊 (Shandong); the Daizong is the eastern summit of the Tai Shan in Shandong. Here Zong Bing probably refers to the story in *Liezi* V (湯問) p. 54.

[113] Cf. *Shiji* I.7a (*Mém. Hist*. I pp. 37–38): 北至于幽陵.南至于交阯.西.至于流沙.東至于蟠木; said of the travels of Zhuanxu. In the same way the fabulous country of Huaxu 華胥, which Huangdi visited in a dream acc. to *Liezi* II.13, is identified with India by Daoxuan 道宣 in *GHMJ* I 98.3.1 and VI 127.1.13, referring to Wang Shao 王邵 (second half sixth cent.) for this explanation.

[114] 至道之精.窈窈冥冥, *Zhuangzi* XI.65.

[115] The *śūraṃgamasamādhi* is described as being identical with the Buddha-nature, which may have been the reason why Zong Bing takes "the essence of the highest Way" to refer to this *samādhi*.

[116] 得吾道者上為皇下為王, *Zhuangzi* XI.66.

[117] 飛行皇帝, an archaic rendering of *cakravartirāja*, which in the next line is rendered, as usual, by *zhuanlun shengwang* 轉論聖王. This whole passage is strongly reminiscent of *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經 (T 184, translated at the end of the second century by Zhu Dali 竺大力 and Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳), Kyōto ed. XIV.3 p. 225B1: 從上來下.為轉輪聖王.飛行皇帝, which phrase we find repeated in Zhi Qian's translation of the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 (T 185, trsl. 222–229), Kyōto ed. XIV.3.

[118] 失吾道者上見光下為土, *Zhuangzi* XI.66.

[119] 感大隗之風.稱天師而退, cf. *Zhuangzi* XXIV. 157. Only the last half of the sentence is a literal quotation. Acc. to *Zhuangzi*, Dagui 大隗 was the name of a mythical being living on Mt. Juci 具茨, whom Huangdi (trad. 2694–2597 BC) intended to visit. When he

asked the way from a boy who was tending horses, the boy's answer made such an impression on him that he "bowed twice, knocked his head, called him the Heavenly Master and retired", giving up his journey to Dagui. The term *tianshi* 天師 is obviously interpreted by Zong Bing as an elliptical form of *tianrenshi* 天人師 "teacher of gods and men", one of the ten epithets of the Buddha (see next note).

[120] 十號: the ten stereotyped epithets of a Buddha, a standard series of honorific terms which frequently occurs in Buddhist scriptures (*e.g. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, passim*; cf. E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, p. 115 sqq.): (1) the *tathāgata* 如來 (2) *arhat* 應供 (3) the perfectly enlightened, *samyaksaṃbuddha* 正徧知 (4) endowed with wisdom and practice, *vidyācaraṇasaṃpanna* 明行足. (5) well-gone, *sugata* 善逝 (6) knower of the world, *lokavid* 世間解 (7) charioteer (or chief) of men who must be tamed, *puruṣadamyasārathi* 調御師 (9) master of gods and men, *śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām* 天人師 (10) Buddha the Lord, *Buddho bhagavat* 佛世尊. The Chinese equivalents listed here are those used by Kumārajīva in the first decades of the fifth century. Cf. also *Hōbōgirin* p. 192 (s.v. *Butsu*).

[121] Trad. 2852–2205 BC.

[122] *HMJ* II 12.2.4. sqq.

[123] *Fendian* 墳典, *i.e*., the "three *fen* and five *dian*" 三墳五典, the (hypothetical) historical records of the Three Sovereigns and the Five Emperors.

[124] *HMJ* II 9.3.20 sqq., trsl. Liebenthal p. 382.

[125] 史佚, cf. *Shiji* 4.10a (*Mém. Hist*. I p. 328); according to tradition he should have been active as a historiographer under king Cheng at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty (trad. ca. 1100 BC).

[126] 卜商, a disciple of Confucius, better known under his *zi* Zixia 子夏, praised in *Lunyu* XI.2 (cf. XIX. 4, 5, 6, 13) for his literary skill.

[127] Read 背 instead of 皆.

[128] *HMJ* III 20.3.16 sqq.

[129] *E.g. GHMJ* IV 115.1.13 and *ib*. XI 166.1.2.

[130] *Suishu* 35.18b.

[131] 東海之內.北海之隅.有國曰朝鮮天毒.其人水居.偎人愛人. (*Shanhai jingjianshu* 山海經箋疏, ed. *Sibu beiyao* ch. 18.1 a). The text reproduced here (after the edition of 1809) reads 愛之, but the annotator Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1825) rightly adopts in his subcommentary the reading 愛人 which is corroborated by all early quotations.

[132] In fact, the character *du* 毒 occurs also in *Shendu* 身毒, the transcription of the name of N.W. India in *Shiji* 123.5b, and Yan Shigu (581–645) in his commentary to *Hanshu* 96A.10a identifies this *Shendu* with *Tiandu* 天篤 = Tianzhu 天竺. In his *suoyin* commentary to *Shiji* 123.5b, Sima Zhen (eight century) says that *Shendu* must be pronounced as *Qiandu* 乾篤. This is certainly wrong. If we compare the archaic and ancient pronunciation of the words in question:

tianzhu 天竺, Arch. **t'ien.ti̯ōk*, Anch. **t'ien.t̂i̯uk*
tiandu 天毒, Arch. **t'ien-tōk*, Anch. **t'ien-tuok*
身毒 read *shendu*, Arch. **śi̯ĕn.d'ōk*, Anch. **śi̯ĕn.d'uok*
id. read *qiandu*, Arch. **kān.tōk*, Anch. **kān.tuok*
it is obvious that 身 must have its normal pronunciation.

[133] The words of Guo Pu are actually as follows:

"*Tiandu* is the same as *Tianzhu* 天竺. (The inhabitants) attach great value to virtuous conduct (道德). They have a script (of their own) and gold and silver currency. Buddhism has come from this country…" (*Shanhai jing jiansu, loc. cit*.).

[134] *HMJ* II 12.2.27.

[135] *GHMJ* I 98.3.5.

[136] *Suihua jili* ch. 3, in *Shuofu* (ed. of 1647) ch. 69.

[137] 夏四月辛卯夜恆星不見夜中星隕如雨. Trsl. Legge pp. 79–80, Couvreur, vol. I, p. 140.

[138] 夏恆星不見夜明也.

[139] Cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 337 note 37.

[140] *E.g., Xiuxing benqi jing* I, Kyōto ed. p. 226.B.1, and *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* I, Kyōto ed. p. 234.B.1.

[141] *Weishu* 114.2a, trsl. Ware p. 117; trsl. Hurvitz p. 40.

[142] *GHMJ* VIII 142.1.14.

[143] *Ibid*.: 莊王別傳曰.王遂即易筮之云.西域銅色人出世.所以夜明.非中.夏之災也. The "copper-coloured" man is of course an allusion to the "golden colour" (*suvarṇavarṇa* 金色相), one of the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of the body of a Buddha. Cf. also Wang Jin 王巾 (died 505 AD) in his "Inscription on the Dhūta monastery" in *Wenxuan* 59 (p. 1273): 周魯二莊.親昭夜景之鑒, and Li Shan's commentary to this passage.

[144] *Xu GSZ* XXIII 624.3.26 = *GHMJ* I 100.3.10.

[145] Cf. above, p. 22 and *ib.* note 23.

[146] For this meeting at the Tushan cf. the Appendix to this chapter, p. 286.

[147] *Zhoushu yiji*, quoted in Falin 法琳, *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (written 622, T 2109) p. 478.2.6 = *Fayuan zhulin* XII (T 2122) 378.2 and ch. C p. 1028.1 and 2.

[148] The text of this story is given in Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 3–4. It is found in the *Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu*, 道宣律師感通錄, also named *Gantongzhuan* 感通傳, a collection of highly apocryphal stories ascribed to the famous vinaya-master Daoxuan (596–667), T 2107 p. 436.2.17 sqq. The story runs as follows: Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 (659–621 BC) has somehow obtained an image of the Buddha and allows it to be defiled by his horse, after which he becomes ill. His counsellor You Yu 由余 (cf. above, note 76) tells him how Buddhism had come to China under the Zhou king Mu. Anciently King Mu was visited by magicians 化人 who actually were "Buddhist genii" 佛神. The king builds for them a high tower 高臺 as a place of worship, becomes a devout Buddhist and performs many good works. These magicians were no others than Mañjuśri and Maudgalyāyana who had gone to the East to convert him. This story is no doubt based upon the well-known passage in *Liezi* about the magician from the West visiting king Mu (see below, note 155). The *Gantongzhuan* is not mentioned in any Chinese catalogue and seems to have disappeared from China at a very early date. However, it is certainly as old as the beginning of the ninth century as we find it mentioned in the various lists of Buddhist writings which were taken to Japan by Ennin (794–864): the *Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄 of 839, (T 2165 p. 1075.2.27), the *Jigaku-daishi zaitō sōshinroku* 慈覚大師在唐宋進録 of 840 (T 2166 p. 1077.2.28) and the *Nittō shin gu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目録 of 847 (T 2167 p. 1086.3.18).

[149] *Liezi* IV.41.

[150] *GHMJ* I 98.2.16.

[151] Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 4–5.

[152] See for the date of the discovery and the editing Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎, "Kyō-chō-sho shutsudo shimatsukō" 汲冢書出土始末考 in *Shinagaku-setsurin* 支那学説林 p. 10.32 (article dated 1934). For a review of studies on and translations of the *Mu tianzi zhuan* see Zheng Dekun in *JNCBRAS* LXIV, 1933, p. 124.

[153] *Liezi* III.33.

[154] *Liezi* III.31.

[155] This is the story which, as we have seen above (note 148), has further developed into a real Buddhist legend. The story in Liezi runs in outline as follows. King Mu is visited by a magician from the extreme West; he is lavishly treated by the Chinese monarch, who tries to please him by building a splendid palace for him. The magician, in order to show the king the

imperfection of this earthly splendour, transports him to a fairy palace in the "Central Heaven" 中天, where the king seems to stay for tens of years amidst celestial pleasures. Then the magician takes him again to a region of darkness and silence, where neither sun and moon nor seas and rivers are to be seen. King Mu becomes afraid and confused, and asks his mysterious companion to make him return to earth. At that very moment he is back in his palace: "He was sitting on the same place as before (he started his journey); the same servants waited upon him. When looking before him he noticed that the wine (in his cup) had not yet become clear, and his meat was still moist. When the king asked his servants whence he had come, they told him: 'Your Majesty was just silently (sitting) here'." Afterwards the magician explains the situation to the bewildered king: "I have made a spiritual journey 神遊 with Your Majesty; why then should the body move?"

The very nature of the story reveals its non-Chinese origin: the phenomenon of time and its relativity has never attracted the attention of Chinese thinkers. However, I have been unable to find a comparable theme in Buddhist literature, although the concept of the "spiritual journey" by which enormous distances are covered without moving the body has some resemblance with *Milindapañha* III.33 (trsl. Rhys Davids vol. I pp. 126–127, Finot p. 136). The motif does occur in later Indian literature, *e.g.*, in the story of the unsuccessful *apprenti sorcier* Candrasvāmin in Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathā* (story XVIII, trsl. by U. Uhle in *Vetala-Pantschavinsati*, *die fünfundzwanzig Erzählungen eines Dämons*, München 1924, p. 175 sqq.) and in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* ch. 92 (trsl. Tawney-Penzer vol. VII p. 71 sqq.). In his Appendix to vol. VII of his edition of Tawney's translation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, N. M. Penzer refers to various analogous stories in Arabian literature, notably a fragment from the tales of the "Forty Vazīrs" and the tale of Warlock and the young cook of Baghdad (for which see Penzer, *op. cit.*, p. 224 note 3) from the Arabian Nights. The most surprising parallel to the story in *Liezi* is furnished by the legend(s) of the *miʿrāj*, the miraculous ascension of the prophet, according to which Muhammad was taken away from his bed, "and God Most High showed him the Seven Heavens, the Eight Paradises and the Seven Hells, and spake with him ninety thousand words, and when he returned to his place he found his bed still warm, and the water had not wholly run out of an ewer which had been upset beside him, so he straightway raised the ewer from the ground". Both Gibb and Penzer believe that the origin of this motif must be sought in the hallucinations provoked by "some intoxicating preparation like *hashīsh*". The occurence of the same theme in a Chinese work of the late third century makes this explanation very doubtful, unless we must assume that the use of such drugs was widely spread in India or the Near East as early as that date. See also S. Thompson, *Motiv-index of Folk-literature*, second ed., Copenhagen 1955, vol. II no. D 2012.

[156] Cf. Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Liezi buzheng* 列子補正 (Beijing 1947) vol. I, p. la.

[157] *E.g. Huainanzi* VII.106 = *Liezi* II.22; *Huainanzi* X.164 = *Liezi* VIII.89; *Huainanzi* XX.348 = *Liezi* VIII.90. The famous chapter *Yang Zhu* 楊朱, in which the "hedonistic" theories of that philosopher are developed, is extensively quoted in *Hanshu* XX 23.1.a (= *Liezi* 7.6a, *SBCK* ed.), cf. Hulsewé, *Han Law* p. 351 note 5. In spite of this, Feng Youlan, who like Ji Xianlin and Tang Yongtong regards the whole text of the present *Liezi* as a post-Han forgery, devotes ten pages in his *History of Chinese Philosophy* (trsl. Derk Bodde, vol. II pp. 195–205) to a detailed discussion of the Yang Zhu chapter as a splendid example of the pessimism and hedonism in the third century AD!

[158] *Shiyi ji*, ed. *Bishu ershiba zhong* 祕書廿八種 ch. 4 p. 2b.

[159] *Jinshu* 95.17a.

[160] *GSZ* V (biogr. of Dao'an) 353.3.12 sqq.

[161] Cf. below, p. 313.

[162] The following works are mentioned by Sengyou in *CSZJJ* at the beginning of the sixth century:

(1) *Ayu wang yu fosuo sheng da jingxin jing* 阿育王於佛所生大敬信經, 1 ch., translator unknown, *CSZJJ* IV 25.2.3.

(2) *Ayu wang huo guobao jing* 阿育王獲果報經, 1 ch., translator unknown, *ib*. In the *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* of 695 AD (T 2153 IX 428.1.14 and 19) the translation of these two works is attributed to Dharmarakṣa; at that date the scriptures themselves had already been lost.

(3) *Ayu wang gongyang daochang shu jing* 阿育王供養道場樹經, 1 ch., mentioned in *CSZJJ* 25.2.4 as an anonymous translation, but in *Da Tang NDL* (T 2149) III 245.2.27 ascribed to (?) Dharmaratna (Zhu Tanwulan 竺曇無蘭, late fourth century). It had already been lost at the time of the compilation of T 2153 (695 AD).

(4) *Ayu wang zuo xiao'er shi jing* 阿育王作小兒時經 1 ch., mentioned in *CSZJJ* IV 33.3.27 as an anonymous translation among the lost sūtras.

(5) *Xiao Ayu wang jing* 小阿育王經, 1 ch., *ib*., *id*.

(6) *Ayu wang sheshi huanshu quyuan ji* 阿育王捨施還贖取緣紀, 1 ch., mentioned as an anonymous translation in *CSZJJ* IV 25.2.5, but in T 2153 IX 428.1.28 ascribed to Dharmarakṣa, referring to the catalogue of Dao'an. The text had already disappeared before the time of the compilation of T 2153 (695 AD).

(8) (*Ayu wang) taizi (var. xi) (fayi) huai mu yinyuan jing* [阿育王]太子 (*var*. 息) [法益]壞目因緣經, 1 ch., translated by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 and Dharmanandin at Chang'an in 391 AD, with a preface by Zhu Fonian, cf. *CSZJJ* II 10.3.4 and VII 51.2.14. *Da Tang NDL* (T 2149) III 252.1.16 and *Kaiyuan SJL* (T 2154) IV 511.2.18 and 512.1.15 wrongly speak of two translations, one by Dharmanandin and one by Zhu Fonian. This work still exists: T 2045, a metrical translation of a Sanskrit original containing the story of Kunāla (cf. *Divyāvadāna* p. 405 sqq.) which according to Zhu Fonian's preface consisted of 343 *ślokas*.

(9) (*A*)*yu wang zhuan*, cf. next note.

(10) *In Da Tang NDL* (T 2149) L 224.1.1 it is said that there was already at the end of the second century an *Ayu wang taizi huai mu yinyuan jing* 阿育王太子壞目因緣經 (cf. above, sub 8) translated by Lokakṣema; the catalogue refers to *CSZJJ*, in which this translation is not mentioned.

[163] An Faqin does not figure either in the *Gaoseng zhuan* or in the biographical chapters of the *CSZJJ*. In *CSZJJ* V 38.3.5 Sengyou mentions a *Da Ayu wang jing* 大阿育王經 which by Dao'an had been classed among the "suspected" (疑) scriptures; this work consisted of only one *juan*. The present *Ayu wang juan* occurs under the name of An Faqin in *Da Tang NDL* (T 2149) II 236.1.12 with the title *Da Ayu wang jing*, in five *juan*; for the attribution to An Faqin this catalogue refers to the *Jinshi zalu* 晉世雜錄 by Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 which dates from the beginning of the fifth century (cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XXII, 1923, p. 102). The *Ayu wang zhuan* (? *Aśokarājāvadāna*) has been translated in its entirety by J. Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka*, Paris 1923, p. 225 sqq. A second Chinese translation, made in 512 AD by Sengjiapoluo 僧伽婆羅. (? *Saṅghavara*), has also been preserved: *Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經, 10 ch., T 2043.

[164] See *e.g*., *Ayu wang zhuan* (T 2042) I 102.1.14 sqq., trsl. Przyluski p. 242: *Ayu wang jing* (T 2043) I 153.1.12 sqq.; *Ayu wang xihuai mu yinyuan jing* (T 2045) 179.2.14; *Shanjianlü piposha* 善見律毘婆沙 (T 1462, *Samantapāsādikā*. trsl. by Saṅghabhadra 488/489 AD) I p. 681.2.5 sqq.

[165] *Shuijing zhu* 23.20b.

[166] *Weishu* 114 (*Shi Lao zhi*) 2b (trsl. Ware p. 119; trsl. Hurvitz p. 42) = *GHMJ* II 101.3.6.

[167] *GSZ* I 325.2.12 = *CSZJJ* XIII 96.2.12.

[168] *Mingxiang ji*, quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* XIII 383.2; *GSZ* I 326.1.1; *GHMJ* XV 202.1.27. According to the (very unreliable) *Mingxiang ji* quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* XIII 386.2, this same golden statue should have been rediscovered in 405 near the palace gate at Jiankang by no one else than Wang Mi (for whom see above, p. 213).

[169] Correspondence between Li Miao 李淼 and the monks Faming 法明 and Daogao 道高, *HMJ* XI 71.3.18.

[170] *GSZ* IX 385.2.22.

[171] *HMJ* XI 72.1.10 (cf. note 169) and Zong Bing's *Mingfo lun*, *HMJ* II 12.3.11.

[172] *GHMJ* XV 202.1.9.

[173] *GSZ* XIII 409.3.18, cf. *GHMJ* XV 202.2.1 and *Fayuan zhulin* XII 379.3 and 383.2 quoting *Mingxiang ji*.

[174] This mountain seems not to be mentioned elsewhere.

[175] *GSZ* X 388.3.19, based on *Mingxiang ji* (cf. *Fayuan zhulin* XXVIII 492.1).

[176] *GSZ* XIII 409.2.17 sqq. The early life of Liu Sahe had already developed into a legend before the beginning of the fifth century. The story of his sinful life, his descent into Hell, his salvation by Guanyin, his conversion and resurrection were described in great detail in the *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記 by Wang Yan 王琰 (written some time after 479, cf. Arthur F. Wright, "Huijiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*" p. 418); long quotations of this part of the *Mingxiang ji* are to be found in *Fayuan zhulin* XXXI 516.3 and LXXXVI 919.2, cf. also Lu Xun 魯迅, *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen* 古小說鈎沈 (in *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. VIII) pp. 596–598. At the beginning of Huida's biography in the *GSZ* this legend is referred to in a few words, but the rest of the account of his life does not seem to contain much legendary material. Cf. also Ōtani Seishin 大谷勝真 in *Tōyōgakuhō* XI, 1921, pp. 69–101, esp. p. 95 sqq.

[177] *GSZ* XIII 409.2.24.

[178] *GHMJ* XV 203.3.11.

[179] Cf. *Mingxiang ji* quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* XIII 383.3 and 385.1.

[180] *GSZ* XIII 410.1.1.

[181] *GHMJ* XV 202.2.4.

[182] *GSZ* V 355.3.28.

[183] *GSZ* VI 358.3.3; cf. above, p. 243 (biography of Huiyuan).

[184] *GHMJ* XV 203.1.22.

[185] *HMJ* XI 72.1.13.

[186] *GHMJ* XV 202.1.12.

[187] *Fayuan zhulin* XXXVIII 584.3–585.1.

[188] Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 6.

[189] Cf. on the early use and types of such portents Chen Pan 陳槃, "On the *fuying* 符應 as used during the Qin and Han dynasties", *ZYYY* XVI (1947), 1–67.

[190] Cf. the "Account of the (miraculous) responses of the relics" 舍利感應記 by Wang Shao 王劭 (*GHMJ* XVII 223.2.25 sqq.) and the impressive list of miracles reported to the court from forty-four shrines which by imperial order had been established all over the empire (*ib*. 216.3.7 sqq.). Both documents date from 602 AD. At this period there seems to have been a sudden profusion of "relics" found at the most improbable places: in the course of the year 601 both the emperor and the empress repeatedly discovered them in their food when they were eating! (*ib*. 216.2.28). Among the objects which are reported to have been found by excavation or to have miraculously manifested themselves in or near these shrines we find not only Buddhist objects such as relics, stone or bronze statues and stone cases with relics or images, but also traditional Chinese portents like inscribed stones, luminous emanations, sweet dew, auspicious animals (*e.g*., white cranes, tortoises, pheasants) etc.

[191] Cf. *Xiaojing* XI (*zhushu* ed. 6.3a; trsl. Legge p. 481): "Three thousand (crimes) are covered by the Five Punishments, but no sin is greater than lack of filial piety"

五刑之屬三千.而罪莫大於不孝. Similarly, in *Zhouli* 10.26a the "punishment for lack of filial piety" 不孝之刑 ranks first among the "Eight Punishments" 八刑.

[192] Cf. Mencius IVA/XXVI.1 (trsl. Legge p. 189). The absence of posterity means the termination of the sacrificial rites; it consequently is an offense against the ancestral lineage as a whole.

[193] Cf. *Xiaojing* I (trsl. Legge p. 466), *zhushu* ed. I.3a.

[194] Cf. above, p. 16 *sub* 8, and *e.g.*, *Mouzi* XI (*HMJ* I 3.1.23), trsl. Pelliot p. 300. To be dressed according to the norm 法服 is one of the elements of the Confucian code of conduct, cf. *Xiaojing* ch. IV (*zhushu* ed. II.3a), trsl. Legge p. 469.

[195] Cf. the documents in *HMJ* XII 77.2–79.2.

[196] *GSZ* V 352.3.29. The use of *Shi* as a religious surname was not quite without precedent: already in the first half of the fourth century we hear of the monk Shi Daobao 釋道寶 who was active in Jiankang (*GSZ* IV 350.3.12, cf. above, p. 97).

[197] *Zengyi ahan* XXI, T 125 658.3.10: "Just as the four rivers which come from the lake Anavatapta lose their names when they stream forth into the sea and are only called "the sea", so the members of the four castes who go out of their families and join the order lose their own family names and are only called 'monks, sons of Śākya'." In this famous passage the last words, *shamen shijiazi* 沙門釋迦子, are a misleading translation of *śramaṇa-Śākyaputrīyāḥ* which actually does not mean "monks, sons of Śākya" but "monks belonging to the son from the Śākya(-clan)", *i.e.*, followers of the Buddha. Here it was apparently taken as an equivalent of the equally common epithet *buddhaputra* 佛子 or *jinaputra*, cf. *Hōbōgirin* p. 171, s.v. *Busshi*.

[198] *GSZ* VII 366.2; he was named after his master Zhu Fatai 竺法汰 (320–387), who was also a Chinese monk. Fatai is stated to have studied together with Dao'an (*GSZ* V 354.2.29) who seems also to have had *Chu* as his religious surname before he adopted *Shi* (*ib*. 254.1.16).

[199] Hulsewé, *Remnants* p. 335.

[200] *Op. cit*., pp. 128–130.

[201] *Loc. cit*.

[202] A The notion of religious suicide of Buddhist monks does occur in Indian Buddhism, but in a different fashion. Here it probably never was more than a rhetorical scholastic problem: what are the karmic consequences (if there are any) in the case of someone committing suicide at the very moment of reaching the state of Arhat? The most famous example is the suicide of Godhika (*Saṃyutta* I. 120, trsl. Rhys Davids I. 149–153; different version in *Samyuktāgama*, T 99 XXXIX.109; *Abh. Kośa* VI.262) who after having six times fallen away from the "temporary state of emancipation" (*sāmayikī vimukti*), finally made an end of his life on attaining it the seventh time. The story of the monk who cut his throat to escape from the "three robbers" (lust, hate and ignorance) as narrated in Faxian's *Foguo ji* (T 2085 p. 863.1.17; trsl. Beal p. LXI; Giles p. 52) may be based on the story of Godhika's suicide; Faxian visited the spot at which this was supposed to have taken place, some three *li* east of the old city of Rājagṛha. In all these cases suicide is used as a device to escape from rebirth. In Chinese Buddhism, inspired by Mahāyāna devotional concepts, it is essentially a self-immolation, a sacrifice performed in homage of the Buddha. Cf. also Et. Lamotte, *Traité* vol. II pp. 740–742 for the concept of suicide in Indian Buddhism.

[203] *Bhaiṣajyarāja-pūrvayoga-parivarta* 藥王菩薩本事品, ed. Dutt p. 271 sqq.; trsl. Burnouf p. 242; T 262 VI (23) 53.1 = T 263 IX (21) 125.1 = T 264 VI (22) 187.3.

[204] *I.e*., in or shortly after 396 AD, cf. *ZZTJ* 108.1280b.

[205] *GSZ* XII 404.3.11 sqq.

[206] *Ib*. 404.3.22.

[207] *Ib*. 405.1.11.
[208] *Ib*. 405.1.25.
[209] *Ib*. 405.3.5.
[210] *Ib*. 405.2.3. The practice of religious suicide has persisted till modern times, cf. J. McGowan, "Self-immolation by fire in China" in *Chinese Recorder*, October-November 1888 (in which year the author himself witnessed some cases) and J. J. Matignon, "L'auto-crémation des prètres bouddhistes", in *Superstition, crime et misere en Chine*" (Lyon 1899), pp. 161–176.
[211] 色養; an allusion to *Lunyu* II. 8.
[212] *HMJ* III 17.1.19; the words of the imaginary opponent in Sun Chuo's *Yu Dao lun* (cf. above, p. 133).
[213] *CSZJJ* VI 46.2.27.
[214] *HMJ* V 30.1.28, trsl. Hurvitz p. 21.
[215] *E.g.*, *Mahāvagga*, ed. Oldenberg I 54 (p. 83), trsl. I. B. Horner (*SBB* XIV, *Book of the Discipline*) IV p. 104; cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha* p. 394; Renou-Filiozat, *Inde classique* p. 558, § 2369.
[216] *Shi'erbu jing* 十二部經 is the Chinese equivalent of the "twelve section of the Buddha-word" (*dvādaśāṅgabuddhavacana*) or "the twelve proclamations of the doctrine" (*dvādaśadharmapravacana*), in Sanskrit Buddhist scholastic literature denoting the traditional list of twelve categories of sacred literature, part of which corresponds to the nine *aṅga*s of the Pāli scriptures. Neither of these lists corresponds to the real division of the canon. Sanskrit terms in *Mvy* 1266–78; Chinese equivalents cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 2337.3. Sun Chuo's assertion that the scriptures of four of these classes are exclusively devoted to the propagation of filial piety is very surprising; we cannot even guess which classes he may have had in mind. The words 其四部, which I have translated as "four of which (classes)", could also be interpreted as "the fourth out of these (twelve classes)", taking 四 as elliptical for 第四. But also in that case it would be impossible to make out what particular class was meant: in the various lists the order of the twelve *genres* is not the same. Moreover, the Sanskrit names (*sūtra, geya, vyākaraṇa* etc.) are most often transcribed in Chinese characters but not translated; Sun Chuo most probably did not know them at all, and either repeated in his treatise this argument from hearsay, or devised it himself in order to dumbfound his antagonists.
[217] *HMJ* III 17.1.27 sqq.
[218] *Mouzi*, section XV, *HMJ* I 4.1.12; trsl. Pelliot p. 305.
[219] The latter way of argumentation is also found in the *Shi Lao zhi* (*Weishu* 114.1b; trsl. Ware p. 113; trsl. Hurvitz p. 33, and Tsukamoto's remarks *ib*.), where the five commandments of Buddhism are identified with the five social virtues (仁義禮智信) of Confucianism.

APPENDIX CHAPTER FIVE

[1] The spurious *Zhushu jinian* has been translated by J. Legge in *Chinese Classics* III, *The Shoo king*, prolegomena ch. IV pp. 105–183; before Legge a French translation had already been made by Ed. Biot in *J.As*., 1841, pp. 537–578 and 1842, pp. 381–431.
[2] In *Haining Wang Zhangque gong yishu* 海寧王忠慤公遺書, third series, 1928; recently supplemented and re-edited by Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍, *Guben zhushu jinian jijiao dingbu* 訂補, Beijing 1957.
[3] Although the *Taiping yulan* (completed 983) itself is a comparatively late compilation, this quotation is probably reproduced from a much older source: for the pre-Tang period the compilers of the *Taiping yulan* have almost integrally taken over the contents of some earlier encyclopedias, notably the *Hualin bianlue* 華林遍略 which was compiled between 516 and 524; cf. Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung* vol. I (Leiden 1949) pp. 60–61.

[4] Wang Guowei, *op. cit.*, p. 7a.

[5] The present (spurious) text of the *Zhushu jinian* contains the following phrase, which is no doubt an expanded version of the original entry:

"*In the nineteenth year, in spring, a comet* appeared in the constellation Ziwei."
十九年春有孛于紫微,

(Wang Guowei, *Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng* 今本竹書紀年疏證, *Posthumous works*, third series, ch. 2 p. 6a; trsl. Legge p. 149). Since neither the *Zhoushu yiji*, based upon the original *Zhushu jinian*, nor the quotation from the latter work in the *TPYL* mention the "nineteenth year" as the date of the ominous event, it is certain that these words did not figure in the original text.

[6] Wang Guowei, *Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng* ch. 2 p. 7b; trsl. Legge p. 151.

[7] *Zuozhuan*, Zhaogong 4, trsl. Legge p. 597; trsl. Couvreur vol. III p. 80.

[8] For completeness' sake we must mention a third way of dating the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* which is found in early Chinese sources. In the account of his stay at Ceylon (412 AD), Faxian reports a (Singhalese?) tradition, according to which at that date 1497 years had elapsed since the Buddha's entry into *Nirvāṇa* (T 2085 p. 865.1.27; trsl. Beal p. lxxv; Giles p. 71). The origin of this tradition is not clear; it never became popular in China, and we find it severely criticized as lacking scriptural evidence in *Fayuan zhulin* C (T 2122) p. 1028.3.

CHAPTER SIX

[1] Cf. H. G. Creel, "What is Daoism?", *HJAS* 76 (1956), pp. 137–152.

[2] "Neo-Daoism" is in this sense used by Feng Youlan, cf. his *Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, New York 1948, p. 211: "By the revival of Taoism, I here mean that of Taoist philosophy. This revived Taoist philosophy I will call Neo-Taoism". The term *Neo-taoisme* had previously been used by Pelliot to denote exactly the opposite, the Taoist religion of the Yellow Turbans (cf. *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 414 note 385). Cf. also our remarks above, p. 45 and p. 87.

[3] Cf. H. Maspero, *Taoïsme*, p. 116 sqq.

[4] An early commentary on the *Daode jing* with the cryptic title of *Xiang'er zhu* 想爾注 has been discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts at the British Museum. This text (S 6825) is no doubt the most extensive and reliable source on early Daoist doctrine in existence. An annotated edition of the *Xiang'er zhu* has recently been published by Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 under the title *Dunhuang liuchao xieben Zhang tianshi Daoling zhu Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaojian* 敦煌六朝寫本張天師道陵著老子想爾注校箋 (Hong Kong, 1956), cf. also Chen Shixiang 陳世驤, "'Xiang'er' Laozi daojing Dunhuang canjuan lunzheng" 想爾老子道經燉煌殘卷論證, in *CHHP*, new series, I.2 (Taibei, April 1957) pp. 41–62. The commentary is attributed to no one else than Zhang Ling, the first patriarch of the Daoist church (mid. second cent. AD). Unlike Rao Zongyi, we feel some hesitation to accept this attribution, which after all is not attested anywhere until some five centuries after the lifetime of Zhang Ling. However, the general contents of the work completely agree with the scanty information from other sources about the first phase of the Daoist religion, and this together with the fact that there is no perceptible trace of Buddhist influence in matters of doctrine or terminology proves that we have to do with a very old and extremely valuable document.

[5] Cf. Vincent Y. C. Shi (施友忠), "Some Chinese Rebel Ideologies", *TP* XLIV (1956), pp. 150–226, esp. pp. 163–170, a useful survey of these problems and a first attempt towards a comparative study of some major rebellious movements from Chinese history.

[6] Cf. Howard S. Levy, "Yellow Turban Religion and Rebellion at the end of Han", *JAOS* 76, (1956), pp. 214–227, esp. p. 215.

[7] *Ib.* p. 223.

[8] In 215 AD, cf. *Sanguo zhi, Weizhi* 1.24B.
[9] *Shiji* 63.2a.
[10] *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 388 note 1.
[11] *Zhuangzi* III.20.
[12] *Shuijing zhu* (ed. Wang Xianqian) 19.1b.
[13] *HHS* 60B. 18b: 或曰.老子入夷狄為浮屠.
[14] *Liexian zhuan*, section X; trsl. M. Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan* (Pékin 1953), p. 65.
[15] Cf. Kaltenmark, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–4.
[16] *Fukui Kōjun*, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261.
[17] Pei Songzhi's commentary to *Sanguo zhi* 30.366, trsl. Ed. Chavannes, "Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Wei lio", *TP* VI (1905), pp. 519–576.
[18] Cf. above, ch. II note 32.
[19] 蓋以為西出關.過西域.之天竺教胡 (為) 浮圖. It is not clear where the phrase ends; the words "…and instructed the barbarians" are followed by 浮圖屬弟子別號為二十九. Chavannes translates "…et arriva dans le T'ien-tchou (Inde) ou il enseigna les *Hou*. Des autres noms des disciples qui dépendent du Bouddha, il y en a en tout vingt-neuf." We can neither agree with Chavannes' interpunction nor with his translation. To render 浮圖屬弟子 as "les disciples qui dépendent du Bouddha" seems rather forced; in that case we would rather expect something like 屬浮圖 (之) 弟子. If we must accept the text as it stands, the most likely translation would be "…and the Buddha attached himself to (Laozi as) a disciple", which, in view of later versions of the *huahu* story in which Laozi's disciple Yin Xi figures as the Buddha, certainly would make sense. However, as Tang Yongtong has pointed out (*op. cit.*, pp. 49–50 and p. 61), the original text of the *Weilue* probably read 教胡為浮圖 "…instructed the barbarians and became (or 'acted as') the Buddha". In a previous article, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole", *TP* V (1904), pp. 357–447, part of which is devoted to the edicts of 1255 and 1258 pertaining to the proscription of the *Huahu jing* and other Daoist apocrypha, Chavannes interprets 為浮圖 and analogous expressions (成佛, 為浮圖化), as far as they occur in later sources, as "les fit devenir Bouddhistes", adding, however, that the original meaning could very well have been "devint le Bouddha". The latter interpretation certainly applies here as well as in the phrase translated above from Xiang Kai's memorial: Laozi is represented as personally converting the barbarians, and there is no evidence that the theory according to which Yin Xi was ordered by Laozi to become the Buddha had already developed as early as the third century AD. Cf. also Shibata Norikatsu 柴田宣勝, "Rōshi-kekokyō gisakusha-den ni tsuite" 老子化胡經偽作者傳に就いて *Shigaku zasshi* XLIV (1933) pp. 59–81 and 200–232, esp. p. 218 sqq.
[20] T 2110 ch. V, p. 522.2.13 sqq.
[21] Ed. Chavannes in *TP* VI (1905) p. 540 sqq.; S. Lévi in *I.As.* 1897 pp. 14–20 and 1900, pp. 451–463; P. Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI (1906) p. 377 sqq.
[22] Lit. "a top-knot", 髻.
[23] S. Lévi (in *J.As.* 1897, p. 16 and 1900, pp. 461–462) has demonstrated that this *shalü* 沙律 (Arch. **sa.bli̯wət* > Anc. **sa.li̯uĕt*) must be a very archaic rendering of the name Sāriputra or of a corresponding prākrit form **Sariyut*.
[24] *Ib*. p. 522.2.17.
[25] One more remark about the corresponding section of the *Weilue* and Ed. Chavannes' interpretation of a particularly cryptic phrase from that passage. After having related the story of the Buddha's birth, the *Weilue* as quoted by Pei Songzhi proceeds:

> "In India (天竺) there was also a divine man named Shalü. Formerly, in the first year of Yuanshou (2 BC) during the reign of the Han emperor Ai, the *boshi dizi* Jing Lu 景盧 was charged with a mission to the Great Yuezhi (for this tradition cf. above, p. 24) where the king

ordered the crownprince to instruct him orally in the Buddhist scriptures. The one who is called "the reinstated" (*fuli* 復立) is this man... What is recorded in the Buddhist scriptures is analogous to..." (etc., as above sub 4).

According to Chavannes' interpretation, the phrase 曰復立者其人也 means that the Buddha was regarded as a "réapparition de Lao-tseu ou d'un de ses disciples". This does not make much sense: if we read this phrase in connection with the preceding passage to which it certainly belongs, we cannot but have the impression that "the reinstated" was nobody else than the crown-prince who instructed the Chinese envoy in the Buddhist sūtras. This is equally obscure, but we must not forget that we are dealing with a distorted fragment of a lost tradition. Our interpretation is, however, confirmed by Chen Ziliang's quotation from the *Xiyu zhuan* which—if this work is indeed identical with the *Xirong zhuan*—probably agrees with the original much more closely than the muddled extract given by Pei Songzhi: the *Xiyu zhuan* speaks about a crown-prince who *also* (*i.e*., like the Buddha) was born from his mother's right side, who furthermore resembled the Buddha by his bodily marks and by the other circumstances of his birth at Lumbinī and therefore was named "Buddha". Thus it does not deal with Śākyamuni (as is the case in Pei Songzhi's version) but with a replica, a come-back, in short: with "one who was called 'the reinstated'." What connection this legend had with Jing Lu's visit to the Yuezhi court remains obscure, but in view of both the context of the phrase in Pei Songzhi's version and of the additional information furnished by Chen Ziliang's quotation there must have been some connection of this kind, and there is no reason to bring the story of the "reinstated" in connection with the *huahu* theory.

[26] T 2110 ch. VI, p. 534.3.17 = *GHMJ* XIII p. 185.2.2: 魏書外國傳皇甫謐高士傳並曰. 桑門浮圖經老子所作.

[27] T 2110 ch. VI p. 522.2.7: 皇甫謐云.老子出關入天竺國.教胡王為浮圖.

[28] *Xu bowu zhi* (ed. 祕書廿八種) 7.5b.

[29] Cf. *Siku quanshu zongmu* ch. 57.6a.

[30] Tang Yongtong, *History*, p. 59.

[31] For the text of the *Laozi ming* see the *Jinshi lu* 金石錄 by Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 (mid. 12th cent), ed. by Lu Jianceng 盧見曾 (1690–1768) in 1762, ch. 15, p. 11a, and the *Lishi* 隸釋 by Hong Gua 洪适 (1117–1184), ed. *SBCK* 3.1a. The stela with the inscription is already mentioned in the *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 by Li Daoyuan 麗道元 (early sixth cent.); already here the text is said to have been composed by Bian Shao, who wrote it at the occasion of a sacrifice made by imperial order by the courtier Guan Ba 管霸. Zhao Mingcheng and Hong Gua also attribute the inscription to Bian Shao. This attribution seems to be well-founded, although in the text of the inscription the author's name is not mentioned. We read in *HHS* 7.12a that emperor Huan in January/February 165 ordered the courtier-in-constant-attendance (*zhongchangshi* 中常使) Zuo Guan 左悺 to perform a sacrifice to Laozi at Huxian 苦縣 (for the particular pronunciation cf. *Suoyin* comm. to *Shiji* 63.1b) in Henan, the reputed birth-place of the sage, and in December 165/January 166 the courtier Guan Ba 管霸 was sent out for the same purpose (*ib*. 13a). Huxian was the capital of the kingdom of Chen 陳國, where Bian Shao according to his biography had been or possibly at that moment even was "chancellor", *xiang* 相 (*HHS* 110 A.16a). This information, combined with the fact that Bian Shao in his biography is said to have composed, *inter alia*, "inscriptions" (銘), makes it rather probable that he was indeed the author of the *Laozi ming*. There is one difficulty: Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), who must still have seen the stela with its inscription, describes it in great detail in ch. 2 of his *Jigu lu* 集古錄 (*Ouyang Wenzhonggong ji* 歐陽文忠公集, ed. *SBBY*, ch. 135.2a); however, he does not mention Bian Shao as the author of the text, but remarks on the contrary that some people held it to be a work of the famous scholar Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133–192 AD).

There is, indeed, some slight support for this attribution: according to Cai Yong's biography (*HHS* 90B.10b), one of the courtiers who recommended him (and with whom he consequently must have been in close contact) was the powerful eunuch Zuo Guan 左悺, the same person who early in 165 AD was sent out to perform the sacrifice to Laozi at Huxian. We could suppose that Cai Yong had done the writing; he was the greatest calligrapher of his time, his most renowned work being the text of five or six canonical scriptures in large *lishu* which he was commissioned to write out in 166 AD in vermillion ink upon the stone tablets in which they were to be engraved. However, Ouyang Xiu definitely says that according to some people Cai Yong "made" (作) the inscription, which implies that he was held to have composed the text and not merely to have written it out.

The idea of the successive manifestations of Laozi has probably been formed under Buddhist influence in the course of the second century AD; cf. also the curious enumeration of *avatāra*s of Dongfang Shuo from the era of the Yellow Emperor onward, given by Ying Shao 應劭 (ca. 140–206 AD) in his *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (ed. Centre Franco-Chinois, Beijing 1943) p. 16.

[32] *HHS* 110A.16a.

[33] According to Bo Yuan's biography in *GSZ* I 327.1.13, his original surname was Wan 萬; he was not only Chinese, but even the son of a Confucian scholar named Wan Weida 萬威達. I do not see the reason of Pelliot's statement that "son nom de famille était Po 帛, dont *Wan* est ne par altération graphique" (*BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 380 note 2). For Bo Yuan see above, p. 76.

[34] *Jijiu* 祭酒, originally a honorific term designating the eldest among the guests at a banquet who was entitled to pour out the wine as a sacrifice. During the Han it was a semi-official title given to various prominent personalities (see above, ch. II, note 91); under the Jin it became the official title of a magistrate attached to the State College (*guozi jian* 國子監) and remained so till the end of the Qing dynasty in the 20th century. In Tang times *jijiu* also designated a master of ceremonies at the court of a king (cf. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires*, vol. I, p. 442, note 5). However, the term *jijiu* had developed quite another function in the second half of the second century AD: it then became one of the highest official titles in the theocratic hierarchy of the "Eastern" Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Lu 張魯. In this organisation the "libationers" formed a kind of regional supervisors, each being entrusted with the control over a large diocese. Their rank was immediately below that of Zhang Lu, the "Lord Master-of Heaven" 天師君 himself. In later times the title has come denote a Daoist dignitary of a much lower grade, a member of a kind of parish council presided by the Daoist master (道師), and it is no doubt in this sense that the term is used here. Cf. Maspero, *Le Taoisme*, p. 153 and p. 45, Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit*., pp. 36, 53, 59, 114, Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, "Buddho-Daoist mixtures in the *Pa-shi i hua t'u*", *HJAS* IX (1945–'47), pp. 1–12, esp. p. 4.

[35] By Daoliu 道流, completed by Zhu Daozu 竺道祖, who died in 419; quoted in Falin's *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 ch. V, T 2110 522.2.24.

[36] Also named *Zhongseng zhuan* 衆僧傳, in 20 ch., cf. *Liangshu* 30.3a; quoted in the commentary of Chen Ziliang 陳子良 (probably first half seventh cent.) to *Bianzheng lun* V, T 2110 522.3.1.

[37] For this work see Arthur F. Wright, "Huijiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*", p. 417, VI. The passage in question is quoted in Chen Ziliang's commentary to *Bianzheng lun, loc. cit.*

[38] It must be remarked that the *GSZ* does not copy the biography of Bo Yuan in *CSZJJ* X 107.2.29 sqq.: the account of Li Tong's visit to hell and of Wang Fu's activities only occurs in the Korean edition of the *CSZJJ*, where the text literally agrees with and obviously has been copied from the *GSZ*, whereas the Song, Yuan and Ming editions do not mention this story at all. In the above-mentioned article by Shibata Norukatsu (see note 19) the author rejects—on absolutely insufficient grounds—the

authenticity of the quotations from the *Gaoseng zhuan* of Pei Ziye, the *Youming lu* and the *Jinshi zalu* which we have translated above, declaring them all to be forgeries or late interpolations based on Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*. He consequently takes the *GSZ* as the first account of the story of Wang Fu—a story which he therefore regards as pure fiction. This certainly goes too far. We cannot help feeling that Shibata has started from the firm conviction that the whole story of Wang Fu is a late tradition without any historical value, and that he has set out to demonstrate this by rejecting as spurious all texts which tend to prove the opposite. In such a way almost anything could be proved.

[39] *TP* VI, 1905, pp. 539–544.

[40] *GHMJ* IX 152.1.1.

[41] *GHMJ* XI 162.2.13.

[42] *GSZ* I 328.3.6 sqq., and above, p. 203.

[43] Cf. *CSZJJ* IX 64.2.10; X 71.2.18; 72.1.1; 73.2.29.

[44] *GSZ* I 328.3.18.

[45] For the later history of the *Huahu jing* see Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit*., pp. 267–324; Ed. Chavannes in *TP* V, 1904, pp. 375–385 and VI, 1905, pp. 539–542; P. Pelliot in *BEFEO* III, 1903, pp. 318–327; Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen* p. 116 sqq.

[46] Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 has given a useful synoptic list of the titles of Daoist scriptures (including the *Huahu jing*) quoted in Buddhist treatises, in *Dōkyō kyōden shi ron* 道教經典史論, Tōkyō 1955, pp. 407–422.

[47] Cf. T 2108, 集沙門不應拜俗等事 ch. V, p. 470.1.25 quoting *Jindai zalu*; T 2110 (辯正論) ch. VI p. 534.3.28 and T 2051 (法琳別傳) ch. II p. 209.2.7. On the meaning of the title cf. Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit*., p. 266.

[48] 求, add 哀, cf. *GHMJ* IX 145.3.18 (*Xiaodao lun* quoting the *Wenshi zhuan* 文始傳): 王求哀悔.

[49] *Zhefu* 赭服 or *zheyi* 赭衣, the russet garments worn by criminals. The custom dates from pre-Han times and is already mentioned in *Xunzi* (chapter *Zhenglun* 正論, *Xunzi* XVIII.218) where it is given as an example of "symbolic punishment", *xiangxing* 象刑. In a fragment from the *Fengsu tongyi* quoted in *TPYL* (ed. Centre franco-chinois, Pékin 1943, p. 110) is said that Qin Shihuangdi ordered the conscript labourers who built the Great Wall to wear the read dress of criminals in order to make the fugitives easily recognizable, cf. also Chavannes, *Mém. hist*., vol. II, p. 156, note 1. See further Dubs, *HFHD*, vol. II, appendix II, p. 123 sqq.: "Punishments by altering the clothing"; Karlgren, "Glosses on the Book of Documents", *BMFEA* XX, 1948, p. 87, gloss 1267; Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty*, p. 273, note 5; Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, p. 347.

[50] *Pianyi* 偏衣, "incomplete dress", refers to the monk's gown (*kāṣāya*) which leaves the left shoulder bare.

[51] T 2110 (*Bianzheng lun*) VI 535.1.10 = *GHMJ* XIII 185.2.13 sqq. The last phrases (from "This is why a grave disease…") occur only in the version of the *Bianzheng lun* which is reproduced in *GHMJ*.

[52] *Zhangliu* 丈六, the height of the *nirmāṇakāya* 化身 of the Buddha.

[53] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun*, *GHMJ* IX 144.2.14 sqq.

[54] *Liu* (*shen*)*cong* 六 (神) 通 = *ṣad-abhijñā*, the six supernatural powers acquired by a Buddha, an Arhat or a Bodhisattva of one of the highest stages: (1) magic power, *ṛddhi*, 如意; (2) the "divine eye", *divyacakṣus*, 天眼; (3) the "divine ear", *divyaśrotra*, 天耳; (4) the knowledge of other people's thoughts, *paracittajñāna*, 他心智; (5) the power of remembering previous existences, *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*, 自識宿命; (6) the knowledge of the destruction of (evil) outflows, *āśravakṣayajñāna*, 漏盡智. More frequent is a list of five *abhijñā* in which the last one is lacking. Cf. Lamotte, *Traité* pp. 328–333; survey of different lists and detailed discussion of each term in Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva doctrine*, pp. 106–134. It is only natural that the transcendent powers of perception (洞視, 洞聽) and the power of levitation (飛行) of

the Daoist adept came to be amalgamated with the five or six *abhijñā* of the Buddhist Saint, notably with the "divine eye", the "divine ear" and with the *ṛddhi*, which indeed includes the power of flying through the air as one of the four kinds of magic transportation (*gamana*). In fact, we find this identification already made in the second chapter of Zhi Qian's *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 of the early third century (Kyōto ed. p. 238 Al), where *divyacakṣus* and *divyaśrotra* are rendered by 撤視 and 洞聽 respectively.

[55] *Sida* 四達 is probably a mistake for *sanda* 三達, *i.e.*, the three kinds of wisdom (*tisro vidyāh*) which the Buddha attains at the moment of Enlightenment, and which are identical with three of the *abhijñā* mentioned in the previous note: *divyacakṣus* 天眼, *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti* 自識宿命 and *āśravakṣayajñāna* 漏盡智. Har Dayal (*op. cit.*, p. 108) regards the "three kinds of wisdom" as the starting-point of the evolution of the series of five or six *abhijñā*, but it is rather futile to speculate about the historical development of such notions of Buddhism in its very first stage of scholastic elaboration. "Superhuman qualities" (*uttarimanussa-dhamma*) acquired by the monk in the course of his training are mentioned in the earliest part of the Buddhist canon (*Pātimokkha*). Such supernormal powers and the methods to acquire these no doubt belong to the earliest nucleus of Buddhism, irrespective of their number or way of classification, and are probably even pre-Buddhist, belonging to the realm of *yoga* which was, if not the very essence, at least an essential part of the primitive doctrine (cf. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, Paris 1925, p. 10 sqq.). The *sida* 四達 of our text may be the result of a confusion of *sanda* 三達 with the expression *sida* "penetrating the four (quarters)", as it *e.g.*, occurs in *Daode jing* 10: 明白四達, 能無知乎, "In penetrating the four quarters with your intelligence, can you be without knowledge?" (trsl. Duyvendak, reading 知 i. st. of 為, cf. p. 36 and 39). In this text from the *Wenshi zhuan* it is evident from the context that the term *sida* (balancing *liutong* 六通) can only be interpreted as "the four *da*". The *sida* mentioned in *Zhouli* 15.23a (凡為色者以四達戒其功事) are of course out of the question.

[56] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun*, *GHMJ* IX 145.3.11. On the *Wenshi zhuan*, a Daoist apocryphal work, the nucleus of which was a hagiographic account of the life of Yin Xi with additions dating from the second half of the sixth century, see Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit.* p. 291 sqq., and H. Maspero, Le Taoisme, p. 176, note 3.

[57] Read, with the Ming edition, 始者 i.st. of 始老.

[58] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 145.3.22.

[59] *Ib*. 145.3.17.

[60] *Ib*. 151.1.17.

[61] The quotation from the *Chuji* has 考殺 "tried and killed"; I read, with the quotation from the *Zaoli tiandi jing* (cf. below, note 62), 打殺 "slew", taking 考 (also written 攷) to be a graphic error for 打.

[62] *Ib*. 144.2.20; *id*. quoted from the *Zaoli tiandi jing* 造立天地經, *ib*. p. 150.1.4.

[63] *Ib*. 147.2.16. It may be remarked in passing that such phantastic etymological explanations of Sanskrit words are not seldom found in Daoist apocrypha. The word *Youposai* 優婆塞 (*upāsaka*) is connected with a story about an Indian king who was distressed (*you*, 憂!) about his son who had to guard the pass (*sai*) against bands of robbers (the *po* is not accounted for, much to the amusement of the author of the *Xiaodao lun* who asks where the "mother-in-law" comes in); an analogous explanation is given for *youpoyi* 優婆夷 (*upāsikā*) (quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 147.2.26). Because the Buddhists "destroy and damage" (*tuhai* 屠害) their natural complexion, the name of the Buddha contains the syllable *tu* 屠 "to slaughter" in the archaic transcription *Futu* 浮屠; *sangmen* 喪門 (apparently a variant of the archaic *sangmen* 桑門 = *śramaṇa*) means "the gate of (mourning =) death", etc. (*Sanpo lun* 三破論, a Daoist polemic treatise by Zhang Rong 張融 (died 497) quoted in the *Miehuo lun* 滅惑論 by Liu Xie 劉勰, *HMJ* 50.3.5).

[64] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 144.2.21.

[65] *Ib*. 146.1.1.

[66] On this work and its date see Tang Yongtong, *op. cit*., p. 462 sqq.

[67] Weiwei 維衛 (Arch. **di̯wər.gi̯wad*, Anc. **i̯wi.ji̯wäi*) is normally a transcription of the name Vipaśyin (cf. above, p. 278 sub 4). Here obviously the Buddha's birthplace Kapilavastu is meant, which we find transcribed, *inter alia*, as *Jiaweiluowei* 迦維囉衛, *Jiayiwei* 迦夷衛 and *Weiye* 維耶, cf. Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善, *lndo-bukkyō koyū-meishi jiten* 印度佛教固有名詞辭典 (Nagoya 1931), vol. I, p. 281.1.

[68] This text as quoted in *Nan Qi shu* 54.4a = *Nanshi* 75.11a has Jingmiao 淨妙 i.st. of Qingmiao 清妙. The queen's name at first sight seems to be quite "Daoist" without any connection with Māyā, the name of Gautama's mother. However, it must be noted that in Ch. I of the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T 185, trsl. by Zhi Qian in 222–229 AD), Kyōto ed. p. 234 A2 we find already the name of Māyā transcribed as Miao 妙 (Arch. **mi̯og*/Anc. *mi̯ōu*), and it is certain that the account of the *Xuanmiao neipian* is based upon the story of the Buddha's birth as it is given in this sūtra. The correspondence between the two texts is obvious:

Xuanmiao neipian	*Taizi ruiying benqi jing*
[老子入關] 之于天竺維衛國	託生天竺迦維羅衛國
國王夫人名清妙	夫人曰妙.節義溫良
老子因其晝寢	菩薩初下.化乘白象冠日之精
乘日之精人清妙口中	因母晝寢而示夢焉.從右脇入
後年四月八日夜半時	至四月八日夜明星出時
剖右腋而生	從右脇生
墜地卽行七步舉手指天曰	墜地卽行七步舉手住而言
天上大卜.唯我為尊	天上天下. 唯我為尊
三界皆苦.何可樂者	三界皆苦.何可樂者

[69] According to the legendary account of the Buddha's birth, the Bodhisattva entered Māyā's womb in the form of a white elephant with six tusks when she was having a siesta during the Midsummer Festival. In the early Chinese accounts of the Buddha's life (T 184, T 185) the future Buddha is said to have descended from the Tuṣita heaven seated on a white elephant; the same tradition is found in the *Mouzi* and in Faxian's itinerary (cf. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 336 note 35). Here, however, we find no trace of this story, the only element which has remained from the original legend being that Laozi's *avatāra* took place when the queen "was sleeping in the daytime". Laozi, who as a Daoist adept has the power to transform his body, apparently changes himself into the light of the sun which shines upon the queen's body. The miraculous conception through the mouth is a theme which figures in a number of Chinese stories about the birth of very prominent men; in these legends the conception results from swallowing some object, particularly eggs. Cf. *e.g., Shijing*, ode 245 (*Daya* II.1, Legge p. 465, Couvreur p. 347, Karlgren p. 260), *Shiji* 3.1a (*Mém. hist*. I 173–174); *Shiji* 5.1a (*Mém-hist*. II 1–2).

[70] The original text of the *Xuanmiao neipian* (or *Xuanmiao jing* 玄妙經) probably, read "the right arm-pit" 右腋, in keeping with the Indian tradition about the Bodhisattva's miraculous birth at Lumbinī. The earliest source in which this passage occurs (the *Yixia lun* 夷夏論 of ca. 470 quoted in *HMJ* VI 37.2.17 and in *Nan Qi shu* 54.4a = *Nanshi* 75.11a) reads 右 "right", whereas according to later quotations from the same scripture (in *Xiaodao lun*) Laozi was born from Qingmiao's left side. The change from right to left is understandable: in general, left is the direction which corresponds with the male principle (*yang*) (cf. M. Granet, *Pensée chinoise*, p. 369); Laozi is born as a man and teacher and has used the essence of the sun to incarnate himself, whereas the Daoist doctrine according to other apocrypha (see below, p. 306) is also opposed to Buddhism as *yang* is to *yin*. However, the tradition that Laozi was born from his (Chinese) mother's left side is much older than the sixth century.

In Laozi's "biography" in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 by Ge Hong 葛洪 (mid. fourth cent.) it is already said that he "ripped open his mother's left arm-pit and was born" 剖母右腋而生 (ed. *Shuoku* 1.1a).

[71] These lines are of course a Daoist adaption of the famous stanzas which the future Buddha is said to have recited immediately after his birth. For the Buddhist tradition and the many different versions of the Buddha's first words see P. Mus, *Barabuḍur*, p. 475 sqq.; additional information, esp. from Chinese sources, in Et. Lamotte, *Traité* p. 6 note 3. The text of the stanzas which we find here recited by Laozi is identical with the one contained in Zhi Qian's translation of the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing*, cf. above, note 68. It must be noted that the words "This is my last birth" 是最末後身 (*iyaṃ me paścimā jātiḥ*), which occur in all other versions, are lacking this short biography of the Buddha as well as in the text of the *Xuanmiao neipian*.

[72] *Xuanmiao neipian* 玄妙內篇 (once quoted as *Xuanmiao jing* 玄妙經 in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 148.3.19), quoted in Gu Huan's *Yixia lun*, which in turn is reproduced in (1) *Zheng erjiao lun*, 正二教論 by Ming Sengshao 明僧紹 (early sixth cent.), *HMJ* VI 37.2.15; (2) *Nan Qi shu* 54.4a; (3) *Nanshi* 75.11a; furthermore quoted in Zhen Luan's *Xiaodao lun* (570 AD) in *GHMJ* IX 146.1.9, 148.2.24, 148.3.19.

[73] This scripture is only known from a few short quotations in *Xiaodao lun*. The title is incomprehensible; besides *Xiaobing* 氷 *jing* the variant title *Xiaoshui* 水 *jing* occurs in the bibliographic sections of both Tang histories (*Tangshu jingji yiwen hezhi* 唐書經籍藝文合志, Beijing 1956, p. 181). Fukui Kōjun proposes, though hesitatingly, to read *xuan* 玄 i.st. of *bing* 氷 or *shui* 水 (*op. cit*., p. 290).

[74] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 146.1.6.

[75] *Cheng fo weishen* 承佛威神, the standard translation of *buddhasya* (or *buddhānām*) *adhiṣṭhānena*, "by the controlling (or: sustaining) power of the Buddha(s)". It is not clear to me what meaning must be attached to this well-known formula in this context.

[76] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 145.3.18.

[77] T 2036 XXVII p. 719.1; cf. Ed. Chavannes in *TP* V (1904) p. 376, note 1.

[78] Pelliot 3404 (containing the text of the eight chapter, entitled 老子化胡經受道卷第八, published in *Dunhuang biji liuzhen xinbian* vol. II, pp. 34–48) and Pelliot 4502 (= T 2139, containing the introductory chapter 序說 of the *Laozi xisheng huahu jing* 老子西昇化胡經, cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, p. 144, note 1, and Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit*., p. 267 sqq.).

[79] *Dunhuang miji liuzhen xinbian* 敦煌秘籍留真新編, T'aipei 1947, vol. II, p. 45, col. 4.

[80] T 2139 p. 1267.2.9 sqq.

[81] Cf. Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit*., p. 258; Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité manichéen*, p. 126.

[82] *Weishu* 102.3a = *Beishi* 97.3b.

[83] I read, with Tang Yongtong (*op. cit*., p. 464), 無仁 instead of 無二.

[84] *Sanpo lun* 三破論 by Zhang Rong 張融 (died 497), quoted in *Miehuo lun* 滅惑論 by Liu Xie 劉勰 (early sixth cent.), *HMJ* VIII, 50.3.20.

[85] *Ib*. 50.3.23.

[86] *Huahu jing*, quoted in the *Beishan lu* 北山錄 by the monk Shenqing 神清 (T 2113, early ninth cent.) ch. V, p. 602.1.17.

[87] Read (with the Yuan, Ming and Palace ed.) 聚麀 instead of 聚塵. For the expression *quyou*, "to share the hind", cf. *Liji* I (*Quli, zhushu* ed. I.11a, trsl. Couvreur I.7): 夫惟禽獸無禮.故父子聚麀 "it is because the birds and wild beasts have no Rites that (among them) father and son live together with the same female".

[88] *Zhengwu lun, HMJ* I 7.1.24 sqq.

[89] *Shanhai jing*, cf. above, p. 271.

[90] Words of the Han general Ban Yong 班勇 quoted in *HHS* 118 (*Xiyu zhuan*), and again paraphrased by Fan Ye *ib*. p. 10a: 修浮圖道不殺伐. Cf. above, p. 26.

[91] *Hou-Han ji* 10.5a.

[92] Quoted in *Nan Qi shu* 54.5a = *Nanshi* 75.12b.

[93] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 149.1.25.

[94] 佛者道之所生 [大乘守善] 道者自然無所從生. The words 大乘守善 ("the observation of what is good in the Mahāyāna") make no sense here and moreover interrupt the parallelism of the phrase; they seem to have crept into the text, probably as a result of careless copying.

[95] *Qichu* 七出, the "seven grounds for divorce", cf. *Kongzi jiayu* (ed. Tongwen shuju) VI.11b; the list corresponds to that of the *qiqu* 七去 of the *Da Dai liji* ch. XIII (section 80, 本命), p. 6a, trsl. R. Wilhelm, *Das Buch der Sitte*, p. 248. Neither of these lists includes drinking wine, which probably fell under the category of *yin* 淫, "debauchery".

[96] *Shouyi* 守一, "guarding unity" or "keeping to the One", originally a Daoist term indicating a certain state of mental concentration; in early Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures it is also used for *dhyāna*. The expression probably derives from *Zhuangzi* XI.65: 我守一以處其和, or from the opening words of *Daode jing* 10: 戴營魂抱一. Cf. Tang Yongtong, *History*, pp. 110–111 and Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaojian* 老子想爾注校牋 (Hongkong 1956), pp. 63–65. However, in this context it must mean something quite different: "to guard (one's chastity) with concentrated attention"?

[97] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, HMJ* IX 146.3.2. The explanation of Buddhist ideas in terms of traditional Chinese cosmology (*yinyang* and the five elements) was by no means restricted to Daoist circles. It occurs in a much more developed form in the remaining fragments of the Buddhist forgery known as "The Sūtra of Trapuṣa and Bhallika" 提謂波利經, a popular apocryphal work composed ca. 460 AD by the famous organizer of the Northern Church, Tanyao 曇曜. Here we find a bizarre classificatory system in which the five Buddhist commandments are made to correspond to the five planets, the five sacred mountains, the five intestines, the five elements, the five (mythical) emperors, the five colours, etc. Cf. Tsukamoto Zenryū, 支那の在家佛教特に庶民佛教の一經典, in *Tōhōgakuhō* III, 1941, pp. 313–369, esp. p. 331 sqq.

[98] *Ib*. 152.1.6.

[99] *Ib*. 146.3.16.

[100] Cf. above, p. 81, note 1.

[101] *CSZJJ* V 38.2.7 sqq.

[102] *Ib*. 38.3.17 sqq.

[103] T 2146 ch. IV, p. 138.1.8 sqq.

[104] *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* ch. I, Kyōto ed. p. 234 A2: 及其變化隨時 而現.或為聖帝.或作儒林之宗國師道士.在所現化不可稱記. Analogous passage in T 6, an anonymous fourth century version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, ch. I, p. 182.2.9.

[105] Here the term *chuchu* 出處 balances the *fazhi* 發致 of the previous sentence, and consequently must not be interpreted as an antithetic compound ("departure and stay"), but as attributive word-group: "departing-place, point of departure". Hurvitz (p. 27) mistranslates: "…that the departure from the private life and the remaining in it are truly different".

[106] Huiyuan here paraphrases the passage from the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* translated above (cf. note 104).

[107] *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* section IV, *HMJ* V 31.1.18, trsl. Hurvitz, pp. 27–28.

[108] *GHMJ* XXVII 304.1.26.

[109] *HMJ* I 7.2.1.

[110] Cf. Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit.*, pp. 294–296. A work named *Xisheng jing* 西昇經 occurs in the Daoist canon (*Daocang* vols. 346–347 and 449–450); it professes to be a record of Laozi's words to Yin Xi before their departure to the West. This work indeed begins with the words: "Laozi ascended to the West to open up (開 instead of 聞!) the Way in Zhuqian; (there) he was called Master Gu. He skilfully entered *Nirvāṇa*; without having either beginning or end he will exist continuously" 老子西昇開道竺乾.號古先生.善入無為.不終不始.永存綿綿. But on the other hand the rest of the present text of the *Xisheng jing* does not contain any reference to the *huahu* legend, so that this work cannot be identical with the ancient *Xisheng jing* which we find often quoted in Buddhist apologetic treatises as one of the main exponents of the *huahu* story. Cf. also P. Pelliot in *BEFEO* III, pp. 322–327; IV 379 and VIII 515–519, and Kenneth K. S. Ch'en in *HJAS* IX p. 2 note 4.

[111] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 152.1.13; same phrase quoted from the (*Laozi*) *xisheng jing* 老子西昇經 in Dao'an's *Erjiao lun* 二教論, *GHMJ* VIII 139.3.6, and in Falin's *Bianzheng lun* ch. V, T 2110, p. 524.1.18.

[112] I read 法後 instead of 劫後, cf. in the next phrase the words 老子去後百年.

[113] Shewei 舍衛 (Śrāvastī) seems to be a mistake for Weiwei 維衛 (Kapilavastu, cf. *supra*, p. 301 and note 67).

[114] This number is certainly a mistake. Since practically all texts agree in saying that the Buddha entered *Nirvāṇa* at the age of eighty, I propose to correct this "forty-nine" 四十九 into "seventy-nine" 七十九.

[115] This passage is certainly based upon ch. III of the (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (trsl. by Dharmakṣema in 414–419 AD, T 374 pp. 379.3–380.1 = Southern recension, T 375, pp. 619.2–620.1), where we find the twenty-two stanzas in which the Bodhisattva Kāśyapa puts thirty-odd questions to the Buddha. The number 36 seems incorrect; I have been unable to count more than 32 questions in this passage. It must be noted that here Laozi is not identified with the disciple Mahākāśyapa, the aged *śrāvaka* from Sāgala, but with a Bodhisattva named Kāśyapa who only seems to occur in the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. In this sūtra he is described as a young man from a brahman family, born in the village of Duoluo 多羅 (*Tāla*?).

[116] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun*, *GHMJ* IX 148.2.27.

[117] The village of Duoluo is mentioned in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*loc. cit.*) as the birth-place of the Bodhisattva Kāśyapa, see note 115 above.

[118] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 149.1.2.

[119] I read, with T 2109 p. 162.2.12, *cai* 採 inst. of *jiang* 將.

[120] *Youtan hua* 優曇花, the blossoms of the *uḍumbara* tree (*ficus glomerata*) which symbolize the appearance of a Buddha in the world on account of their extreme rarity (the tree is said to produce fruits without having flowered). Cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 224.2.

[121] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 151.3.28 and in Falin's *Poxie lun* 破邪論 ch. I, T 2109 p. 477.3.17 (= *GHMJ* XI 162.2.12). In *Fayuan zhulin* LV 706.1. these lines and the next four ("Why is the Buddha born so late…") are not separated but quoted as one continuous poem.

[122] Quoted in Falin's *Bianzheng lun* ch. V, T 2110, p. 524.1.19.

[123] Quoted by Zhen Luan in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 152.1.14, by Falin in *Poxie lun* ch. I, T 2109, p. 477.3.9 (= *GHMJ* XI 161.3.2) and by Daoxuan in *GHMJ* I 98.2.27; cf. also *Fayuan zhulin* LV 705.3.

[124] Fu Lang 苻朗, *zi* Yuanda 元達, was the son of an elder brother of Fu Jian 苻堅, the Tibetan ruler of the Former Qin dynasty; he has a short biography in *JS* 114.7a. Under Fu Jian he was made General Commander of the East 鎮東將軍 and governor of Qingzhou 青州. When the Tibetan army was completely routed at the famous battle of Feishui 淝水 (383), he surrendered to the Jin (according to *JS* 9.7b, his

surrender took place in November 383), and was subsequently sent to the Jin court at Jiankang, where he was given a honorary function in the palace. His scholarly abilities, his proficiency in *qingtan* and his great renown as a gastronomer made the Tibetan prince very popular at the Chinese court; among his acquaintances we find the Buddhist master Zhu Fatai 竺法汰 (*Qinshu* 秦書 by Pei Jingren 裴景人, quoted in *Comm.* to *SSXY* IIIB,14a, and *JS* 114.7a). Before long, he incurred the enmity of the powerful war-lord Wang Guobao 王國寶 who caused him to be executed. Acc. to *JS* 114.17b his execution took place when Wang Guobao's brother Wang Chen 王忱 had just been nominated governor of Jingzhou, which acc. to *ZZTJ* 107.1266a took place in August/September 390. Fu Lang was the author of a philosophical work patterned after the *Zhuangzi*, the *Fuzi* 苻子, in 30 (var. 20) *juan*, which has been lost, probably since late Tang times. Yan Kejun 嚴可均 has collected some fifty fragments of this work, mostly quotations found in early encyclopedias, and has published these in ch. 152 of his monumental *Quan Jin wen* 全晉文 (see also the remarks in his preface to this chapter). Apart from the phrase which we have translated here, the existing fragments of the *Fuzi* do not contain any Buddhist ideas or themes. But Buddhist influence is very clear in the first lines of his "farewell-poem" which he composed immediately before his execution: "From what cause do the four Great Elements (四大: *mahābhūta*) arise? They are gathered and dispersed (again) without end…". In Buddhist texts the title of the *Fuzi* is invariably written 符子, with the "bamboo" radical instead of the "grass" radical. This is, however, no indication that another work is meant. In fact, we find the same reading in the bibliographical sections of the *Suishu* (ch. 34.2b), the *Jiu Tangshu* (ch. 27.3a) and the *Xin Tangshu* (ch. 49.3a), as well as in *ZZTJ* 107.1266a. In all bibliographies the *Fuzi* is included in the section of the "Daoist philosophers".

125 Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX 152.1.13, in Falin's *Poxie lun* ch. I, T 2109 p. 478.3.6 (= *GHMJ* XI 161.3.3) and by Daoxuan in *GHMJ* I 98.2.27; cf. also *Fayuan zhulin* LV 705.3.

126 The oldest Chinese account of the story of Sumedha is to be found in the first chapter of the late second century *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經 (T 184, Kyōto ed. p. 224B2 sqq.). For an extensive bibliography on this subject see Lamotte, *Traité*, vol. I, p. 248, n. 2.

127 *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T 185, trsl. 223–229 AD) ch. I, Kyōto ed. p. 234A1. For a curious very late survival or revival of the identification of Confucius with Buddhist saints cf. Ferdinand D. Lessing, "Bodhisattva Confucius" (*Oriens*, X, 1957, pp. 110–113, describing an eighteenth century ritual in the Lama temple at Beijing).

128 *CSZJJ* V 39.1.15; also mentioned as a forgery in T 2146, Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu*, ch. II, p. 126.3.30 and in T 2147, ch. IV, p. 173.3.4.

129 T 2146, ch. II, p. 126.3.19, also mentioned in T 2147, ch. IV, p. 173.2.20.

130 In the present canon we find two early versions of this sūtra: (A) T 534, *Yueguang tongzi jing* 月光童子經, the translation of which is unanimously ascribed to Dharmarakṣa; this text does not contain the prediction of Yue Guang's future life in China; (B) T 535, the *Shenri jing* 申日經, a somewhat condensed (or not yet developed) version of the same sūtra, which in the Taishō edition of the canon is attributed to Dharmarakṣa just like the preceding work, but which, according to an anonymous colophon at the end of the scripture, would actually have been translated by Zhi Qian. The latter attribution may be correct: firstly, because it is highly improbable that Dharmarakṣa translated the same sūtra twice, and secondly, because the earliest catalogues all mention a *Yueming tongzi jing* 月明童子經 (clearly a variant title of the same sūtra) translated by Zhi Qian (*CSZJJ* II 6.3.26; T 2146 ch. I p. 115.3.22 etc.). The text of T 535 contains, moreover, a translator's (or editor's) note to the name of the crownprince (transcribed

旃羅法, Arch. *t̂i̯an.lā.pi̯wap > Anc. *tśi̯än.lā.pi̯wɒp = Candraprabha) saying: "In the language *of Han* this means *yueguang tongzi*, 'the boy (named) Moon-light'." In view of the general practice in Buddhist translations to refer to the Chinese language as "the language of (the reigning dynasty) X", this note indicates that the sūtra in question was translated by some master active in or shortly after the Han and not by Dharmarakṣa, whose period of activity roughly coincides with the Western Jin (265–316 AD).

If this attribution is correct, it would mean that the theory of Candraprabha's future *avatāra* as a Chinese monarch was already known in the first half of the third century AD. It is not necessarily a Chinese invention: the country of (Mahā)cīna (China) sporacidally figures in Indian Buddhist literature, and it may well be that some "prediction" of this kind had developed in Indian or Central Asian Buddhism after the Chinese expansion on the Asian continent in the second century BC. However, here we have certainly to do with a typically Chinese version of this legend, as appears from the undoubtedly Chinese list of foreign countries and barbarian tribes which is given in this sūtra: 鄯善.鳥長.歸茲.疏勒.大宛.于填.及諸羌虜夷狄

For a detailed discussion of the different early versions of the *Shenri jing* see Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎, *Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū* 異釋經類の研究, Tōkyō 1945, ch. VIII (pp. 410–435).

131 T 535, p. 819.2.1.

132 T 545, ch. II, p. 849.2.20.

133 The *Qingjing faxing jing* in one *juan* is mentioned by Sengyou among the "anonymous translations" in *CSZJJ* IV 29.1.21; the same qualification in *Da Tang neidian lu* ch. I, T 2149, p. 225.3.14 and in *Gujin yijing tuji* 古今譯經圖紀 ch. I, T 2151 p. 351.1.4. It is classed among the "suspected scriptures" in T 2146 (Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu*) ch. II p. 126.2.17; id. in T 2147 (Yan Cong's *Zhongjing mulu*) ch. IV, p. 172.3.8; T 2154 (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu*) ch. I, p. 485.1.21 and ch. XX, p. 669.3.6; in T 2157 (*Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄) ch. XXVIII, p. 1015.3.20 with the remark 記說孔老顏回事, etc. The only catalogue in which the work is attributed to a translator is T 2153 (*Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu*) ch. VII, p. 411.1.14: here the sūtra is said to have been translated by Dharmarakṣa, for which information the compilers of the catalogue refer to a mysterious bibliography entitled *Dayuduoluolu* 達鬱多羅錄 ("the Catalogue of Dha[rm]ottara"?). This catalogue is only known from T 2153, where it is quoted or referred to a few times; no further information is given about the date of its composition or about the author. Of course we should not attach any value to this attribution.

134 *CSZJJ* IV 29.1.21.

135 *GHMJ* XXIV 279.3.6: 是以闕里儒童.闡禮經於洙濟.苦縣迦葉.遷妙道於流沙.

136 T 1331 ch. VI, p. 512.2.4: 閻浮界內有震旦國.我遺三聖在中化道.人民慈哀.禮義具足.

137 *Lidai sanbao ji* ch. VII, T 2034, p. 69.1.10; *Da Tang neidian lu* ch. III, T 2149, p. 244.2.26.

138 *CSZJJ* V 39.1.21; T 2146 (Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu*) ch. IV 138.3.25.

139 Quoted in *Bo Gu daoshi Yixia lun* 駁顧道士夷夏論 by Huitong 慧 (var. 惠) 通 (late fifth century); *HMJ* VII 45.3.9.

140 使普賢威行西路. Samantabhadra (普賢) is, as far as I know, not credited with any missionary activities in the West; on the contrary, he is commonly associated with the Eastern quarter.

141 Read 貌 instead of 邈.

142 *Ronghua lun* 戎華論 by Sengmin 僧敏 (late fifth cent.), *HMJ* VII 47.2.11.

143 Quoted in Dao'an's *Erjiao lun, GHMJ* VIII 140.1.6. A different version of the same "sūtra" is quoted by the Tiantai master Zhi Yi 智顗 (547–606) in the first chapter

of his *Weimojing xuanshu* 維摩經玄疏 (written in 604): here the Bodhisattva Candraprabha 月光 is identified with Yan Hui, the Bodhisattva Guangjing 光淨 with Confucius, and Kāśyapa with Laozi (T 1777 p. 523.1.16).

[144] Quoted in *Xi sanpo lun* 析三破論 by Sengshun 僧順 (late fifth century), *HMJ* VIII 53.3.1.

[145] Quoted in Falin's *Bianzheng lun* T 2110 p. 530.1.11 (= *GHMJ* XIII 181.1.8). The *Kongji suowen jing* is mentioned in Fajing's catalogue in the section "forgeries" (T 2046 ch. II p. 126.3.16), with the remark: "Also named *Famiejin (jing)* 法滅盡[經]. This scripture is evidently a forgery, and certainly not a translation by Dharmarakṣa". The variant title as well as the attribution to Dharmarakṣa are confirmed by Sengyou, who in the *CSZJJ* among the translations by Dharmarakṣa mentions a "*Fa mojin jing* 法沒盡經, 1 ch., also called *Kongji suowen jing*", which entry is in most editions of the *CSZJJ* followed by the words: "edited on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of *taixi* 太熈". *Taixi* is probably a mistake for Guangxi 光熈; the date would then correspond to March 8, 306 AD. Although Fajing states that the two titles (*Kongqi suowen jing* and *Fa miejin jing*) refer to the same work, both titles are separately listed in his section on "forgeries" (T 2146 ch. II p. 126.3.16 and p. 127.1.2); the same is the case in T 2147 (Yanzong's *Zhongjing mulu*) ch. IV, p. 173.1.2 and p. 173.2.15. Moreover, Fajing also includes among the translations attributed to Dharmarakṣa the *Fa mojin jing* which we found mentioned in the *CSZJJ*; here no date of translation is given. We may conclude that there was indeed a work known under these two titles and attributed to Dharmarakṣa at least as early as the end of the fifth century. Since it is listed both by Sengyou and by Fajing among the translations by Dharmarakṣa without further comment, we must assume that it was different from the Buddhist forged scripture of the same title(s) which Fajing mentions in his list of forgeries, with the cautionary remark that this is a fake, and not the sūtra of the same name translated by Dharmarakṣa which he has mentioned elsewhere.

[146] Quoted in Falin's *Poxie lun*, T 2109 p. 478.3.8. I have been unable to find any bibliographical data concerning this *Neidian tiandi jing*.

[147] Quoted in Falin's *Poxie lun*, T 2109 p. 477.3.22 (= *GHMJ* XI 162.2.17 and *Fayuan zhulin* LV 706.1). I have not found any further information concerning the *Laozi daquan pusa jing*.

[148] The text of this edict, which does not occur in the Annals of the *Liangshu*, is reproduced in *GHMJ* IV 112.1.27: *Sheshi Li-Lao dao fazhao* 捨事李老道法詔.

[149] Quoted in Dao'an's *Erjiao lun, GHMJ* VIII 140.1.18. The *Xumi siyujing* is mentioned among the "forgeries" in Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu* (T 2146 ch. II, p. 127.1.10) with the remark that this work, together with twenty-two other "sūtras", had been concocted by "the King of Jingling, Xiao Ziliang" 竟陵王 蕭子良. Xiao Ziliang was the second son of emperor Wu of the Southern Qi dynasty (483–494); he lived from 460–494 and was a great lover and patron of literature and a devout Buddhist, cf. his biography in *Nan Qi shu* 40.1a and *Nanshi* 44.3a. The *Xumi siyu jing* is furthermore mentioned in T 2147 (Yan Cong's *Zhongjing mulu*) ch. IV p. 173.3.12; T 2149 (Da Tang neidian lu) ch. X p. 334.3.28;T 2153 (*Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu*) ch. XV p. 472.2.28; T 2154 (*Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*) ch. XVIII p. 675.3.24; T 2157 (*Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*) ch. XXVIII p. 1020.1.13 and 1022.1.10.

[150] Quoted in Falin's *Bianzheng lun*, T 2110 p. 521.2.2 (= *GHMJ* XIII 181.1.7). Cf. also the *Zaoli tiandi jing* (above, note 62) quoted in the *Weimojing xuanshu* 維摩經玄疏 (ch. I, T 1777 p. 523.1.14) by Zhiyi 智顗 (604 AD): 寶應聲開 菩薩示號伏義. 以上皇之道來化此國.

[151] Cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 528.2.

[152] Cf. *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (larger version) 34, trsl. F. Max Müller p. 52; T 360.

[153] *Agañña-sutta*, Dīgha III.30, *Dialogues* III p. 81 sqq.; *Abh. Kośa* III. 181 sqq.

[154] *Bianzheng lun* ch. V, T 2110 p. 521.2.3.

[155] Quoted in Falin's *Poxie lun* ch. I, T 2109 p. 477.3.3, cf. *Fayuan zhulin* LV 705.3.

[156] *Ib*. p. 477.3.5.

[157] Haoming Shan 鵠 (var. 鶴) 鳴山 was the name of a mountain some two hundred *li* from Chengdu (Sichuan); according to tradition Zhang Ling had lived there in order to "study the Way". Cf. Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit*., p. 16.

[158] *Poxie lun* ch. I, T 2109 p. 477.3.4, cf. *Fayuan zhulin* LV 705.3.

[159] I do not know the identity of the masters Han Pingzi and Jian Pingzi, Wu Shi 午室 is certainly a mistake for Yu 于 (or Gan 干) Shi 室 (or Ji 吉) the Daoist master who is mostly called Yu Ji, the founder of the *Taiping dao* 太平道 branch of the early Daoist church (first half second cent. AD); for the many variant ways of writing his name see Fukui Kōjun, *op. cit*., p. 63.

[160] Read 號佛 instead of 佛號.

[161] Quoted in *Xiaodao lun, GHMJ* IX, 147.3.15.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Only those works that are mentioned or quoted in the text or in the notes are included. The titles of some works which have only incidentally been mentioned and which do not bear upon the main subject of this study have been omitted; they figure, however, in the Index at the end of this volume. Works included in collections of literature (such as the Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon, the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Wenxuan*, etc.) have not been mentioned; the collections themselves have been listed.

I. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abh. Kośa	=	*Abhidharmakośa*, see s.v. Vallée Poussin, L. de la —
As. Maj.	=	*Asia Major*.
BEFEO	=	*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*.
BMFEA	=	*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*.
BQNZ	=	*Biqiuni zhuan* (T 2063, cf. p. 10.11).
BSO AS	=	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
CS	=	*Jinshu*.
CSZJJ	=	*Zhu sanzangji ji* (T 2145, cf. p. 10).
DDJ	=	*Daode jing*.
Dialogues	=	*Dialogues of the Buddha*, see Rhys Davids.
GHMJ	=	*Guang hongming ji* (T 2103, cf. p. 13).
GSZ	=	*Gaoseng zhuan* (T 2059, cf. p. 10).
HFHD	=	*History of Former Han Dynasty*, see Dubs and collaborators.
History,	=	see *s.v.* Tang Yongtong.
HJAS	=	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.
HMJ	=	*Hongming ji* (T 2102, cf. p. 13).
HS	=	*Hanshu*.
JAOS	=	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
J.As.	=	*Journal Asiatique*.
Kyōto ed.	=	*Dainihon kōtei daizōkyō* 大日本校訂大藏經, 318 vols., Kyōto, 1902–1905.
LY	=	*Lunyu*.
MCB	=	*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*.
Mém. Hist.	=	*Mémoires Historiques*, see Chavannes.
MSOS	=	*Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*.
Mvst.	=	*Mahāvastu*.
QJW	=	*Quan Jinwen* 全晉文, see Yan Kejun.
QSGW	=	*Quan Sanguo wen* 全三國文, see Yan Kejun.
SBBY	=	*Sibu beiyao*.
SBCK	=	*Sibu congkan*.
SGZ	=	*Sanguo zhi*.
SJ	=	*Shiji*.
SSXY	=	*Shishuo xinyu*.
T.	=	*Taishō issaikyō*.
TP	=	*T'oung Pao*.
TPYL	=	*Taiping yulan*.
Xu GSZ	=	*Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, by Daoxuan 道宣, 596–667. (T 2062).
YJXB	=	*Yanjing xuebao*.
YWLJ	=	*Yiwen leiju*.
ZDMG	=	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
ZYYY	=	*Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*.
ZZTJ	=	*Zizhi tongjian*.

II. CHINESE WORKS

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I. INDEX OF CHINESE NAMES AND TERMS

Arabic figures refer to the pages of the text, Roman figures to the chapters, and Arabic figures preceded by Roman ones to the notes (*e.g.* III.115 = note 115 to ch. III). In names of monks the "religious surname" *Shi* has been omitted.

II. INDEX OF NAMES AND TERMS OTHER THAN CHINESE

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

p. 26, line 6: read "noble".
p. 30, line 10: read "Hīnayānistic".
p. 44, line 15: read "highest".
p. 48, line 2: Vighna's words look like a paraphrase of T350 (Kāśyapaparivarta, ascribed to Lokakṣema), p. 189, 3: 所聞者.但聞取法.不取嚴飾.. Comp. also T322 (*Fajing jing*, trsl. by An Xuan) p. 20.2: 所有依其義不以文...
p. 118, line 39: read "contracts".
p. 129, line 13: read *Zhuangzi*.
p. 143, line 30: read "have had" instead of "have".
p. 160, line 31: "How could it be... of their time" should be changed into "Would it not have been easy (for these emperors) to have the monks bend their knees?"
This correction, as well as the following one, I owe to Professor Zhou Yiliang.
p. 162, line 4: "soaring Tai Shan" should be changed into "Song Shan and Tai Shan" (嵩岱).
p. 162, line 12: "In the course... intelligent": Professor Zhou rightly remarks that 世經三代 and 人更明聖 can better be interpreted as parallel sentences: As far as time is concerned, three dynasties (Han, Wei and Jin) have passed. As far as man is concerned, sages and saints have lived one after another".
p. 240, line 34: "he recited... in his hands". *Chi* 持 should be taken in its Buddhist sense of "to recite"; *fengchi* 諷持 therefore simply means "he recited (the scriptures)". Prof. Zhou suggests that *chi* might be a literal translation of the Sanskrit root *dhṛ*, cf. *chiming* 持明 dhāraṇī.
p. 241, line 49: "There were also... densely growing". I have failed to recognize the parallel structure of this couplet, which should be translated: "Rocks were piled up for the foundation, and pine trees were hewn for the construction (of the building)". Prof. Zhou remarks, that the curious use of 份 and 即 refers to the fact that Huiyuan made use of whatever material he could find in the mountain to build the *vihāra*.
p. 244, line 42: "tendencies" 趣 could also refer to the (dangerous =) bad modes of existence (*gati*).
p. 246, line 44: "Dear Sir". Prof. Zhou proposes to take 仁者 as an equivalent of Skt. *muni*, cf. 能仁 "Sākyamuni". I would prefer to regard it as a rendering of the common *bhadre*, "my heart".

p. 247, line 3: "But it is difficult... so unfavourable". Prof. Zhou points out that "rivers and lakes" symbolize the natural barriers, and that 形 can better be interpreted as 身 "person (al contact)": "Rivers and lakes are difficult to be filled up, and I can only regret that we must miss each other".

p. 249, line 51: 不敢毀傷 is a quotation from *Xiaojing*, ch. 1: "Our body and limbs, hairs and skin — we have received them from our parents, and we do not dare to destroy or harm them".

p. 373, note 7: *Chao* 朝 refers to the court, rather than to the dynasty. Prof. Zhou points out that the term 正朝 means "the official court" — which, I suppose, here refers to the fact that Buddhism, even if practised by the barbarian rulers in the north, should be excluded from the "legitimate" court of the Jin. In that case, the reading 王朝 is to be discarded.

p. 404, note 15: According to Professor Zhou, the expression *binzu* "poor family" does not occur in Six Dynasties texts, where the standard term is *hanzu* 寒族. The reading "poor travellers" may be correct after all.

p. 408, note 76: 否 and 通 having opposite meanings. The text should be taken to mean: "At the time when (our mutual) isolation changed into (mutual) contact".

p. 408, note 77: Prof. Zhou has corrected my faulty interpunction. The stop should be placed before 至止, and these two syllables should be joined to 有問 (*wen* in the sense of "news"): "You came (to China), carrying the jewel in your bosom, (so that) we had information about your movements".

p. 411, note 113: The words 故興其敬 do make sense: "Therefore I caused them to pay homage".